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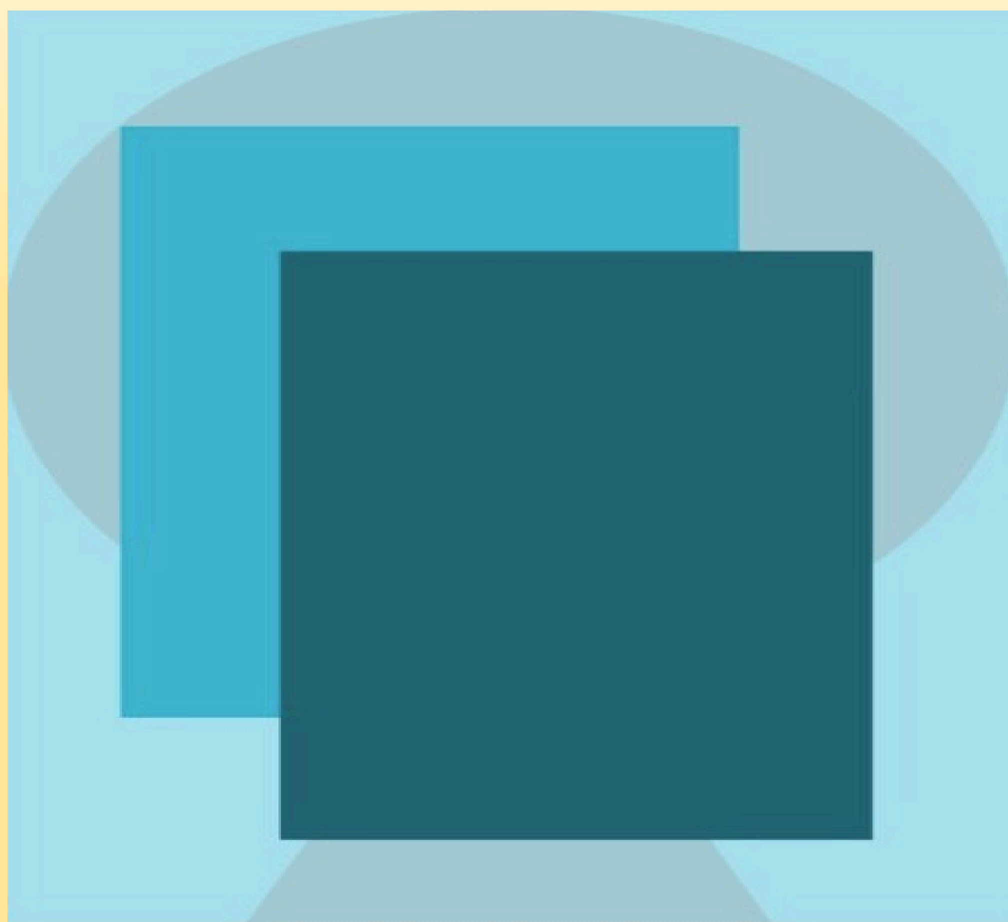

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The Multiculturalist Movement

Challenging the Mainstream Historical Discourse in the United States

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Abstract. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Women's Studies and Ethnic Studies programs were created in several American universities following student activism. These programs provided women, racial and ethnic minorities with an institutional structure to develop knowledge about their history and experience. In the 1980s, with the emergence of the multiculturalist movement, new demands were made by students who called into question the invisibility or marginalization of the history of women and minorities within the mainstream curriculum. This article will look at the genealogy of Ethnic and Women's Studies programs and the role that the theoretical framework that they elaborated played in uncovering racial, ethnic and sexual minorities' contribution to American history in particular, so as to analyze the way in which they deconstructed the mainstream historical discourse to make these minorities visible and foster the adoption of a multicultural historical discourse to try to transform the American identity into a multicultural one.

Keywords: multiculturalism, higher education, discourse, history, Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies.

1. Introduction

From its inception, the United States has been a country characterized by the diversity of its inhabitants. According to its first census, taken in 1790, about 75% of the American population had a British and Protestant background, but it also comprised people of other origins, such as German, Irish, French, Dutch and Swedish, and with other religious beliefs as well as Black slaves.[1] However, the diverse origins of the American population were ignored in the construction of the American identity while the new nation was taking shape. Thus, as the creation of the American nation was said to be the result of a contract between its inhabitants whose terms were to be found in its founding documents (the Declaration of Independence of 1776, the Constitution of 1787 and the Bill of Rights of 1791), being American meant adhering to the principles and values enunciated in these documents, such as democracy, liberty, equality and individualism (Le Bihan 2017, 413). But at the same time, the American identity was endowed with the characteristics of an organic nation, such as a common culture as well as a somewhat racial and ethnic homogeneity. A new race, the American race, was therefore created through the motto "E Pluribus Unum" ("Out of Many One"), which was featured on the Great Seal of the United States adopted in the early 1780s, and through the metaphor of the Melting Pot "which characterized the process through which immigrants were melted to form a homogeneous race" (Le Bihan 2017, 414).

[1] Even though the population also consisted of Native Americans, they were not counted as they did not pay taxes.

As the United States was becoming more diverse following several waves of legal immigration, first mainly from Northern and Western Europe, then from Southern and Eastern Europe starting in the nineteenth century, the assimilationist model embodied in the metaphor of the Melting Pot was called into question. The new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were thought to be inassimilable as they were too different from native-born Americans of Anglo-Saxon origins. Moreover, people like Horace Kallen (1882-1974), who had immigrated from Germany as a child, criticized the implementation of a coercive form of assimilation in an essay entitled "Democracy versus the Melting Pot," made up of two parts and published in *The Nation* on February 18 and 25, 1915 (Le Bihan 2017, 415). He believed that not only was assimilation undesirable, but that it was also impossible because "ethnic identities were unalterable as they were natural" (416). Thus, he promoted what he called "cultural pluralism."

In fact, the debate over assimilation was about what it meant to be American. The American identity had been created by assimilating the immigrants who were not too different from native-born Americans of Anglo-Saxon descent and by excluding from citizenship all the others (i.e., Black people, Native Americans and Asians) (Le Bihan 2017, 414). Education was given the mission of transmitting this identity, which did not acknowledge racial and ethnic diversity, notably through the teaching of a common American history.

The Melting Pot was once more called into question in the 1960s, as the American population was becoming even more diverse with an increase in immigration from Asia and Latin America following the abolition of the quotas which had restricted immigration to the US.[2] Within the context of the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the lack of recognition of this growing diversity, especially in educational institutions, was challenged. In several predominantly White universities, students belonging to ethnic, racial and sexual minorities demanded that their history and experience be included in the curriculum.

This led to the creation of Black, Chicano/a, Asian American, Native American and Women's Studies programs in these universities as early as the late 1960s. Within these programs, teaching materials about the history and perspective of minority and female students were developed and a new line of research focusing on race, ethnicity and gender emerged. This research highlighted the marginalization of these minorities and women within mainstream American society. However, these programs had a precarious status, as their sustainability was not guaranteed,[3] and they lacked institutional support.[4] Besides, since they

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[2] In 1965, the US government passed the Immigration and Nationality Act. It repealed the Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924, which had been adopted in the 1920s to curb immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

[3] This was the case especially in the initial stages of these programs. Indeed, in the 1970s, the Ford Foundation, which was established in 1936 by Edsel Ford, Henry Ford's son, developed a program of support for Women's Studies and Black Studies, providing them with, for example, grants for curriculum development. For more on this, see Chamberlain (2000), "There were Godmothers, Too"; and Rooks (2006), *White Money/Black Power*.

[4] The creation of these programs was the result of student activism. Indeed, the presidents of universities had caved in to the students' grievances believing that such programs would not be long-lasting.

were disconnected from traditional departments, they failed to have an impact on the courses that these departments offered and whose content minority and female students had criticized for being Eurocentric, racist and sexist (Le Bihan 2017, 418). That is why, within the context of the growing diversity of the student population and following racist and sexist incidents, these students demanded that the study of this diversity be included in the mainstream academic curriculum. These grievances were made in the 1980s and 1990s within the multiculturalist movement that developed in many universities, including in Ivy League ones such as Princeton, Columbia and Harvard, and which challenged traditional study programs because of a lack of a multicultural approach to the teaching of humanities courses.

Using a historical and sociological approach, this article will argue that the creation of Ethnic and Women's Studies in predominantly White universities marked the beginning of a movement toward the recognition of diversity in the content of courses, especially in those about the history of the United States. As it is through the teaching of this history that a homogeneous American identity had been transmitted from one generation to another, the call for a multicultural historical discourse also aimed at transforming this identity into a multicultural one.

Firstly, I will retrace the genealogy of Ethnic and Women's Studies programs in predominantly White universities in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Secondly, I will focus on the development of a theoretical framework within these programs and the role that it played in uncovering racial, ethnic and sexual minorities' contribution to American history. Thirdly, this article will analyze how this new knowledge about women, racial and ethnic minorities deconstructed the mainstream historical discourse to make women and these minorities visible while fostering the adoption of a multicultural historical discourse with the aim of transforming the American identity.

2. Genealogy of Ethnic and Women's Studies in the United States

Black students on predominantly White college and university campuses were among the first to demand the creation of courses focused on their experience, history and culture at the end of the 1960s.[5] These demands intervened within the context of protests over the Vietnam War and conscription campaigns on US campuses, disillusionment with the Civil Rights Movement's integrationist and non-violent stance,[6] with race riots over police brutality, racial discrimination and economic deprivation erupting in the Black ghettos of several cities between 1964

[5] Even though this article focuses on the development of Black Studies programs in predominantly White universities, the key role played by historically Black colleges and universities should be pointed out, as some of the earliest demands for Black Studies courses were made there. Thus, more than a thousand African American students at Howard University took over the administration building in March 1968 to demand that courses about Black history and culture be included in the curriculum. See Hamilton (1986), "Howard Students Continue Sit-in as University Seeks Injunction."

[6] This was especially the case of young African Americans.

and 1968,[7] and the Black Power ideology spreading in the North. The Black Power ideology spread considerably to university campuses, both to historically Black colleges and predominantly White ones, and was related to the presence of members of the Black Panther Party and of chapters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on these campuses (Rojas 2007, 4). While the former had been created in the fall of 1966 by two young Black students at Merritt College (Huey P. Newton and Bobby G. Seale) in Oakland, California (McCartney 2001, 156) and in the context of urban racial unrest, SNCC had been founded in April 1960 in North Carolina to coordinate nonviolent student protests against segregation and was an interracial organization until the mid-1960s.[8] In 1966, under the leadership of its new chairman, Stokely Carmichael, a Black veteran civil rights activist, SNCC rejected White support and embraced Black Power, a slogan that Carmichael himself had contributed to making popular the same year while using it in a speech that he delivered in Greenwood, Mississippi, after being arrested by the police and released from jail.[9]

As pointed out by sociologist Fabio Rojas in his study of the emergence of Black Studies, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline*, the two organizations “were at the front of the Black studies movement” (2007, 4). Indeed, point five of the Black Panther Party Platform and Program (October 1966) stated what it wanted in terms of education:

> We want decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else (Foner 1995, 2-3).

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[7] There were riots in the urban ghettoes of New York (Harlem, 1964), Los Angeles (Watts, 1965), Newark and Detroit (1967) and in more than 100 cities following the assassination of Martin Luther King in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

[8] The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was created following a conference organized by Ella Baker, an African American civil rights activist, at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, on April 15-17, 1960. Indeed, she had seen the potential of student activism after four Black students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College had held a lunch-counter sit-in at the F. W. Woolworth store in Greensboro to protest against segregation in eating facilities on February 1, 1960. The sit-in lasted almost six weeks (until the lunch-counter was desegregated on July 25), other students having joined in. By February 10, it had spread to fifteen southern cities in five states (Fairclough 2001, 241-247).

[9] Carmichael was arrested in Greenwood (Mississippi) in the context of the March Against Fear initiated by James Meredith and taken up by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (created in 1957 in Atlanta and headed by Martin Luther King), the Congress of Racial Equality (an interracial group founded in 1942) and SNCC, after Meredith was wounded by a White sniper. Carmichael was charged with trespassing when he tried to erect tents on the premises of an elementary school in Greenwood with two other activists (Ligon 2016, n.p.).

In the same vein, in an article entitled "Toward Black Liberation" published in the fall of 1966 in *The Massachusetts Review*, Carmichael denounced the lack of a history focusing on Blacks, which led to a considerable misrepresentation of Black people in the press:

> Individual reporters and commentators have been conditioned by the enveloping racism of the society to the point that they are incapable even of objective observation and reporting of racial *incidents*, much less the analysis of *ideas*. But this limitation of vision and perceptions is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definition, interpretation and consciousness, along with the censorship of history that the society has inflicted upon the Negro—and itself. Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to this problem, the necessity to reclaim our history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and depredation of self-justifying white guilt (1966, 639).[10]

Thus, besides group solidarity, Black pride, self-determination and empowerment, the concept of 'Black Power' also stressed the need for Blacks to reclaim their history by tracing their roots back to Africa.[11] It is this need to reclaim their history which was at the core of the demand made by Black Power student activists to create Black Studies programs and departments. They wanted these departments and programs to be controlled by themselves and their teachers and to be autonomous from traditional departments; the courses were also to be taught by Black instructors committed to the cause and to an audience of Black students only (Van Deburg 1992, 75). All this meant that there was a need to recruit more Black teachers and to enroll more Black students. An increase in the number of Black students and teachers were thus also part of the demands made by the Black student activists (Le Bihan 2017, 417).

