The George Sand Association at Thirty: A Collaborative Essay on the First Ten Years (1976-1986)

(Written on the Occasion of the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Founding of the GSA)

"It all began in the spring of 1976," Natalie Datlof recalled, as we sat around a table at a Chinese restaurant in Greenwich Village. The four of us-Natalie, Marie Collins, Alex Szogyi, and Thelma Jurgrau-founding members of the Friends of George Sand, from which the George Sand Association originated-met to go back to that historical moment in our collective memory. At that time, Natalie was attending Professor Edwin L. Dunbaugh's seminar in European Cultural History at Hofstra University. Assigned to choose an influential nineteenth-century figure, she chose George Sand for her role as the unofficial Minister of Propaganda who wrote a series of unsigned "Letters to the People," for the 1848 Republican government of France. Natalie was responding to the growing influence of the Women's Movement in academia as she questioned the anonymity of Sand's role. The realization that Sand had died a century earlier added to the historian's interest in this accomplished woman whose reputation as a novelist had been eclipsed by preoccupation with her exceptional life. Coincidentally, PBS presented a seven-part series, "Notorious Woman," starring Rosemary Harris as George Sand. The confluence of those events-seminar, television show, centennial, and rising interest in Women's Studies-gave birth to the idea to celebrate a figure so central to the nineteenth century.

Thelma remembered that 1976 was also the year that brought Georges Lubin to New York as part of a speaking tour sponsored by the French Cultural Services. She had just finished her dissertation on the country novels of George Sand and George Eliot,¹ research that relied on M. Lubin's edition of Sand's *Œuvres autobiographiques*, published in 1970.² Ellen Moers, a pioneer in Women's Studies, invited him to the CUNY Graduate Center to meet interested faculty and students, many of whom were already familiar with his contribution to Sand's literary legacy.³ An invitation from Natalie to appear at Hofstra was also part of his itinerary. The response of the scholars who attended M. Lubin's talks inspired her to organize a conference, "The George Sand Centennial, November 1976." The following history has emerged from documents from our archives, as well as from the records and recollections of others in addition to the four mentioned above.⁴

Sponsored jointly bv various Hofstra departments, the conference program focused on Sand within the social, political, and cultural context of her time and place. In his message of welcome, President James Shuart paid tribute to her as "an extraordinary woman who dominated the cultural world in her lifetime." Two of eleven presenters focused on Sand's writing-Nancy Rogers on social protest in Sand's early work, and Alex Szogyi on the narrative voice in Lucrezia Floriani. Others were concerned with linking Sand to her contemporaries in Russia (Leslie Herrmann and Carole Karp); in England (Paul Blount and Thelma Jurgrau); and in France (Janis Glasgow and Aaron Noland). Professor Noland may be remembered for his strong identification with Sand's critic, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, which prompted him to play devil's advocate to the generally pro-Sand audience at the conference. Dennis O'Brien spoke on the question of Sand's feminism, and Enid Standring, on the musical connection between Sand and Berlioz. A musician who rarely appeared without her two clarinets in tow. Professor Standring not only added color to our early conferences but was also among the first Sandistes to go beyond the obvious Chopin connection.

The importance of music in Sand's work was further acknowledged by a performance, on the first evening, by the Hofstra String Quartet, of Romantic chamber music by Schubert and Brahms. The following afternoon there was a recital of pieces by Chopin and Liszt performed by two students. On the last night, Bizet's opera *The Pearl Fishers* was performed by the Concert Orchestra and Choir of Long Island under the baton of Maestro Laszlo Halascz. The last day of the conference was still vivid in Thelma's mind as she recalled the five or six participants who attended the first in a series of workshops she would lead for the purpose of organizing a group translation of *Histoire de ma* vie. Sixty-five translators were eventually recruited to complete the 72-chapter work, a project that took ten years. SUNY Press published Story of My Life, the first unabridged English translation into of Sand's autobiography, in 1990, but the impulse came from that first conference.

Greetings by various dignitaries focusing on the woman herself enhanced the celebratory atmosphere of the 1976 gathering. André Gadaud, Cultural Counselor to the French "Not only Embassy, wrote: does [the conference] show the importance of this great French writer and the relevance of her work to our contemporaries, but it also indicates the very particular role played in 19th-century France by this great lady...." Henri Peyre contributed a piece on "The Presence of George Sand Among Us," and Joseph Barry, author of Infamous Woman: The Life of George Sand, wrote: "To be George Sand-to break the mold and become herself-was perhaps the most feminist act of the nineteenth century." In addition, Gérard Roubichou, Cultural Attaché to the French Embassy, presented an award to actress Rosemary Harris, who had brought George Sand to life on the TV screens of millions of Americans.