If Merritt College, a two-year community college where Newton and Seale campaigned for Black Studies classes, was the first to offer a Black history course in 1965-1966 and to establish a Black Studies department in late 1968 (Biondi 2012, 41; Shabbazz 2014, 88), San Francisco State University is often credited with having created the first Black Studies department following a strike led by students from the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front,[12] with the support of faculty members and White students. Before launching their strike in early November 1968, they had issued several demands, such as increasing the number of Black and other non-White students and faculty, but the key one concerned the creation of a college of Ethnic Studies, which would comprise departments of American Indian Studies, Asian American Studies, Black Studies and La Raza Studies (College of Ethnic Studies n.d, n.p.; Rooks 2006, 32). It would take almost five months for the activists to have their main grievances met by the administration. The result was not only the creation of a Black Studies department in 1969 but also of departments regrouped under the

[10] Italics in the original.
[11] For more on this point, see Ture and Hamilton (1992, 34-56).
[12] The Third World Liberation Front was formed in the spring of 1968 by a coalition of students of color, essentially Asian American, Black and Mexican Americans (Biondi 2012, 53).

umbrella term of 'Ethnic Studies.'[13] According to Rojas, about 120 Black Studies degree programs were then created between 1969 and 1974 (2007, 93), many of them in research universities and most of the rest in elite liberal arts colleges (169).

Besides being one of the first to create a Black Studies department, San Francisco State University was also the first one to create a college of Ethnic Studies to study the history and experience of Native Americans, Asian Americans and Latino Americans. In fact, the State of California was at the forefront of the development of Ethnic Studies with Berkeley and the University of California at Santa Barbara following suit after student protests. Thus, following the lead of Black students at San Francisco State University, members of the Afro-American Student Union at Berkeley demanded the creation of a Black Studies program. When Chancellor Heyns and the University of California Regents agreed to the creation of a Black Studies program on January 13, 1969, but not to other demands, such as the presence of Black students and staff on the committee which would implement this program, Black students rejected what they considered to be a partial answer to their demands. Allying themselves with Mexican American, Native American and Asian American students, they created a Third World Liberation Front and demanded the creation of a Third World College,[14] which would comprise departments focusing on the study of a single minority. After a ten-week long student strike marked by clashes with the police, on March 4, 1969, the faculty senate of Berkeley approved the creation of an Ethnic Studies department instead of the autonomous Third World College demanded by the strikers. As a result, the Afro-American Student Union continued to press for an autonomous Black Studies department within an independent Third World College. It would take five years for Black Studies to be given the status of a department but within the College of Letters and Science ("The Berkeley Revolution" n.d., n.p.).

If a program of Asian American Studies was first introduced in 1969 at Berkeley, the first Mexican American Studies program was implemented in the fall of 1968 at California State College in Los Angeles in the context of the Chicano movement ("History [1968 to Present]" n.d., n.p.).[15] It endeavored to call into question "the negative portrayal of Americans of Mexican ancestry in US literature and the media" by studying "Mexican Americans through courses in history, culture, political science, psychology, and an emerging Chicano literature" ("History [1968 to Present]" n.d., n.p.). When it achieved departmental

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[13] As Johnnella E. Butler explains, "Ethnic Studies serves as a collective noun for Black Studies, Asian American Studies, American Indian Studies, and Latino Studies. Programmatically, Ethnic Studies can exist as Black Studies, Asian American Studies, American Indian Studies, and Latino Studies, independently and/or in a comparative context" (1991, 9).

[14] Among the other demands were "the recruitment of Third World people at every level of university administration, instruction, and staff; open admissions for Third World applicants; institutional autonomy ("Third World control over Third World programs"); and amnesty for strikers" ("The Berkeley Revolution" n.d., n.p.).

[15] According to Roberto Rodriguez, the "modern Chicano political movement [...] began during the mid-1960s–a time coinciding with the Black Power movement" (1996, n.p.).

status in 1971, its name changed to the Department of Chicano Studies.[16] The University of California at Santa Barbara followed suit in 1969, after Chicano students and faculty submitted "El Plan de Santa Barbara," which notably called for the creation of a Chicano Studies program (La Belle and Ward 1996, 83). It would serve as a model for the creation of other Chicano Studies programs in California as well as in numerous universities[17] and colleges throughout the country (Olivo 1999, n.p.; Flores 2001, 207).

Native American Studies[18] also owes its existence to the political mobilization of Native American students within the American Indian Movement which emerged in 1968, in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement. While the first program focusing on Native Americans was created at San Francisco State University within the framework of its Ethnic Studies department, it is the University of Minnesota which established the first department of Native American Studies in response to demands made by Native American students. Thus, following the recommendations of an *ad hoc* committee comprising Native American students, White faculty and members of the community, the University of Minnesota's board of regents approved the creation of a department of Native American Studies in June 1969 (Wilson 1979, 213-214). By the early 1980s, there were 107 academic programs, nine of them having a department status (Guyette and Heth 1983, 3).[19]

The emergence of Women's Studies is also associated with the social and political activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and more precisely with the women's liberation movement and its radical branch,[20] radical feminism, which contributed to developing the feminist theory at the core of this field of study. In several universities and colleges, radical feminists

> challenge[d] the content of what they now discerned to be "men's studies." [...] [T]hey demanded fundamental change in the courses and curricula that reinforced stereotypes about, and supported continued discrimination against,

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[16] It is now called the Department of Chicana(o) and Latina(o) Studies.
[17] It was the case at the University of Minnesota and the University of Texas El Paso in the early 1970s, for instance.
[18] Before the creation of Native American Studies, courses about this minority were located particularly in departments of anthropology. This was the case at the University of Washington until 2009, when it became a department.
[19] Besides the University of Minnesota, the eight other universities with a department of Native American Studies were Pembroke State, Dakota Wesleyan, the University of North Dakota, Dartmouth, the University of Alaska, the University of Washington, San Diego State and Bemidji State University.
[20] Radical feminism emerged in the fall of 1967 with the creation of small groups in which radical feminists resorted to consciousness raising as a tool to analyze women's oppression in the public and private sphere, so as to dismantle male supremacy. Radical feminists were primarily young White college-educated women who had been involved in the Civil Rights Movement and the anti-war movement and had become disillusioned by the patriarchal trends which permeated them. According to Barbara Crow, "it was radical not only as it pertained to 'getting at the roots' of women's oppression, but also radical in its ability to develop a theoretical framework and practice emanating from women's bodies and experiences" (2000, 7). For more information on radical feminism, see Echols (1989).

> women by perpetuating misinformation about and ignorance of women's history, lives, and perspectives. To remedy the flaws and fill the gaps, they created women's studies (Boxer 1998, 51).

Marilyn J. Boxer, a professor of history, explained what Women's Studies encompassed:

> The term *women's studies* is used to cover a wide range of activities, from scholarship and teaching that are traditional in all but their focus on women to innovative attempts to revise methods of inquiry, develop new categories of analysis, reconceptualize pedagogies, and restructure institutional relationships (3).[21]

Women's Studies embraced the slogan "the personal is political," which was coined by radical feminists in the late 1960s. Through this slogan, they stressed "the political nature of the home and family" and "argued that these two institutions were the source of women's oppression within all spheres of society" (Nicholson 1981, 92). This link between women's place within the private sphere and their oppression within the public sphere led to courses about women's personal experience. This 'personal' dimension was reflected in the format of the nascent field of study, which initially did not get university funds, as highlighted by Alice Ginsberg: "It was not unusual for programs to form around meetings in bathrooms and broom closets. [...] In the 1970s many women's studies courses and events were advertised through flyers, mimeographed newsletters, and word of mouth" (2008, 10-11).

Once more, it was the state of California which was at the forefront of the development of Women's Studies. The first Women's Studies program was launched in 1970 at San Diego State College (then San Diego State University), after an *ad hoc* committee created by the SDSC Women's Liberation Group had petitioned for such a program (Department of Women's Studies n.d., n.p.). The second Women's Studies program was created at Cornell University in 1972, three years after author and activist Sheila Tobias had organized a conference which "raised questions about the exclusion of women from traditional academic disciplines" and which was attended by 2000 people (Hovis 2021, n.p.) Thus, as the creation of Women's Studies courses and programs grew out of the activism of teachers and students involved in this movement, from the onset they had the political purpose of "transform[ing] the university so that knowledge about women was no longer invisible, marginalized, or made other" (Ginsberg 2008, 5).

3. Development of knowledge and research on gender, race and ethnicity

Women's Studies, Black Studies and more generally Ethnic Studies programs provided minority and female faculty with an institutional structure from which to call into question traditional knowledge, particularly in the field of history. This was done through the development of a new line of research which focused on gender, race and ethnicity, as well as on the relations that women, and racial and ethnic minorities had with the dominant group and mainstream society.

[21] Italics in the original.

The first stage in making women and minorities visible in the field of history consisted in unveiling how a Eurocentric White masculine perspective had influenced and permeated the development of knowledge. This was done by developing a theoretical basis, using French critical theory, also known as post-structuralism, to question "what counted as knowledge and whose knowledge was being legitimized within the university" (Williams 2017, 205). While feminists in academia tended to focus on how men's perspectives had pervaded knowledge in general, and in particular the narration of not only the country's history but also world history, scholars in Ethnic Studies concentrated on how the narration of these histories had a White Eurocentric bias,[22] either distorting, downplaying or omitting the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities and their contributions to history. Scholars in Women's Studies and Ethnic Studies thus developed a theoretical framework, in line with French post-structuralist Jacques Derrida's theory of deconstruction,[23] which endeavored to decenter the White European male perspective permeating the production of knowledge and its dissemination in the humanities and social sciences. To do so, they called into question the principles underlying Western metaphysical systems.

The first principle to be criticized was that of dualism which rested on a hierarchical framework, whereby the first word within a pair of opposite words, i.e., White and Black or male and female, was considered to be superior. Indeed, this hierarchical dualism had been used to relegate women, racial and ethnic minorities to an inferior status, while associating White European males, and by extension the European culture, with superior attributes. This served as a justification for "dominat[ing], control[ing], possess[ing], exploit[ing], destroy[ing]" these minorities (Craige 1992, 4). The reference to a center, and in particular to a central culture, i.e., the European culture, was at the origin of these hierarchies, leading to this culture's norms, criteria and values being imposed on the cultures of racial and ethnic minorities. The term 'Eurocentrism' was used to denounce the fact that American education was dominated by European history and ideas at the expense of African American, Native American, Latino, and Asian American values and perspectives. Thus, the disappearance of a reference to a center and to 'superior/inferior' hierarchies meant that when choosing what knowledge to transmit, previously excluded or marginalized groups had to be taken into account.

The second metaphysical principle to be criticized, especially by feminist scholars, was that of realism. According to this principle, there was only one conception of reality. Indeed, they argued that as reality is constructed through language, and as language has been created by those who have the power (Spender [1998] 2005, 93-99), i.e., White men, the latter have influenced reality,

[22] Ethnic Studies is to be understood here as referring to Black Studies, Latino Studies, Asian American Studies and Native American Studies.

[23] It is in a paper entitled "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences," which he delivered at a symposium organized at Johns Hopkins University, that Jacques Derrida introduced the concept of 'deconstruction,' which would lead to the development of a new philosophical and critical movement. Thus, the theory of deconstruction rests on a criticism of Western metaphysical systems and the principles on which they are based.

while at the same time claiming it to be universal, so as to maintain their hegemony. Thus, for scholars in Women's and Ethnic Studies, there is no universal conception of reality but numerous interpretations of it depending on your race, ethnicity or sex, each of these interpretations representing only one perspective.

This has led these scholars to debunk another metaphysical concept, that of the existence of objectivity when producing knowledge or doing research. In line with the analysis of the link between power and knowledge made by French philosopher and post-structuralist Michel Foucault,[24] they have argued that as knowledge has been created by those who have the power, i.e., White men, the latter's claims to objectivity have been a means to impose their own truth and vision of reality. Therefore, there can be no such thing as disinterested research as everything is political and subject to interpretation *ad infinitum*. In other words, scholars in Women's and Ethnic Studies have claimed that the production of knowledge is politicized. This has been particularly the case in the field of history, notably US history. In fact, the teaching of US history has played an important role in the transmission of a past common to all Americans and thus in the construction of a homogeneous American identity. However, in the narration of this common past and in this identity, women and minorities, the latter even more so, have been either invisible or marginalized. Thus, Mary Ritter Beard (1876-1958), who is considered to be the American founder of women's history and is notably the author of *America through Women's Eyes* (1933) and *Women as Force in History: A Study of Traditions and Realities* (1946), "insisted that women not be rendered as passive objects of men's actions, but as makers of history themselves; and that they not be removed from the historical flow into a separate narrative, but that their history be understood as part and parcel of the full range of national experience" (DuBois 2005, 7).

The same held true for racial and ethnic minorities. For instance, a theoretical and philosophical movement called Afrocentrism developed within the field of Black Studies. The founding father of Afrocentrism is Molefi Kete Asante, a professor of Africology and African American Studies at Temple University. For him, Afrocentrism (also called Afrocentricity) represents another way of viewing the world (Le Bihan 1998, 207). He defines it in the following way:

> Afrocentricity is a *perspective which allows Africans to be subjects of historical experiences rather than objects* on the fringes of Europe. This means that the Afrocentrist is concerned with discovering in every case the centered place of the African. Of course, such a philosophical stance is not necessary for other disciplines; it is, however, the fundamental basis for African or African American studies. [...] African American studies, however, is not simply the study and teaching about African people but *it is the Afrocentric study of African phenomena*; otherwise we would have had African American studies for a hundred years. But what existed before was not African American studies but rather Eurocentric study of Africans. Some of these studies led to important findings and have been useful. So the Afrocentrists do not claim that historians, sociologists, literary critics, philosophers, communicationists, and others do not

[24] On the link between power and knowledge, see Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (1966) and *L'ordre du discours* (1971).

> make valuable contributions. Our claim is that by using a Eurocentric approach they often ignore an important interpretative key to the African experience in America and elsewhere (Asante 1993, 2-3).[25]

For Asante, the history of American Black people starts in Africa and not when they arrived on the American continent as slaves in the early seventeenth century. The link that Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), a Jamaican political activist, made with Africa is at the core of Afrocentrism and the history of Black Americans (Le Bihan 1998, 208). Thus, according to Asante,

> African Americans, that is, Africans in America, are a specific ethnic group of Africans. Our music, language, dress styles, and modes of thinking place us squarely in Africa, not in Asia or Europe. Our American citizenship which came in the nineteenth century is not a contradiction to our African ancestry and heritage. […] We are African people, perhaps displaced but, nevertheless, people with a historical connection to the continent (1993, x).

Besides stressing African American's connection to Africa, some Black historians have claimed that the history of the American continent had been falsified. One of them, Ivan Van Sertima (1935-2009), argued that Africans had set foot in the New World before Christopher Columbus in a controversial book entitled *They Came before Columbus: The African Presence in Ancient America* (1976) (Le Bihan 1998, 214). In the same vein, Lerone Bennett (1928-2018) also referred to "extensive pre-Columbian contact between ancient Africa and the Americas" in his book *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America* (1993, 4).

Afrocentrism was at the core of the debate over multiculturalism which erupted on American college and university campuses in the mid-1980s. This debate focused particularly on the meaning of multiculturalism and what it implied for the American identity as it had been shaped in the early years of the Republic and transmitted through the teaching of American history thereafter. In her article "Multiculturalism: E Pluribus Plures," former Assistant Secretary of Education Diane Ravitch denounced Afrocentrism, calling it a "particularistic multiculturalism," and defending a "pluralistic multiculturalism" (1992, 276). But for Asante, Ravitch's version of multiculturalism represents an attempt at "maintain[ing] a Eurocentric hegemony over the curriculum" (1992, 309): even though information about minorities is included in courses, it is presented from a European perspective. Consequently, despite this recognition of diversity, the nature and extent of this diversity is defined by the dominant group, and racial and ethnic minorities remain subordinate.

Indeed, what is at stake over the definition of a multicultural education is the place of women, and racial and ethnic minorities in the image that the United States gives of itself. It is a debate over who should define American culture and identity and how both should be defined. As education was given the mission of shaping the American identity through the teaching of a common history based on a culture of Anglo-Saxon origin, the multiculturalist movement has endeavored to transform it by mainstreaming the history of women, racial and ethnic minorities notably in the curriculum of universities and colleges.

[25] Italics in the original.

4. Mainstreaming the history of women and of racial and ethnic minorities in the 1980s and 1990s

The theoretical framework developed in Women's Studies and Ethnic Studies was meant to offer a critical analysis of women's and minorities' subordination within the teaching of history, and more broadly within the curriculum. This critical analysis would then enable them to challenge their invisibility or marginalization in American history and thus in the definition of the American identity, especially regarding racial and ethnic minorities.

Concerning the absence of women in the national historical narrative, for example, women's historian Gerda Lerner pointed out that "the historical invisibility of women is often due to the fact that we look for them in exactly the same activities as are pursued by men, and thus we cannot find them" (1979, xxix-xxx). The topics at the core of the teaching of US history embodied "male interests and ways of seeing" (Maynard 1998, 248-249).[26] In the same way, periodization in US history reflected a male perspective, so it had to be altered to render it appropriate for the study of women's history. To make women visible and give them a voice, it was thus necessary not only to study new topics relevant to their specific experience,[27] but also not to reproduce a "male conceptual framework" (Lerner 1979, 117) by studying women only through the prism of the oppressed. Rather, the agency of women had to be stressed. This also meant developing new research methods focusing on the personal and subjective, resorting for instance to narratives, informal interviews, diaries or biographies, to enable women to tell their own story (Williams 2017, 206).

Making women as well as ethnic and racial minorities visible in the field of history, and more broadly in the academic curriculum, was done through different stages, the first one consisting in adding information about women and minorities to existing knowledge, thereby not challenging much mainstream history courses. The fact that these new areas of study were in a vulnerable position as many of them did not have the status of departments and were to a certain extent isolated from traditional departments meant that the courses that they offered and that had been criticized for being Eurocentric, racist and sexist, remained intact. This paved the way for new demands which were embodied in the multiculturalist movement which started developing on the campuses of many universities, and in particular elite ones, in the 1980s.

What triggered the development of this movement was the threat posed to the maintenance of Women's and Ethnic Studies programs by the budget cuts implemented during the two terms of Republican President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989). In fact, after the budget cuts in higher education which had jeopardized what minorities and women had obtained following their activism in the 1960s and early 1970s, students from these groups felt that the social movements of that time had not delivered their promise. Thus, they reacted by reiterating their demands for the recognition of their respective experiences and

[26] The focus was on wars, politics and important events, which excluded *de facto* women.
[27] Among the new topics, Gerda Lerner refers to "sexuality, reproduction, the link between childbearing and child-rearing; role indoctrination; sexual values and myths; female consciousness" (1979, 126).

history, and of the diversity of the American population, in the core mainstream curriculum. What also contributed to the development of the movement was the fact that the number of minority and women students had increased in American universities while the content of traditional courses,[28] especially in the humanities and social sciences, had mostly failed to take into account this diversification of the student body.[29]

One of the main goals of the multiculturalist movement was to mainstream the study of women and of racial and ethnic minorities, by incorporating the theoretical framework and the new knowledge developed in Women's and Ethnic Studies into traditional disciplines, mainly in the humanities and social sciences, and, in particular, in the field of history. Thus, for example, concerning the teaching of American history (and this should also be extended to research), it meant not just adding content about women or minorities but also using the concept of gender, race and ethnicity as tools to analyze their place in American history and their relation with the 'dominant' group, endeavoring to highlight how they had been subjects and actors, not passive objects or mere victims of oppression. Moreover, it also meant not making Black women invisible, as it had been the case in Women's Studies and Black Studies. Indeed, while striving to make the experience and history of women and Blacks visible, they had paradoxically reproduced what they had criticized traditional disciplines for doing. By envisioning women and Blacks as homogeneous categories, they had made the role played by Black women in American history invisible. Using the intersection of race, gender, ethnicity, but also class, was meant to reflect the diversity of the experiences and histories of women, of racial and ethnic minorities, alongside those of the dominant group, to reflect the different perspectives on the narration of history and thus provide a multicultural approach to American history, so as to challenge the essence of the American identity.

This mainstreaming was notably done through curriculum transformation projects and the implementation of diversity requirements for undergraduate students.[30] The objective of the former was to integrate the new knowledge about ethnic, racial and sexual minorities in undergraduate courses. To reach this goal, training workshops for teachers, seminars and symposiums were organized to develop new teaching material which would be included in courses that already

[28] One exception was related to the new social history, which started to develop in the 1960s, as it viewed history from the bottom up and not from the top down. It thus focused on the study of the lives of ordinary people, and paid attention to issues related to women and minorities. For instance, new social historians worked on "demographic history, urban history, the history of the family, of women, Blacks, Chicanos, or native Americans, the history of radical social movements, the history of social mobility" (Veysey 1979, 5).

[29] Indeed, if in the 1960s, the student population was 90% White, by 1991, when the controversy over multiculturalism was at its peak, racial and ethnic minorities represented 21.2% of all the students (Blacks accounted for 9.6% of the students, Hispanics for 6.2%, Asian Americans for 4.6% and Native Americans for 0.8%). Moreover, women made up 55.2% of the student population (White women accounted for 43.2% and women belonging to a minority for 12%) ("Table 202," 206-207).

[30] According to a national survey conducted by the James Irvine Foundation in 2000, 54% of the 543 institutions which answered the survey had done so (Humphreys 2000, n.p.).

existed, to revise the curricula and devise new courses. Such a curriculum transformation project was launched at the University of Washington in January 1995 for a period of twenty-one months with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities.[31] Directed by Johnnella Butler, who was then professor of American Ethnic Studies with appointments in English and Women's Studies, and Betty Schmitz, a specialist in curriculum transformation projects, it was the continuation of a three-year program known as the Washington Cultural Pluralism Project, which was started in early 1992 and was a statewide project (Le Bihan 1998, 241-242).[32] Its aim was to help teachers "to incorporate a fair and accurate representation of minorities into the curriculum and to explore different ways of teaching" (Martin 1995, 1).

As far as diversity requirements are concerned, they took several forms: a long list of courses on diversity from which students chose a couple of courses; a specific required course dealing with diversity (as at Berkeley with its American Cultures Requirement); or the integration of material dealing with diversity into widely required courses such as Western civilization or English composition (as at the University of Texas) (Disch 1993, 196). The University of Massachusetts at Boston opted for the first format. Discussions about implementing a diversity requirement started in 1989 with the creation of a Diversity Requirement Working Group, which opted for a broad definition of diversity and for an educational rationale for its adoption as Estelle Disch,[33] professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, explains:

> After numerous discussions of the various reasons why a diversity requirement should be instituted, we decided to emphasize the educational rationale as the one that we could most effectively discuss with our faculty. Political rationales (e.g., to help students learn to fight injustice) and personal or social rationales (e.g., help students get along better with people different from themselves or to be less prejudiced or to help a wide range of students feel more welcomed to our campus) were not the basis for our case. We argued, instead, that diversity had to be studied because learning was incomplete without it, and that students' survival in the world would be more difficult without this knowledge (1993, 198).

According to her, providing an educational rationale and choosing a broad definition of diversity for the requirement helped to avoid the controversy around "political correctness" (199) that affected other diversity requirements. This has been the case at universities that adopted the format of a specific required course dealing with diversity, or for the integration of material dealing with diversity into widely required courses.

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[31] It is an independent federal agency created in 1965 which awards grants to cultural institutions such as museums, archives, libraries, colleges and universities, among others. For more information on this agency, see National Endowment for the Humanities: https://www.neh.gov/.

[32] For more information on this project and other similar projects, see "Directory: Curriculum Transformation Projects and Activities in the US. Women in the Curriculum Series."

[33] 'Diversity' was defined as including "race, class, gender, sexual orientation, disability, age and culture (defined as religion, ethnicity, national origin, or a combination of these)" (Disch 1993, 198).

For instance, this is what happened to Berkeley and its American Cultures requirement. Its critics feared that the courses included in this diversity requirement "would vilify whites and dwell on the oppression of minorities" (Cooper 1991, n.p.). After a long debate over the absence of the study of White people, a compromise was reached, with the addition of the study of a fifth group, European Americans, alongside that of African Americans, Asian Americans, indigenous peoples of the United States and Chicano/Latino Americans. The courses which were offered also adopted a comparative perspective and covered various disciplines such as sociology, history, music, literature, art and architecture. The American Cultures requirement was finally adopted by the Academic Senate in 1989, with a narrow margin of thirty-three votes (227-194) and was implemented in the fall of 1991. In its first year of implementation, twenty-seven courses were offered in fourteen different fields of study, among which history.[34] In this field, the list comprised the following courses: "The Forging of the US: A History of Expansion and Interaction among Diverse American Peoples," "The West in American History" and "The West in United States History" (Yamane 2001, 162-164). All undergraduates who were admitted after the fall of 1991 had to take a semester-long course offered for the American Cultures requirement in order to graduate.[35]

As illustrated by the titles of the history courses which were part of the American Cultures requirement when it was first implemented, the teaching of the colonial period and of the history of the West was transformed to include a multicultural perspective. Therefore, as pointed out by Eric Foner, professor emeritus of history at Columbia University, and Jon Wiener, professor emeritus of history at the University of California, Irvine:

> In the New Western History, the West is not a process but a place–a place inhabited by people, not just nature, and fought over by a multiethnic cast of characters including Easterners, Mexicans, Native Americans and blacks. The conquest of the West is a story of success and failure, heroism and betrayal, capital triumph and labor exploitation. Colorado miners and Mexican peons are as much a part of the story as pioneers on the Oregon Trail. In other words, the West's development was a complex history, not a simple heroic progress (1991, 163).

Teaching American history from a multicultural perspective also implied revising one of the paradigms which is usually used in this field of study. Thus, in 1995, in his introductory course "History of American Ethnic Groups," Erasmo Gamboa, professor emeritus of history at the University of Washington, stressed that it was usually thought that people moved from the East to the West. But this paradigm

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[34] Besides history courses, there were courses in Anthropology, Comparative Literature, Conservation and Resource Studies, Dramatic Art, Education, English, Ethnic Studies, Forestry and Resource Management, Landscape Architecture, Linguistics, Music, Political Science and Sociology (Yamane 2001, 162-164).

[35] The status of this requirement was rather precarious, as it was met with a lot of resistance and was very ambitious in terms of the criteria of inclusion (Yamane 2001, 114). Despite this, the American Cultures requirement has been part of the curriculum of undergraduates for thirty-two years.

had to be revised to take everyone into account, as there were people who came from other directions (Le Bihan 1998, 226).[36]

What this implies for American history is that there is no longer a universal American history, but different historical perspectives depending on the racial or ethnic group to which an American belongs. This has led to a debate over the way in which American history is taught, especially in Black Studies programs and departments. It is true that the history of African Americans has long been neglected and that it should be included in courses about American history. But there has been a tendency to use history to raise the self-esteem of Black students in courses adopting an Afrocentric perspective. In fact, according to Molefi Kete Asante, raising the self-esteem of these students is something that only an Afrocentric education can do:

> In most classrooms, whatever the subject, Whites are located in the center perspective position. How alien the African American child must feel, how like an outsider! The little African American child who sits in a classroom and is taught to accept as heroes and heroines individuals who defamed African people is being actively de-centered, dislocated, and made into a nonperson, one whose aim in life might be to one day shed that "badge of inferiority": his or her Blackness. In Afrocentric educational settings, however, teachers do not marginalize African American children by causing them to question their own self-worth because their people's story is seldom told (1991, 171).

Besides stressing Black students' link with Africa, at the expense of their American identity, Asante also demonizes what he calls Eurocentricity: "Eurocentricity is based on White supremacist notions whose purposes are to protect White privilege and advantage" (1991, 171). With this type of discourse, he reproduces what he accuses Eurocentrism of doing, by marginalizing White students and breeding resentment and suspicion among Black students about historical pieces of information which contradict what Afrocentrists teach.

If all historical discourses are not as divisive as the Afrocentric one, what a multicultural historical discourse implies is a deconstruction of the American identity as it was created following the revolutionary war to denounce the invisibility of women and of racial and ethnic minorities. It also means that this identity must be transformed to make them visible and to acknowledge their contribution to the history of the United States. What is being feared and resisted by conservatives is the emergence of this new multicultural American identity.

5. Conclusion

This article traced the development of a multicultural historical discourse in numerous universities to the activism of female and minority students. In the context of the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, these students called into question the invisibility of their perspective notably in the content of humanities

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[36] This is part of the notes that I took when attending Gamboa's course in the fall of 1995 while doing my doctoral research. It was a survey history of four groups: African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans and Mexican Americans. Bennett's (1993) book, *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America*, was one of the requested texts.

courses. Faced with violent protests at times, university presidents agreed to the creation of courses on their history and culture. Black Studies programs were the first ones to be established. They served as a model for the development of Women's Studies and Ethnic Studies programs in the late 1960s. Despite being isolated and underfunded, they provided the space for the elaboration of a new line of research focusing on women, and on racial and ethnic minorities. This led to the articulation of a theoretical framework based on the work of French poststructuralists Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. The use of Derrida's concept of 'deconstruction' and of the link between knowledge and power highlighted by Michel Foucault enabled academics in Women's Studies, Black Studies and Ethnic Studies, to unveil how under the guise of objectivity, White Anglo-Saxon Protestant males had imposed their perspective of the history of the United States as a universal one. In parallel, they developed knowledge about women and minorities to underscore the role that they had played in the history of the United States. However, as Women's Studies, Black Studies and Ethnic Studies programs were disconnected from traditional departments and they failed to impact the courses that these departments offered and whose content minority and female students considered to be Eurocentric, racist and sexist (Le Bihan 2017, 418). The challenge for these group-specific programs was thus to transform traditional disciplines by infusing in them the knowledge that they had produced as well as the theoretical concepts which legitimized multiple perspectives on a given topic or event. That is what the multiculturalist movement endeavored to achieve. It emerged on many university campuses in the 1980s, as a reaction to racist and sexist incidents and in the context of the growing diversity of the student population. At the core of this movement was a call for a multicultural approach to the teaching of humanities courses and above all to history courses.

As this article argued, the multiculturalist movement built on the counternarratives to the mainstream historical discourse which Women's Studies, Black Studies and Ethnic Studies programs had developed. However, as my research highlighted, underscoring the role that women and minorities had played in the history of the United States was not the end purpose for this movement. As the history of the United States and the way in which it was taught had contributed to shaping and forging the American identity, it aimed at transforming this identity through the inclusion of the perspective and contributions of women and minorities in American history courses, which would recognize the multicultural character of the nation from its inception onward.

In that regard, my research found that the multiculturalist movement has been relatively successful, as general education diversity requirements have been adopted and implemented at many universities, sometimes after protracted debates. Indeed, these requirements have been met with more opposition than curriculum transformation projects because they are considered to be an imposition, they concern a greater number of students (all undergraduates) and they lead to structural changes. In the process, Women's Studies, Black Studies and Ethnic Studies have also been transformed. This transformation has manifested itself through the adoption of new names, such as, for example, 'Gender Studies,' 'Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies' (to include issues related to the LGBTQ community), 'African and African American Studies' or

'Latino and Latin American Studies.' This signaled the broadening of these fields of studies to encompass all the diversity characterizing these groups within a comparative framework. Thus, at the same time as they have pushed for the adoption of a multicultural discourse in traditional disciplines, they have themselves embraced a multicultural perspective. This stress on the recognition of diversity is also being reflected in the mission statements of many universities, among which elite ones such as Columbia, Princeton or Harvard.

Moreover, by the end of the 1980s, the multiculturalist movement had reached primary and secondary schools thanks to curriculum transformation projects. These projects were launched by numerous universities and took the form of summer courses, summer institutes and workshops targeting teachers to be or practicing K-12 teachers as well as curriculum planners. Wellesley College, a private female college in Massachusetts, has been particularly active in curriculum transformation projects to help K-12 teachers make their courses more inclusive regarding women's experience and history in particular, with projects such as "A Woman's Place Is in the Curriculum K-12: A Multicultural Approach" (Buzzell and Metaxas 1999), but also racial and ethnic minorities, with projects such as "Gender, Race, and Inclusive Education" or "National SEED Project on Inclusive Curriculum (Seeking Educational Equity and Diversity)" ("Directory," 286-287, 289).

Multicultural education has also spread to K-12 schools thanks to colleges of education which train future teachers and offer courses on multicultural education or even master's degrees in multicultural education, as is the case at California State University, Sacramento or at the University of Washington in Seattle. Moreover, in March 2021, California became the first state to require that its students "complete a semester-long course in ethnic studies to earn a high school diploma" (Fensterwald 2021, n.p.).[37] Several other states have since followed suit, like New Jersey in April 2021 (with courses on diversity and inclusion) and Connecticut in the fall of 2022 (with Black and Latino studies).

However, the progress made by the multiculturalist movement has recently come under fire. According to a report issued by the National Women's Studies Association, departments of Women, Gender and Sexuality Studies are facing attacks from conservative forces, notably at the state level (Clark-Taylor, Regan and Rotramel 2024, 7). For instance, on April 22, 2022, the Republican governor of Florida, Ron DeSantis, signed into law a bill whose purpose is "to regulate how schools and businesses address race and gender" (Reilly 2022, n.p.). Known as the "Stop WOKE Act,"[38] it notably prohibits "school instruction that teaches that individuals are 'inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously'" (Reilly 2022, n.p.). Even if a federal judge blocked part of this law in July 2024, arguing that banning diversity training in private businesses violated the First Amendment, a court ruling is still pending on the part of the law concerning higher education (Zimmermann 2024, n.p.). But, following the adoption of another piece of legislation which prohibits public universities and colleges in Florida from using public money for Diversity, Equity and Inclusion programs, the Board of Trustees of the New College of Florida, which had been

[37] It will start in the 2025-2026 school year.
[38] WOKE stands for Stop Wrongs to Our Kids and Employees.

appointed by DeSantis, voted to eliminate its Gender Studies program in August 2023 (Peer 2023, n.p.).

Black Studies and Ethnic Studies have also been targeted by recent conservative attacks through challenges to the teaching of Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT, which was developed in the late 1970s by left-wing scholars of color, “challenges the ways in which race and racial power are constructed and represented in American legal culture and, more generally, in American society as a whole” (Crenshaw et al. 1995, xiv). As pointed out by the National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME), “CRT in education outlines the history of racism and white supremacy and clarifies how racism is structured across US institutions, arguing that to address racism, schools must, among other strategies, serve to strengthen the voices of children of color” (“NAME Statement on Critical Race Theory” n.d., n.p.). According to the *EducationWeek*, since the beginning of 2021, forty-four states have proposed bills to ban CRT, and they were signed into law in eighteen states, among which Florida, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arizona, Montana, North and South Dakota. This was a reaction to “anti-racism and anti-bias trainings that many workplaces—including schools—began offering after the murder of George Floyd in 2020” (Schwartz 2023, n.p.). The decisions by GOP lawmakers proposed such bills after President Donald Trump signed an executive order on combating race and sex stereotyping on September 22, 2020. In it, he said that

> many people are pushing a different vision of America that is grounded in hierarchies based on collective social and political identities rather than in the inherent and equal dignity of every person as an individual. This ideology is rooted in the pernicious and false belief that America is an irredeemably racist and sexist country; that some people, simply on account of their race or sex, are oppressors; and that racial and sexual identities are more important than our common status as human beings and Americans (“Executive Order on Combating Race and Sex Stereotyping” 2020, n.p.).

A federal court blocked its implementation, and it was revoked in January 2021 by President Joe Biden.

If the growing diversity of the United States population and activism on the part of minorities have contributed to the recognition that demographically the United States is a multicultural country, notably through the decennial census,[39] what it means to be American is still being debated. As highlighted by the recent attacks on the teaching of Critical Race Theory and on Gender Studies launched by conservatives in the wake of Donald Trump’s election in 2016, the country is still polarized on the development of a multicultural historical discourse and thus on the acceptance of the recognition of a multicultural American identity.

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[39] Since the census of 2000, multiracial Americans can self-identify with more than one race.

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The Dialectal Localisation of Hands B and C in Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS Mun.A.3.127

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Abstract. This paper studies the dialectal features of Hands B and C in Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS Mun.A.3.127 since these two hands conflate in the same folios (ff. 57r-58v). The manuscript under analysis is a late Middle English codex that contains different recipes to cure illnesses. The main aim of this paper is to localise geographically the area of provenance of these two hands by means of the model offered in the electronic version of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (*eLALME*) (Benskin et al. 2013). The analysis carried out signals two close areas of origin for both scribes: Hand B has been localised in the border between the southern part of East and West Ridings of Yorkshire and the northern part of Lincolnshire, whereas Hand C has been found in the border between southern Yorkshire, the northern part of Lincolnshire and the northern part of Nottinghamshire. This conclusion might be indicative of the presence of a scriptorium in the eastern part of the country at the time.

Keywords: dialect, provenance, *eLALME*, linguistic profile, late Middle English.

1. Introduction

The main objective of this paper is to localise geographically the linguistic features found in Hand B and Hand C in the mediaeval English manuscript Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS Mun.A.3.127 (Mun.A.3.127 hereafter) so as to establish a likely place of origin for the dialect of both scribes. The methodological procedures followed are the ones established in the electronic version of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Benskin et al. 2013) (*eLALME* henceforth).

Such a study is of interest because of the characteristic lack of consistency of Middle English in the written language, a fact that is emphasised by Milroy (1992, 156): "the most striking fact about Middle English is that it exhibits by far the greatest diversity in written language of any period before or since." This inconsistency offers the researcher the possibility of tracking the origin of mediaeval copyists. Traditionally, five main dialects were distinguished before the *LALME* project was fully developed (Kentish, Southern, East-Midland, West-Midland and Northern);[1] however, the boundaries between these varieties are actually blurred (Mossé 1968, 2).

In addition to the previous aspects, a more uniform variety was incipiently emerging in late Middle English (Blake 1996, 12), which is commonly referred to as Central Midland Standard or Chancery English (Samuels 1963, 85-89) and believed to be the predecessor of standard written English (Nielsen 2005, 138; Benskin et al. 2013). This diffusion of a national standard implicated renouncing local variants in favour of other features which were more commonly diffusing

[1] Mossé (1968, 2) offers a map distribution.

over the country (Samuels 1981, 43, cited in Taavitsainen 2000, 135). In any case, it has recently been argued that quite a lot of English documents were not actually written in the Chancery offices but were instead composed by petitioners all around the country who reflected their own dialect features in their texts (Benkskin 2004, 30-32; cited in Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, forthcoming).

The text under study is a late Middle English manuscript (ff. 1r-72v) housed in Chetham's Library in Manchester (UK). It was written between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries and includes some Latin interpolations. It contains different recipes to cure illnesses ordered from the head to the feet and it is preceded by a list of plants and herbs, and a table of contents; it is thus described as a "guide to family health [...] and a permanent record of years of collected treatments and cures" (Chetham's Library n.d.). Fifteen different hands have been identified in the writing process of this mediaeval document, and particularly the dialectal analysis offered in this paper is focussed on Hands B and C as these two copyists conflate in the same folios: Hand B is seen in folios 57r and 59r-60v, whilst Hand C is spotted in folios 57v-58v. The extracts by these two scribes are anonymous as no signature can be witnessed in those folios. In light of the above, and before carrying out the dialectal analysis of these two hands and studying the different results obtained, the main structure of this paper is provided. It is basically divided into five different sections: first, an introduction to the study and a brief description of the codex are offered. Second, the main methodological procedures followed are supplied. Third, Hand B is analysed including both the linguistic profile of this hand and the main discussion. Fourth, the linguistic profile and the discussion of Hand C are presented. Finally, the main conclusions are summarised.

2. Methodology

The method of analysis follows the model proposed in the electronic version of *eLALME*. The main objective of this resource is to offer the possibility of establishing the area of provenance of a text by contrasting the linguistic features with the evidence provided by a number of anchor texts from "England and those parts of Wales for which source-material is available" (Benskin et al. 2013). In fact, one of the main methodological aspects of *eLALME* is that regional features of the language may only be localised in a particular area of the country and these linguistic characteristics are thus helpful to localise texts geographically (Benskin et al. 2013).

In light of the above, the first step has been the completion of two independent linguistic profiles (LPs hereafter), containing some items (in small caps) and their spelling variants extracted from these two different hands, which have been obtained after the implementation of a survey questionnaire consisting of 424 items. Later, the 'fit-technique' has been applied and the different orthographic realisations have been mapped on the dot and user-defined maps in order to localise the hands geographically. The first of these two maps shows "the geographical distribution of individual linguistic features as indicated by each map's title" (Laing 2015, 5), whereas the second displays the "locations at which

the chosen forms are attested” (Alcorn 2017, 10). As a matter of fact, only those features that have proved to be salient variants have been the ones that have allowed us to narrow down the places of origin of both scribes as a few other spelling variants may be found in divergent areas and are therefore of little help.[2] The county dictionary has been consulted for those variants that are not present on the maps. Finally, the LPs of Hands B and C in Mun.A.3.127 have been compared to several other LPs in *eLALME* and with complementary bibliographical resources so as to confirm the areas of provenance.

In order to carry out all the steps indicated before, it has been necessary to firstly transcribe the text by means of the digitised images provided on Chetham’s Library website.[3] Later, all the lexical elements have been tagged and lemmatised on an Excel spreadsheet. The primary lexicographical resource to obtain the lemmas has been the *Middle English Dictionary* (Lewis, Kurath and Kuhn 1952-2001) and the word class has also been specified. This process has allowed the regularisation of word-division and the easy localisation of all the spelling variants of a single item.

3. Hand B

Hand B is present in folios 57r and 59r-60v and includes a sample of enough extension to determine the area of provenance of this hand. For this analysis, ninety-nine different items from *eLALME* have been found in the text with their corresponding spelling variants, offered in decreasing frequency (see Appendix).

To narrow down the origin of the language of Hand B, two types of localisation have been applied with the ‘fit-technique’ following *eLALME*. First of all, a broad localisation provides a rough approximation to the most probable area of provenance by choosing just a few spelling realisations. Several linguistic forms delimit the Midlands and northern parts of the country, chiefly: ‘y^e’[4] and ‘ye’ (THE)[5]; ‘all’ and ‘al’ (ALL); ‘day’ (DAY); the third-person singular form of the present indicative of HAVE (‘has’); ‘hym’ (HIM); ‘how’ (HOW); both the singular and plural form of MAY (‘may’). What is more, both ‘tak’ and ‘mak,’ were frequent spellings of TAKE and MAKE in the northern and north Midland dialects because of an early loss of final <-en> (Wright and Wright [1923] 1979, 41).

Other features are particularly found in certain counties within the Midlands and the north. For a start, <y> was preferred in all positions within a word in the north and the East Midlands, and that is why ‘y^e’ is found instead of ‘þe’ or ‘the’ in Hand B (Benskin 1982, 14-15; Fulk 2012, 23). The most salient realisations of SHALL, both the second-person singular form (‘sall’) and the third-person singular form of the present indicative (‘sal’) are also present in this area, since they are found in Lincolnshire, northern Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. The dropping of <h> is remarked as a representative feature in unstressed-word position in the

[2] Orthographic realisations are considered to be salient when they are frequent in the text and show dialectal variation (Marqués-Aguado 2009, 112).
[3] In situ observation of the manuscript at the library has also been necessary since some folios are incorrectly foliated on the website and some others are not even digitised.
[4] Single inverted commas enclose words found in the text.
[5] Small caps correspond to *eLALME* items.

northeast Midlands (Wright and Wright [1923] 1979, 125-126; Fulk 2012, 55). The form 'ye*n*' (THEN) is principally localised in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The spelling realisation 'thoro' (THROUGH) is particularly located in Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Both 'gude' and 'gud' (GOOD) are present in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Lancashire, as these are usual realisations in northern dialects (Brunner 1963, 15; Smith 1999, 119; Fulk 2012, 117). The linguistic form of HEAD ('hede') is spread throughout Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire and Leicestershire, whereas 'modyr' (MOTHER) is localised in East Anglia, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The past participle form of SAY ('sayde') is quite widespread as it is found in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, whereas 'owt' (OUT) is more restricted to Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Norfolk. The spelling realisations of WELL ('wele' and 'well') are also found in this Midland area, as they are present in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Yorkshire.

Complementarily, with the analysis of more variants, the localisation of Hand B has been restricted to the northeast Midlands, as attested by several conclusive features. Two of the orthographic realisations of THE ('y^{e}' and 'ye') have been determining since they are spotted in East Anglia, the East Midlands and the northern counties, whilst 'y^{i}' (which also appears in the text) is not present in *eLALME*. Another form also visible in this area is 'yes' (THESE), with the allograph <y> for <þ>, since both <þes> and <þese> were typical in the Midland area (Brunner 1963, 63; Wright and Wright [1923] 1979, 171). The only variants of EACH ('ylk') and THIRD ('therd') are encountered in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk, whilst the three variants of IS ('es,' 'is' and 'ys') are mainly present in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.[6] Although both 'wyl' and 'wyll' for the third-person singular form of the present indicative of WILL are witnessed in the whole territory, they display a more prominent presence in the border between Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The spelling realisation of EARTH ('erth') is recorded in the East Midlands, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, as it was a usual spelling variant in this area (Wright and Wright [1923] 1979, 31). The forms of EYES ('en' and 'ene') are localised in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and western Derbyshire as they were typical in the north (Brunner 1963, 23). Finally, the form 'fare' (FARE) is highlighted as a northern feature typical in Yorkshire since the end of the fourteenth century (Brunner 1963, 18).

Therefore, with the analysis provided, we can conclude that the place of origin of Hand B may have been the northern part of Lincolnshire in the border with the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire (Figure 1). This hypothesis is reinforced after having made a comparison with three different LPs in *eLALME* that share common linguistic features with Hand B, which are itemised below.

[6] Brunner (1963, 84) highlights 'es' (IS) as an East Midland feature.

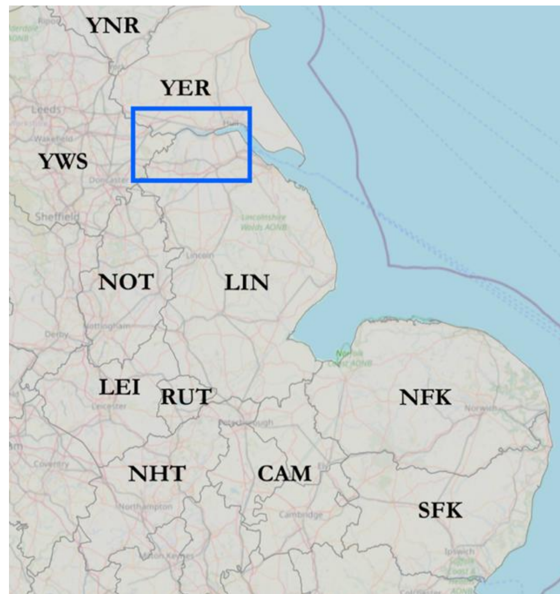

Figure 1. Provenance of Hand B (adapted from *eLALME*).

The first one is LP 491, which shares the greatest number of variants with Hand B in Mun.A.3.127 with a total of twenty-nine different orthographic realisations. It belongs to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A.106, a fifteenth-century manuscript localised in northern Lincolnshire, close to the border with Yorkshire and northern Nottinghamshire, that contains both medical recipes and religious poems. This manuscript is written by several copyists and the part that has been studied in *eLALME* is the one written by Hand A. The common features with Hand B in Mun.A.3.127 are these: 'yes' (THESE), 'sal' (SHALL), 'ye' and 'y^{e}' (THE), 'was' (WAS), 'schuld' (SHOULD), 'wyll' and 'wyl' (WILL), 'all' and 'al' (ALL), 'bot' (BUT), 'erth' (EARTH), 'day' (DAY), 'ee' (EYE), 'gud' and 'gude' (GOOD), 'has' (HAS), 'hede' (HEAD), 'how' (HOW), 'hym' and 'hy*m*' (HIM), 'may' (MAY), 'modyr' (MOTHER), 'owt' (OUT), 'sayde' (SAID), 'well' (WELL), '-er' and '-*er*' (-ER), '-est' (-EST).

The second one is LP 212 and it corresponds to London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A XXIII, a codex written in the first quarter of the fifteenth century that offers expositions to the Ten Commandments. It is localised in northern Lincolnshire in the border with Yorkshire, close to the Humber. It is written in one hand and it shares twenty-six forms with Hand B: 'ylk' (EACH), 'es' (IS), 'sal' (SHALL), 'ye' and 'y^{e}' (THE), 'was' (WAS), 'ye*n*' (THEN), 'wyll' (WILL), 'all' and 'al' (ALL), 'bot' (BUT), 'erth' (EARTH), 'day' (DAY), 'gude' (GOOD), 'has' (HAS), 'hede' (HEAD), 'how' (HOW), 'hym' and 'hy*m*' (HIM), 'may' (MAY), 'modyr' (MOTHER), 'sayde' (SAID), 'therd' (THIRD), '-er' and '-*er*' (-ER), '-est' (-EST).

The third one is LP 45, which pertains to the manuscript London, British Library, MS Royal 17 C. XVII, written by one single hand in the early fifteenth century and localised in northern Lincolnshire next to the border with Yorkshire. It includes a number of different texts: *Nominalia* and Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (among other religious verse and prose texts), *The Life of St Mary Magdalene*, *The Testament of Christ*, *The Prick of Conscience* Book IV and *The*

Legend of the Holy Blood at Hayles. The twenty-five variants shared with Hand B in Mun.A.3.127 are the following: 'es' (IS), 'sal' (SHALL), 'ye' and 'y^{e}' (THE), 'was' (WAS), 'wyll' and 'wyl' (WILL), 'all' and 'al' (ALL), 'bot' (BUT), 'erth' (EARTH), 'day' (DAY), 'ee' (EYE), 'gude' (GOOD), 'has' (HAS), 'hede' (HEAD), 'how' (HOW), 'hym' and 'hy*m*' (HIM), 'may' (MAY), 'modyr' (MOTHER), 'well' (WELL), '-er' and '-*er*' (-ER), '-est' (-EST).

The features shared by these three LPs and the LP of Hand B are: 'ye' and 'y^{e}' (THE), 'was' (WAS), 'wyll' (WILL), 'all' and 'al' (ALL), 'bot' (BUT), 'erth' (EARTH), 'day' (DAY), 'gude' (GOOD), 'has' (HAS), 'hede' (HEAD), 'how' (HOW), 'hym' and 'hy*m*' (HIM), 'may' (MAY), 'modyr' (MOTHER) and '-er' and '-*er*' (-ER).

However, other variants found in the language of Hand B in Mun.A.3.127 are misleading as they are attested in areas which are alien to the proposed location: 'hit' (IT), found in London and western areas; the secondary variant of the third-person singular form of the present indicative of SHALL ('schalle'), more prominent in the Midlands and southern parts of the territory; the second-person singular form of the present indicative of WILL ('wylt'), with a greater presence in East Anglia and the south; the primary form of the third-person singular form of the present indicative of WILL ('wyl'), detected in East Anglia; 'als…as' (AS…AS), localised only in Lancashire; 'fyl' (FILL), spotted in Norfolk and London; 'gost' (GO), witnessed in East Anglia and the south; 'ren' (RUN), encountered in the south only, as well as 'who' and 'wo' (WHO). As it may be expected, these variants do not attach to a particular area within the country and therefore are not determining. Besides, it cannot be concluded that the extract written by Hand B is an example of *Mischsprache* since the number of alien linguistic forms and the frequency of these variants are limited.[7] Finally, a number of items (AGAIN, WH-, DAYS, OR, -LY) are very extended geographically in the whole country, whilst a few other variants also present in the text are not included in *eLALME*: 'fayr'; 'safyr'; 'holle.'

4. Hand C

Hand C can be found in folios 57v-58v and, therefore, an extract of enough extension is available to be analysed and establish a likely geographical origin. What is more, the corresponding variants of seventy-seven items from *eLALME* have been found. These linguistic realisations are given in the LP in the Appendix in descending frequency.

The origin of Hand C can be broadly localised in East Anglia, the East Midlands and Yorkshire because of the presence of the following spelling realisations: 'y^{e}' (THE); 'hym' and 'hy*m*' (HIM); 'on' (ONE); 'out' and 'oute' (OUT); 'wele' (WELL); 'ȝe' (YE); '-ful' (-FULL); the STRONG PAST PARTICIPLE ending '-yn'; 'all' (ALL).

Besides, some other variants are localised in specific counties within these areas: 'yees' (THESE) is found in West Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Cumbria; 'yai' (THEY) is witnessed in Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire,

[7] The defining characteristic of *Mischsprachen* "is the persistent co-occurrence of dialect forms whose regional distributions are such that their geographical overlap cannot reasonably be supposed" (Benskin et al. 2013).

Yorkshire and other northern counties, a fact that is highlighted in previous studies as a northern and Midland realisation (Wright and Wright [1923] 1979, 163; Fulk 2012, 65); the primary spelling realisation of THEN ('yan') is seen in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk, whereas the secondary one ('yen') is visible in Cheshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire; the primary variant of AS ('as') is spotted in the East Midlands and East Anglia, whilst the secondary form ('os') is found more specifically in Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; 'about' (ABOUT) is encountered in Leicestershire, Cambridgeshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire; 'abouen' (ABOVE) is spotted in Rutland, Cambridgeshire and Yorkshire; 'be' (BY) is extensively witnessed in Norfolk, eastern Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire and Lancashire; 'eyne' (EYES) is more prominent in East Anglia, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire; the only variant of HEAD ('hede') is encountered in Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Derbyshire; 'ȝif' (GIVE) is visible in Norfolk, Leicestershire and Staffordshire; 'olde' and 'old' (OLD) are particularly concentrated in Norfolk, the East Midlands and Yorkshire; 'eye' (EYE) is found in the East Midlands and Norfolk; 'olde' and 'old' (OLD) are both found in Norfolk, the East Midlands and Yorkshire.

With the aim to narrow down the area of provenance, other variants have been scrutinised. The ones which offer a more exact location are: 'yem' (THEM) is found in West Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk, as those forms starting with either <þ-> or <th-> instead of <h> in the objective case are of northern and northeast Midland origin (Fulk 2012, 65);[8] 'er' (ARE)[9] and 'als…als' (AS…AS) are particularly encountered in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

The area that stands out is the border between the northern part of Lincolnshire, East and West Yorkshire and the northern part of Nottinghamshire (Figure 2); therefore, Hand C may have been from there. This hypothesis is supported after having compared the LP obtained with three LPs in *eLALME* which are from this area too. These LPs are briefly explained below.

[8] It is important to bear in mind that the use of <y> instead of <þ> became a northern practice (Benskin 1982, 15).
[9] This feature is described as a northern variant by Brunner (1963, 84).

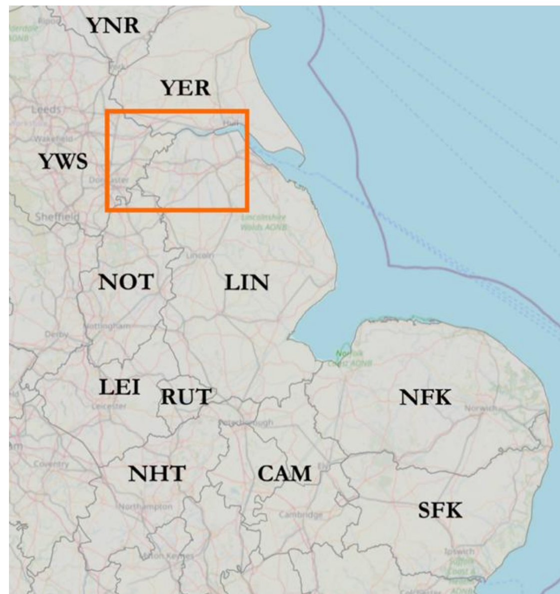

Figure 2. Provenance of Hand C (adapted from *eLALME*).

Firstly, LP 45 is part of the manuscript London, British Library, MS Royal 17 C. XVII. It is localised in northern Lincolnshire in the border with Yorkshire and was written by one single hand at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It includes *Nominalia*, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, *The Life of St Mary Magdalene*, *The Testament of Christ*, *The Prick of Conscience* Book IV and *The Legend of the Holy Blood at Hayles*. It is the one that shares the greatest number of linguistic features with Hand C in Mun.A.3.127 (twenty-three in total), which are the following: 'yai' (THEY), 'es' (IS), 'y^{e}' (THE), 'er' (ARE), 'wyll' (WILL), 'sall' (SHALL), 'yan' (THEN), 'als…als' (AS…AS), 'about' (ABOUT), 'as' (AS), 'all' (ALL), 'be' (BE), 'eyne' (EYES), 'on' (ONE), 'hede' (HEAD), 'hym' and 'hy*m*' (HIM), 'olde' (OLD), 'wele' and 'well' (WELL), 'ȝe' (YE), 'oute' and 'out' (OUT).

Secondly, LP 508 corresponds to Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 6686, a manuscript written either in the first quarter (Benskin et al. 2013) or first half (Digital Birgitta n.d.) of the fifteenth century and localised in the central part of Lincolnshire. This codex was written by different hands and the LP provided in *eLALME* pertains to the poem *Speculum Vitae*, written by Hand B on pages 235-269. Twenty-one spelling realisations coincide with those included in Hand C in Mun.A.3.127: 'yai' (THEY), 'es' (IS), 'y^{e}' (THE), 'er' (ARE), 'wyll' (WILL), 'sall' (SHALL), 'yan' and 'yen' (THEN), 'als…als' (AS…AS), 'as' and 'os' (AS), 'all' (ALL), 'be' (BE), 'on' (ONE), 'hede' (HEAD), 'hym' and 'hy*m*' (HIM), 'olde' (OLD), 'wele' (WELL), 'ȝe' (YE), 'oute' (OUT).

Thirdly, LP 38 belongs to London, Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 511.7, which was written in the second half of the fourteenth century. It is localised in southern Lincolnshire and was written by one single hand. It contains Robert Manning of Brunne's *Chronicle* and his translation of Peter Langtoft's *Gesta Anglorum*. Twenty different linguistic features are present in this text and Hand C in Mun.A.3.127, which are the following: 'yai' (THEY), 'es' (IS), 'er' (ARE), 'sall' (SHALL), 'yan' and 'yen' (THEN), 'about' (ABOUT), 'as' (AS), 'all' (ALL), 'be' (BE), 'on'

(ONE), 'hede' (HEAD), 'hym' and 'hy*m*' (HIM), 'olde' and 'old' (OLD), 'wele' (WELL), 'ȝe' (YE), 'out' and 'oute' (OUT).

In short, these LPs share sixteen different forms with the LP of Hand C: 'yai' (THEY), 'es' (IS), 'er' (ARE), 'sall' (SHALL), 'yan' (THEN), 'as' (AS), 'all' (ALL), 'be' (BE), 'on' (ONE), 'hede' (HEAD), 'hym' and 'hy*m*' (HIM), 'olde' (OLD), 'wele' (WELL), 'ȝe' (YE), 'oute' (OUT).

Finally, in this hand, some orthographic realisations are so general that they are of little use for the localisation of the text. Particularly, these items are: ANY, AGAIN, WH-, THROUGH, WHEN, WEAK PAST PARTICIPLE, FILTH, FIRE, LONG, MAY, STAND. This text may not be an instance of *Mischsprache* as these alien variants exert little influence and are not very frequent. Other forms have demonstrated to be misleading in this localisation process as they may be present in southern parts of the country: 'hys' (HIS); 'who' (WHO); '-ht' (-GHT).

5. Conclusion

In the present paper, the linguistic features of Hands B and C in Mun.A.3.127 have been analysed by means of the model proposed in *eLALME* (Benskin et al. 2013); therefore, two different LPs have been obtained, the 'fit-technique' has been used and the dot and user-defined maps have been checked. The language employed is generally characterised by a high degree of standardisation in these two hands, something typical in England in the late Middle English period (Samuels 1963, 85-89; Blake 1996, 12; Nielsen 2005, 140). Because of the previous aspect, we may notice the presence of a number of orthographic variants which are encountered throughout the whole country and are of little help when trying to localise hands. Still, some other orthographic realisations are recurrent in specific areas or counties and have led to possible localisations.

Indeed, we have been able to conclude that both Hand B and Hand C originate from the eastern part of the country. Hand B might be circumscribed in the border between the northern area of Lincolnshire and East and West Yorkshire. On the other hand, the language of Hand C may be restricted to the border between Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. Neither of these two hands seems to be examples of *Mischsprachen*. The origin of these two scribes is summarised in the figure below (Figure 3).

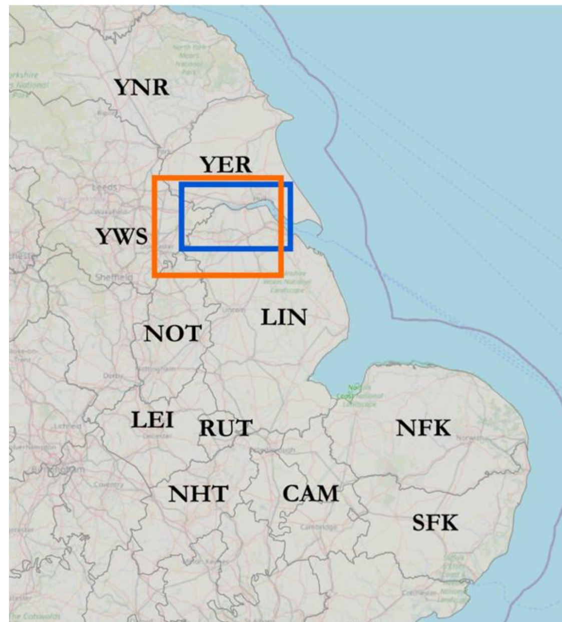

Figure 3. Provenance of Hand B (blue) and Hand C (orange) (adapted from *eLALME*).

The localisations obtained in the analyses provided in the present paper have been compared with a number of LPs in *eLALME* so as to confirm the places of origin of these two copyists in Mun.A.3.127. Several spelling forms are very widespread in the whole territory and offer little dialectal information. However, "the Middle English period is characterised by the absence of a fully institutionalised standard variety" (Taavitsainen 2000, 136), and that gives way to the occurrence of different spelling realisations which help us to locate the texts. Hands B and C in Mun.A.3.127 hence share a number of features with the LPs provided in the analyses and may share a common location.

Finally, the localisations of these two hands are not too far apart from each other, and this may be due to the possible existence of a scriptorium in the East Midlands. Even though the presence of a medical school in this area is unknown (Taavitsainen 2004, 215), McIntosh (1989, 116-117) makes reference to the possible placing of a centre of scribal activity in the area that includes north-eastern Leicestershire, Rutland, northern Northamptonshire, northern Huntingdonshire and parts of northern Ely and north-western Norfolk.[10] This scriptorium may have been specialised in learned texts, particularly in "surgical and anatomical writings, especially by Chauliac and Ardene, but not exclusively" (Taavitsainen 2004, 214).

[10] Benskin (1981, 11, cited in Taavitsainen 2004) wonders how it is possible to find such a big amount of scientific writing coming from that small area.

Appendix

1. Linguistic profile of Hand B

Items	Spelling variants and frequencies
THE	y^{e} (63×), y^{i} (7×), ye (2×), ^{ye} (1×)
THESE	yes (1×)
HER	hir’ (1×), hyr’ (1×)
IT	yt (30×), it (19×), ^{it} (2×), hit (1×)
THEM	he*m* (6×), ye*m* (4×)
EACH	ylk (1×)
MAN	genitive: mans (3×), man*ne* (1×)
IS	es (15×), is (1×), ys (1×)
WAS	was (1×)
SHALL	2nd pers. sing. pres. ind.: sall (1×)
	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: sal (5×), schalle (2×), sall (1×), shall’ (1×), s[all] (1×)
SHOULD	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: schuld (1×)
WILL	2nd pers. sing. pres. ind.: wylt (1×)
	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: wyl (4×), wyll (2×), will (1×), wyll’ (1×)
TO	to + infinitive + consonant: to (4×)
	to + preposition + consonant: to (4×)
	to + preposition + <h>: to (2×)
FROM	preposition: fro (1×), from’ (1×)
THEN	ye*n* (4×), then’ (1×)
IF	yf (2×)
AS	os (2×), as (1×)
AS…AS	als…as (3×)
AGAIN	agayn’ (1×)
WH-	wh- (10×), w- (1×)
NOT	not (4×)
THERE	y*er* (3×)
THROUGH	preposition: thoro (3×)
WHEN	when (3×), when’ (2×)
SUBSTANTIVE PLURAL	-s (23×), -*es* (7×), -is (5×), -ys (3×), -es (1×), -us (1×)
PRESENT PARTICIPLE	-y*ng* (9×), -yn’ (1×), -yng’ (1×), -ynge (1×)
2ND PERS. SING. PRES. IND.	-st (2×), -yst (1×)
WEAK PAST PARTICIPLE	-d (2×)
STRONG PAST PARTICIPLE	-en (1×), -yn’ (1×)
ALL	all’ (4×), al (3×)
ALSO	also (4×)
AWAY	adverb: a way (2×)
	preposition: a way (2×), away (2×)
BE	infinitive: be (9×)
BEFORE	adverb: be for’ (1×)

BOTH	bothe (1×)
BURN	imperative: bren (1×)
BUT	bot (2×)
BUY	3rd pers. sing. pret. ind.: boght' (1×)
COME	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: cums (1×)
CAST	imperative: cast (1×)
DAY	day (2×)
DAYS	days (2×)
DO	imperative: do (8×)
	infinitive: do (1×)
EARTH	erth (1×), erth' (1×)
EYE	ee (1×)
EYES	en' (1×), ene (1×)
FAIR	fare (1×), fayr (1×)
	superlative: fayrest (1×)
FILL	fyl (1×)
FIRE	fyr (1×), fyre (1×)
FOR-TO	for to (1×)
GET	imperative: g^{e}t (1×)
GO	2nd pers. sing. pres. ind.: gost (1×)
GOOD	gude (12×), gud (2×)
HAVE	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: has (3×)
	3rd pers. sing. past ind.: had (2×)
HEAD	hede (2×)
HIM	hym' (9×), hy*m* (8×)
HIS	hys (3×)
HOLD	infinitive: hold (1×)
HOW	how (1×)
LET	imperative: lat (4×), let (3×)
LONG	lo*n*g (1×)
MAKE	imperative: mak (3×), make (1×)
	past participle: made (2×)
MAY	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: may (5×)
	3rd pers. plural pres. ind.: may (1×)
MOTHER	modyr (1×)
OR	or (9×)
OUT	preposition: owt (2×), out' (1×), oute (1×)
PRAY	3rd pers. sing. past ind.: p*ra*yd (1×)
RUN	infinitive: ren' (1×)
THE-SAME	ye sam*m*e (1×)
SAY	past participle: sayde (1×)
SILVER	sylu*er* (1×)
SLAY	infinitive: sle (1×)
	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: sle (1×)
STEAD	stede (1×)
STRONG	stro*n*ge (1×)
SUFFER	infinitive: safyr (1×)
TAKE	imperative: take (16×), tak (10×)
	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: take (1×)
THEE	y^{e} (1×)

THIRD	therd (1×)
TOGETHER	to gedyr (8×), to geder (1×)
WELL	well' (9×), well (2×), welle (1×)
WHO	who (4×), wo (1×)
WHOLE	hole (4×), holle (1×)
WITH	with (18×), wyth' (1×)
WITHOUT	preposition: *with* outyn' (1×)
YOU	you (4×)
-ALD	-ald (1×)
-ER	*-er* (41×), -er (8×), -er' (1×)
-EST	-est (1×)
-FUL	-fule (1×), -full' (1×)
-LY	-ly (3×)
UN-	vn- (1×)
-HT	-ght' (6×), -ght (1×), -ghte (1×)
K FOR C	(1×)
ABSENCE OF Y-PREFIX IN PAST PARTICIPLE	(5×)
'BRENGE' IN BRING	bren*g* (2×)
<T> FOR <D> IN WEAK PAST PARTICIPLE	-et (1×)
DOUBLING CONSONANT AFTER LONG VOWEL	-ll- (1×)
	-n*n*- (4×), -nn- (1×)
DOUBLING OF CONSONANT	-mm- (4×)
<NNE> AS IN CHILDREN, OPEN	-nee (7×)

2. Linguistic profile of Hand C

Items	Spelling variants and frequencies
THE	y^{e} (47×), ^{ye} (1×)
THESE	yees (1×)
IT	it (41×)
THEY	yai (1×)
THEM	yem (10×), yem' (4×), *yem* (1×)
EACH	ich (1×), ych' (1×)
ANY	any (1×)
ARE	3rd pers. plural pres. ind.: er' (3×)
IS	be (5×), es (2×), is (1×)
SHALL	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: shall' (8×), sall' (1×)
	2nd pers. sing. pres. ind.: shalt (1×)
WILL	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: wyll' (1×)
TO	to + infinitive + consonant: to (3×)
	to + infinitive + <h>: to (1×)
	as preposition + consonant: to (6×)
	as preposition + vowel: to (1×)
AFTER	adverb: aft*ir* (1×)

	preposition: aft*ir* (1×)
THEN	yan (3×), yen (2×)
IF	if (3×)
AS	as (1×), os (1×)
AS…AS	als…als (1×)
AGAIN	agayne (1×)
WHILE	whyle (1×)
WH-	wh- (9×)
THERE	*yer* (12×)
THROUGH	preposition: thorugh' (5×), thorugh (1×)
WHEN	when (2×), when' (2×)
SUBSTANTIVE PLURAL	-*es* (10×), -es (8×), -eys (2×), -is (2×), -s (2×)
PRESENT PARTICIPLE	-yng' (1×)
WEAK PAST PARTICIPLE	-d (1×), -ed (1×), -ede (1×)
STRONG PAST PARTICIPLE	-yn' (2×)
ABOUT	adverb: about (1×)
	preposition: about (1×)
ABOVE	adverb: abouen' (1×)
ALL	all (2×), all' (2×)
ALSO	also (1×)
BE	infinitive: be (3×)
BOTH	bothe (1×)
BY	be (1×)
DAY	day (2×)
DO	imperative: do (7×)
	infinitive: do (2×)
EYE	eye (3×)
EYES	eyne (7×)
FILTH	fylth' (1×), fylthe (1×)
FIRE	fyr' (1×), fyre (1×)
FOR-TO	ffor to (1×)
GATHER	imperative: ged*er* (2×)
GIVE	imperative: ȝif (1×)
GO	2nd pers. sing. pres. ind.: gose (2×)
GOOD	gode (1×)
GREAT	gretane (1×)
HAVE	infinitive: haf (1×)
	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: has (1×)
HEAD	hede (1×)
HEADS	hed*es* (2×)
HIM	hy*m* (2×), hym' (1×)
HIS	hys (2×)
LET	imperative: lat (1×)
LITTLE	lytyll' (2×), litill' (1×)
LONG	longe (1×)
MAKE	imperative: make (3×)
	infinitive: make (1×)

MAY	2nd pers. sing. pres. ind.: may (1×)
OLD	olde (2×), old (1×)
ONE	pronoun: on (2×)
OR	or (12×)
OUT	adverb: out (1×)
	preposition: out (3×), oute (1×)
STAND	infinitive: stond (1×), stonde (1×)
	3rd pers. sing. pres. ind.: stond*es* (1×)
SUFFER	infinitive: safe
TAKE	imperative: take (22×), tak (5×), thak (1×)
TOGETHER	to ged*er* (6×)
WELL	wele (6×), well' (2×)
WHO	who (1×)
WITH	wi*th* (12×)
YE	ȝe (1×)
YOU	y*o*u (2×), you (2×)
-ER	-er (7×)
-FUL	-full' (1×)
-HT	-ght' (9×)
K FOR C	-k- (1×)
TH- FOR T-	th- (1×)
DOUBLING OF CONSONANT AFTER LONG VOWEL	-ss- (1×)
F FOR MEDIAL V	(1×)
-W- FOR -U-	(1×)

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The work under review offers a thorough examination of Indigenous arts and literatures, where the concept of futurity emerges as a central theme. *The Future Imaginary in Indigenous North American Arts and Literatures* (2022) opens with Baudemann's discussion of *Walking the Clouds* (2012), an anthology of American Indian science fiction. Edited by Grace Dillon, this volume introduces the concept of 'Indigenous futurisms' (quoted in Baudemann 2022, 2), a notion that resonates with Baudemann because it summarizes perspectives articulated by contemporary Indigenous artists and authors across various mediums. For Baudemann, *Walking the Clouds* is a narrative archive manifesting Indigenous futurism through works of science fiction, speculative fiction and the fantastic (the three terms used by Dillon to identify Indigenous literary works of futurities). Accordingly, and this is what matters to Baudemann, Native American works of science fiction do not "link the Native to the exotic, lost, unknown, or belated" (42), as it is often the case in colonial narratives. Instead, they revitalize, revive and extend their voices and cultures. Moreover, while science fiction appears to be the main representation of Indigenous futurism, it is not the sole field of intellectual creativity mastered by Native American authors and artists that portrays Indigenous futurism. Indigenous futurism, which Baudemann believes to be a foundational element of Native American arts and literatures, is apparent in fictional narrative works and digital and nonfictional works such as video games and exhibitions.

Baudemann's primary cause for the study is the widely held belief that Indigenous peoples have been excluded from the colonial metanarratives of the future and, as her study implies, they have no counter-arguments. This ontology of supremacy is identified by Jason Edward Lewis (2016) as "future imaginary" (quoted in Baudemann 2022, 4) and characterized by Patrick Wolfe (2006) as "logic of elimination" (quoted in Baudemann 2022, 4). Meanwhile, to spotlight the presence of the "Indigenous future imaginar*ies*" (4), which take shape through multiple, co-existing ways of anticipating, Baudemann aims to focus on the presence of "the cultural archives of the future in Indigenous literatures and new media arts" (4). She does, however, clarifies her disapproval regarding the notion that digitality is replacing textuality. Thereby, in the analysis of some digital works of art, the author emphasizes the text behind the digital piece rather than accepting any "filmic or dramatic narrative theories" (10).

The Future Imaginary in Indigenous North American Arts and Literatures is a manifestation of Baudemann's readings and interpretations of "the hypothetical scenarios of coming times [, which] relate to Indigenous people's existence in a colonial past and [how their] present looms large over computer-simulated landscapes, post-apocalyptic rubble, space frontiers, and the hive-like structures of cyberpunk cities" (2022, 3). The book has three introductory sections: "'Turning our Backs on Mars'—Futures Seen through the Window of an Indigenous Starship" (1-12), "Futureanalysis: Toward a Critical Paradigm" (13-35) and "Apocryphal Futures: Indigenous and Other Archives" (36-66). Then, the book is divided into two parts where the argument of future imaginaries is developed. In the first part, "(Un)Writing the Future" (67-172), Baudemann considers works by Gerald Vizenor and Stephen Graham Jones to articulate fictional textual imaginaries of Indigenous peoples' future. Then, in the second part of the book, "(Dis)simulating the Future" (173-232), she brings in her understanding of future imaginaries founded on cyberspaces, highlighting Indigenous challenges and viewpoints through new media, those which are designed by artists like Skawennati.

Within the introductory sections, Baudemann takes on the concept of 'cultural archives' (2022, 4) to effectively clarify the construction of Indigenous future imaginaries. She emphasizes the significance of Indigenous archives articulated in digital and textual works to blur the structure of colonial future archives where Indigenous peoples are absent. Being concerned with the essence of archives arises from the perception that archives define the future. Based on Foucault's archive logic, Baudemann asserts that "the archive [...] manifests itself in a dynamic of exclusion as well as inclusion. It is a sorting principle according to which some pieces of information are selected to matter—and thereby become information—and others do not" (2022, 38). The archive is a "structuring force" (38) that determines why things are put together. In this sense, Indigenous peoples are not archived as present in the future because they are primarily identified as the past that the frontiers had to deal with. In any archive of colonial future imaginaries, "Indigeneity is [articulated as] antithetical to modern technologies, and, by extension, to the future" (47). However, in agreement with Derrida's (1995) thought on the "*archive fever*" (quoted in Baudemann 2022, 40) and its open-ended formation that resists and facilitates its deconstruction, the archive composed by Indigenous intellectuals, according to Baudemann, is understood and used to combat as a framework for the transformation of future imaginaries. It is so because "what is perceived as a disorder [, as it does not agree with the mainstream archive,] is nothing but an Other order threatening to interfere with it, an Other archive that collects and stores *differently*" (40).

With considerable interest in specifying works where archives of future imaginaries emerge on behalf of Indigenous peoples, Baudemann reports the archives of science fiction, examining how their cultural significance derive from imaginaries of the future that they construct. In this context, she draws on Dillon's (2012) argument that science fiction produced by Indigenous intellectuals and artists helps to "renew, recover, and extend First Nations peoples' voices and traditions" (quoted in Baudemann 2022, 41). Also, Dillon's (2012) concept of "apocryphal futures" (quoted in Baudemann 2022, 59) in science fiction triggers Baudemann's statement that "calling Indigenous futures *apocrypha* reveals such

texts, letters, and narratives as potentially dangerous, since their very existence points toward the fact that the archive is not an all-encompassing structure" (59). In this sense, Indigenous authors, who write science fiction have the ability to combine artistic practice with social and political criticism. Furthermore, Baudemann expands the notion of Indigenous future archives in science fiction to include works transmitted through other mediums, specifically those referred to as 'new media.' To her, "the term *new media* describes digital, computer-based systems, […] it might also be applied to any information distributing technology that is new" (47). The emphasis on new media creation of literatures and arts along with science fiction is Baudemann's way to show that Indigenous future imaginaries are not "an evolution, but a return" (58). Futuristic works of art and literature are modes to help Indigenous peoples' return to their ancestors' ways of understanding past and future times.

In the initial textual analyses, Baudemann employs three literary works of Gerald Vizenor: *Bearheart: The Heirship Chronicles* (1990, hereafter *Bearheart*), *The Heirs of Columbus* (1991, *Heirs*) and *Treaty Shirts: October 2034—A Familiar Treatise on The White Earth Nation* (2016, *Treaty Shirts*). Each work, as she reads them, presents a post-apocalyptic setting, and, in doing so, archives Indigenous future imaginaries. In *Bearheart*, some Indigenous pilgrims travel west, treading over the ruins of the Anglo-American civilization. They employ storytelling to express what they believe of the world's temporality from an Indigenous perspective. "The pilgrims' story, then, is not only *about*, but also *of the Indigenous* future: it consists of an act of creation that connects the end of the novel with its beginning, and thereby un-writes the metanarratives that constitute the colonial archive" (Baudemann 2022, 79). *Bearheart* retells the traditional Indigenous apocalypse that was popularized by the mainstream. It denotes the existence of an archive created by the marginalized (the Others), a canon of future imaginaries that speak of a different kind of temporality than the one preserved in settler colonial archives. Ultimately, *Bearheart* renders the colonial narrative of Indigenous peoples defunct.

Moreover, in the reflection on Vizenor's *Heirs*, Baudemann emphasizes the author's use of Columbus's journal as an objective text to overwrite the colonial archive and anticipate the Indigenous future. Columbus's journal, as the novel shows, indicates his scorn for Indigenous culture, emphasizing their primitiveness as a sign of his enslaving civilization. Yet, as the plot develops to its climatic scenes, Columbus's successors, the heirs who have Indigenous blood, call for the right to reclaim the Indigenous land through deconstruction aiming at "ruination of the colonial archive" (2022, 84). To achieve this, the narrative unfolds through speculative fiction, which constructs a hypothetical science not grounded in empirical fact. Through storytelling and other Indigenous scientific practices, the author introduces the idea of genetic engineering, in which the ancestral genetic signature is reactivated and implanted in descendants.

With respect to those aforementioned works of Vizenor, Baudemann suggests that *Treaty Shirts* has a different plot which depicts a more vivid futuristic archive of Indigenous futurities. In her understanding, "while *Bearheart* and *Heirs* both map out ways to transform the archive from within, *Treaty Shirts* envisions a sovereign Indigenous archive, with the Constitution of the White Earth Nation at its core" (2022, 100). *Treaty Shirts* restructures the concept of the future by

positioning it as the primary narrative setting: the story unfolds in 2034, with 2013 functioning as a flashback.

Following Vizenor, Baudemann articulates an examination of three works by Stephen Graham Jones—*The Fast Red Road: A Plainsong* (2000, hereafter *TFRR*), *The Bird Is Gone: A Monograph Manifesto* (2003, *Bird*) and *Ledfeather* (2008)—to argue that "the future arises from an Indigenous archive of apocryphal texts" (2022, 112). Although these novels employ fragmented, non-linear and experimental narrative forms to depict the persistence of colonial violence and trauma, they also offer glimpses of Indigenous resurgence and hope by presenting Indigenous perspectives on the horrors of coloniality. Jones, as Baudemann notes, crafts narratives that "weave an atmosphere of horror into the colonial vision of Indigenous disappearance"; yet their resolutions affirm that "the Indigenous future arises as the final, and logical, step in a natural order of things" (112). Jones's works, then, function as fictional manipulations of colonial ideologies, suggesting that "the [sad] future these texts hold is, albeit pre-scripted rather than pre-destined, no less real for the characters" (Baudemann 2022, 115). In other words, the bleak futures predicted by colonial narratives are shown to be forced constructions, not inevitable outcomes, so long as Indigenous nations continue to exist and contest their dark histories of oppression.

In Dillon's (2012) classification of science fiction by Indigenous writers, Jones's *TFRR* is described as "Native Slipstream," which means that the text "views time as pasts, presents, and futures that flow together like currents in a navigable stream" (quoted in Baudemann 2022, 125). Building on this, Baudemann argues that Jones depicts time as layered and space as twisted, enabling his characters, who are both surviving and anticipating futurities, to slip through the plot while carrying ideas and experiences that cannot be excluded, such as oppression, neglect and marginalization. In this way, the reality of colonial destruction of Indigenous lives and cultures remains active within Indigenous future imaginaries, challenging the utopian visions that sometimes appear in Indigenous narratives, where the painful realities of being Indigenous are often left unacknowledged. To highlight Jones's role in shaping future imaginaries, Baudemann draws on John Blair Gamber's (2014) argument that Jones creates compelling visions of the future. She writes:

> The Territories [in Jones's works] appear like a cruel mockery of the Ghost Dancers' dream of eutopia, a 'good place' without white people to which the buffalo and lost loved ones would return. The characters' stories speak of domestic violence and rape, rather than healing, and many of the Indigenous people in the Territories cover up blue eyes with contacts and hide blonde hair beneath black wigs to fake an absence of whiteness in an all-Indigenous state (Baudemann 2022, 137).

Accordingly, Jones's works reflect a postmodern reality that rewrites colonial histories. They bring to light issues that are frequently overlooked in dominant historical and future narratives. Consequently, through Jones's future imaginaries, marked by violence and harm, Baudemann (2022, 114) emphasizes that a future envisioned through nostalgic recollections of the past is toxic and can never be optimistic or utopian.

As a central idea running through her interpretation of Jones's works on Indigenous future imaginaries, Baudemann (2022, 116) highlights the concept of 'apocalyptic apocrypha,' which Jones introduces in *TFRR*. This concept draws inspiration from the notion of apocrypha as biblical texts excluded from the New Testament due to their dubious authenticity. In relation to dominant narratives of coloniality, the mainstream archive has similarly excluded many apocalyptic narratives—narratives that Jones's plots recover and return to the archive of Indigenous futurity. The apocalyptic apocrypha narratives, then, function as acts of resistance, offering alternative storytelling that challenges mainstream colonial narratives about the supposed apocalyptic destiny of Indigenous peoples and their exclusion from the future. These apocryphal futures are dangerous to colonial structures precisely because their very existence reveals that the colonial archive is selective and not all-encompassing.

The frontier narratives of Manifest Destiny, which justified expansion onto Indigenous lands, and John Gast's famous allegorical painting *American Progress* (1872), for example, reappear in Jones's fiction not as celebrations of technological and religious expansion, where Indigenous people remain "parts of a pre-modern world order" (Baudemann 2022, 116), but as horror stories that obscure the death and devastation of Native characters (114). Thus, in Jones's depiction of the Goliards—a pro-Indigenous sect committed to rearguing narratives of the epic Old West, who ultimately perish—he modifies visions of an Indigenous future. The Goliards, who adopt a logo of a happy face with eagle feathers, carry symbolic weight: as Baudemann argues, this emblem "connotes an existence of the characters beyond death, i.e., beyond the Native Apocalypse of colonialism" (118). The Goliards embody a logic that "the future is the temporal past: the pre-historic past is the place in the direction of which everything is inevitably headed" (122). Believing in that, the Goliards perceive the necessity of performing a postmodern Ghost Dance capable of wiping out coloniality (120).

In the second part of *The Future Imaginary in Indigenous North American Arts and Literatures*, Baudemann examines works of cyberspace that articulate Indigenous futurist imaginaries through internet technologies and digital media practices, highlighting how their development of virtual reality offers a distinctive level of imaginative reflections. The author conducts these spaces since it is expected that new media technologies will be the emerging platforms for commenting on the future. Accordingly, cyberspace imaginaries may have the agency to surpass fictional tale imaginaries. It is worth noting that Baudemann reports personal interactions with these cyberspaces, which lend authenticity to her insights and give her a credible engagement with Indigenous futurist imaginaries.

As a first example of cyberspace works, Baudemann explores Skawennati's machinima *TimeTraveller*™ and stresses its innovative virtual power articulating future visions of the Indigenous past and present. For Baudemann, the series of *TimeTraveller*™ offers cyberspaces that "explicitly discuss representations of Indigeneity in the archive of sf futures" (2022, 180). Skawennati's *TimeTraveller*™ is a virtual reality depiction of key Indigenous historical events, presented through unanticipated narratives. Hunter, the main character of *TimeTraveller*™, time-travels to several historical periods and tells different Indigenous stories. He, for example, conducts traditional ceremonies on

cyberspaces rather than on Earth. At some point of watching *TimeTraveller™*, Hunter's universe and words grow into digital universes populated by Indigenous countries. Hunter, the Indigenous time traveler, does not appear to be culturally lost, yet he maintains his sense of belonging. Time, then, is presented as a stream of people, events, traditions and objects. Eventually, in Baudemann's words, the importance of Skawennati's digital creations of Indigenous worlds lies in her "acts of 'retelling and reimagining' […] the future on her own terms" (181). They are her method of connecting narratives of "the Indigenous past with an imagined positive future" (181).

Second, Baudemann offers several examples of *The 2167 Virtual Reality (VR) Project*,[1] all created within cyberspaces that simulate the future of Indigenous peoples, organized by imagineNATIVE presenter, and featured in Canada's 150th-anniversary festivities. As the digital new media generate an alternate temporality, viewers—whether Indigenous or not—notice a glaring absence of conventional images of the future. All virtual presentations concentrate on the daily Indigenous rhythms of cultural heritage and progress that may cross or go against the time narratives of Canadian and American nation-building. In the end, "[each] VR piece imagines an Indigenous sovereign usage of their traditional homelands and a restoration through traditional practices" (205). They dispel misconceptions about Indigenous peoples' futures, inaccurately argued by the mainstream as a single group, and they reflect Indigenous authority and opposition.

In the third section, Skawennati, a Mohawk multimedia artist, reappears with her subsequent machinima *She Falls for Ages* (2017) and *The Peacemaker Returns* (2022). Baudemann underlines the use of Indigenous women's tremendous potential engagement in constructing a futuristic archive in these pieces. She stated that Skawennati's female avatars' mediation "challenge colonial future imaginaries as patriarchal" (211). *She Falls for Ages* is a cyberspace digital production that recreates the traditional Haudenosaunee oral story of Turtle Island's origin. Skywoman, Otsitsakaion's avatar, is pregnant when she departs her Skyworld. Pregnancy is effectively used as a metaphor for re-productivity that provides women with the power to structure the future. The journey of Skywoman through the ages signifies the female rite of passage from the past to the future. It is a journey that, according to Baudemann, "disrupts the male gaze common to colonial discourses where Indigenous women become metonymic representations of the New World and their bodies inanimate vessels for the explorers' desires" (214). The fictitious elements *of She Falls for Ages*, according to Baudemann, are a "Native slipstream" (213) of science fiction because Skywoman does not employ any form of travel machine in her journey. Skawennati eventually transforms Indigenous apocalyptic legends into stories of renewal by using *Second Life*'s cyberspace. The forever embroidery suggests regeneration in the sense of belonging to historical traditions, as argued in the debate between Skywoman and her daughter concerning needle works on their clothes.

[1] See https://grunt.ca/exhibitions/2167-an-indigenous-vr-project/ for further information.

Baudemann's examination of *She Falls for Ages*, as well as all other examples of Indigenous future imaginaries, encourage readers to pause and consider how hazy the concept of the future is often perceived in mainstream culture. According to this hypothesis, Hollywood, mainstream media and dominant cultural narratives will not constitute future resources since counter-narratives may arise. Imagining the future is a time story that utilizes numerous structures conducted by different nations. As a result of Skawennati's active endeavor, Indigenous viewers who are culturally related to the story become decolonized and reconciled with their beliefs about the future. Skyworld is Skywoman's past, and living on Turtle Island (the New World) is the future instead of the mainstream widespread habit of inspecting the sky for the future. *The Peacemaker Returns* is significantly more complex and intertwined with Indigenous beliefs. Tekanaw: ta, the traditional male Peacemaker, joins forces with two female peacemakers on a quest: Kahentéhshon and Iotetshèn:'en. The first represents the 2017 viewers, living during Trump's presidency, while the latter is the thirty-first century's future. Iotetshèn:'en "embodies a non-colonial archive, storing, preserving, sharing, and interpreting historical data" (Baudemann 2022, 223). Her national affiliation is not explicit, whereas her traditions are. In popular culture, as Baudemann argues, these future visions are typically portrayed as utopias. Indigenous future images, as Baudemann borrows from Lucy Sargisson, are eutopias, "reflect[ing] aspirations and worlds that people would like to see" (quoted in Baudemann 2022, 220). Skywoman and Iotetshèn:'en's narration are Skawennati's tools for female archive functions. It is essential to say that emphasizing future aspects does not mean having an insufficient past. For Baudemann, "catastrophe and renewal happen in cycles" (2022, 222). There is no time when Indigenous lives are not overshadowed by tragedy or when they delight in their rebirth. None of those choices are available in real life. Everything happens in a recurrent pattern.

Having gained a good understanding of Native American paradigms of studies before reading Baudemann's book, I found it incredibly helpful in its modern approach to examining Indigenous arts and literatures. The book's richness provided me with valuable insights that I would not have otherwise discovered. As Baudemann concludes, the Indigenous authors' and artists' profound vision of the future in its "post-apocalypse [narration] is neither new nor *the end*" (2022, 231). They are creating their canons for which they must discover new methods to express their provocative views of the future. Each method then is an "archive," and each work is a "manifesto," forming a web of many alternative future imaginaries, "entire worlds" (231).

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