Ever interested in the George Sand phenomenon, Alex remembered sitting in his office (he was then chairman of the Romance Languages department of Hunter College) and taking time out to call Natalie at Hofstra to share his delight on receiving a flier announcing the conference. She invited him to participate in forming a new Sand society, a vision intensified by the excitement of shared interest and knowledge generated at the conference. Among those who had sent wishes for success was Martine Beaufils, founder of Les Amis de George Sand. A number of us began meeting with the idea in mind of forming a counterpart to Les Amis and publishing a newsletter for scholars in the US. The conference also resulted in the publication of The George Sand Papers: Conference *Proceedings, 1976*, containing papers by the Sandistes referred to earlier, whose names are still familiar to us thirty years later.

The hope of the FGS was to provide an ongoing forum for scholars to share ideas on Sand's life, work, and influence. That hope took wing when a special session devoted to her work was scheduled the Modern at Language Association's meeting in Chicago the following year, 1977. The call for papers for this session, organized by Paul Blount and Thelma Jurgrau, caught the eye of a prospective member who would lead us to maturity as president of our organization for the last eight years. Annabelle Rea remembers that her paper on Sand's use of fairy tales and myths was later published with the others from that session, in Blount's Studies in the Literary Imagination 12.2 (1979): 37-47.

The MLA connection provided further outreach to US institutions such as Rutgers University in Newark, where Marie Collins had been Chair of Language the Foreign and Literature department. Marie became one of the founding members, along with the others whose names still appear on the masthead of GSS. She recalled attending many of the MLA sessions devoted to Sand annually from that time to the present. It was via Marie Collins, who hired her as an instructor in French, in 1977, that Isabelle Naginski was first drawn into Sand studies. Marie asked her to review the Espinosa translation of Lélia for the FGS Newsletter, the very first review Isabelle ever wrote. Again through Marie, she participated in a roundtable, "Le Phénomène George Sand," organized by Alex and sponsored by the AATF, where she met Peter Sourian, husband of Ève, who hired her to teach at Bard College. Isabelle feels that much of her career as a Sandiste is owing to Marie and Alex.

Our network was widened the following year, 1978, at a second conference at Hofstra, organized by Natalie: "George Sand: Her Life, Her Works, Her Influence." Members of our initial group—Janis Glasgow, Nancy Rogers, Paul Blount, Thelma Jurgrau, Marie Collins, returned as participants, and new scholars joined, whose names are still familiar—Marie-Jacques Hoog, Marilyn Yalom, Lucy Schwartz, Pierrette Daly, Ève Sourian, Michael Danahy, Robert Jones, Sergine Dixon, Tatiana Greene. On that occasion, interest in Sand's links to writers were expanded to include American connections. while relations with her compatriots were enlarged beyond Balzac to include Delacroix and Madame de Staël. But more attention than at the first conference was paid to particular novels-Consuelo, Indiana, Jacques, Lélia, La Petite Fadette. (At that time few of Sand's works were as yet available in inexpensive editions.) A second publication of conference proceedings followed, containing a bibliography by Gaylord Brynolfson, literature bibliographer at Princeton University, listing 485 items published from 1964 to 1980, including more than 30 dissertations by scholars in the US, France, Canada, the UK, West Germany, and the Soviet Union.⁵

In keeping with the increased attention to Sand's texts, the second conference was highlighted by performances that included a "concert reading" of excerpts from Sand's work, as well as a "dramatic reading" of an early play. Alex recollected that in keeping with his constant interest in Sand's theatre and desire to encourage the revival of her plays, he translated the Prologue of *Les Mississipiens* and brought a number of his students to the second Hofstra conference to perform it under his direction.

The first issue of the FGS Newsletter 1:1:1977/78 was a slim one, containing a single essay, "Traveling to Nohant," that Thelma wrote after taking a trip to the Berry. The second and third issues dated 1978 show an expansion of content to twenty-five pages and contain articles devoted to Sand's work and to members' reminiscences, as well as to bibliography and reviews. Miscellaneous material, like conference reports, announcements, works-in-progress, and other newsworthy items make up the balance. By 1984, the FGS Newsletter alone would become insufficient to present the emerging scholarship of our growing organization, and George Sand Studies would take over that more serious function.

A grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities subsidized a third event that took place the following year, 1979, at the University of Colorado. "George Sand: The Woman and Her World" was a project conceived by Lydia Grey and implemented by the Woman's Studies Program. According to the catalogue, the month of October was devoted to dramatic events and discussions. Performances included a puppet play by Maurice Sand, Rosemary Harris's recreations of Sand's life and work, and Chopin's music from his time with Sand. Presentations by Pierrette Daly, Janis Glasgow, and Nancy Rogers, among others, covered Sand's feminism, her travels, and her style.

The month-long exhibit displayed 233 items ranging from personal artifacts to paintings, photographs and written material from the collection of Christiane Sand, whom Alex credits with being among the major figures who devoted herself to resurrecting the reputation of George Sand. Though she is not a member of Sand's dynasty (she was married to Aurore Lauth-Sand's adopted son), she has played the role of the last member of the family and helped many devotees to know Sand better. Her home in Gargilesse and her lovely small museum is a treasure trove of Sand's relics. She has been the guardian of Sand's home in Nohant, has organized many musical concerts in memory of Sand, and has single-handedly made it possible for travelers to discover a Sand museum in La Châtre, full of the possessions that she generously offered for the display in Colorado.⁶

The name Dennis O'Brien had already appeared on the program of our first conference. In 1980, Professor O'Brien organized the third George Sand conference, "Her Life, Her Works, Her Influence." Twelve of the papers presented there appear in West Virginia Conference Papers, published by the Department of Foreign Languages of WV University in 1981. The titles reiterate the scholarly patterns of linking Sand to other artists and cultures, as well as examining issues of gender. One also finds papers with a psychological or a linguistic focus, such as "A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double," by Sylvie L. F. Richards, and "The Problem of Language in Indiana," by Pierrette Daly. Dorothy Zimmerman revealed an interesting new detail in Sand's artistic appreciation, in her paper "George Sand and La Dame à la Licorne Tapestries." Also present was the biographer,

Joseph Barry, who, in his paper on Sand's prescient ideas in relation to the nuclear family, referred back to his experience at a George Sand Colloquium in February 1976 at Amherst College.⁷

In February 1981, Janis Glasgow directed the Fourth International GS conference in San Diego, "George Sand, Her Life, Her times, Her Circle, Her Influence." The FGS Newsletter 3:2:1980 contains titles that show new cultural links, such as a paper on "Gertrude Gomez de Avellaneda: The Hispanic George Sand." Other titles show scholars making connections to Sand's contemporaries Alfred de Musset and Théophile Gautier, and recognizing influences such as that of E.T.A. Hoffmann on Sand and that of Sand on Virginia Woolf. While strong interest in Consuelo continues, other works are claiming interest: Lélia, Aldo le rimeur, "Le chien et la fleur sacrée" (in the Contes d'une grand-mère). La Dernière Aldini, as are her autobiography and correspondence. Topics regarding Sand's concern with art, music, and theater persist, along with questions of feminism. Among the new names that would reappear are Anne Callahan, Sandra Dijkstra, Sherry Dranch, Sharon L. Fairchild, Virginia Schubert, and Albert Smith.

In the foreword to the published volume of essays,⁸ Janis expresses the intent and direction of our organization at that time—to separate George Sand the legend from George Sand the artist—and points out a significant development— networking among scholars across this country and in France. Janis concludes by noting the equal number of articles in English and in French, thereby indicating a future shift from English to French as the participants' language of choice.

In June of the same year, 1981, Professor Marie-Jacques Hoog led the program for junior-year students abroad for Rutgers University. She used that opportunity to organize an overseas GS Workshop in Honor of Georges Lubin, at the University of Tours, with the support of Marie Collins, Natalie Datlof, and Isabelle Naginski. Workshops in French and English were scheduled over a three day period. Georges Lubin wrote the introduction to the workshop's proceedings, "George Sand Voyageuse," published in the *FGS Newsletter* 4:2:1981.

Several of the workshops in Tours studied aspects of feminism: Dorothy Zimmerman's, with Feminists of the 1830s and 40s; Lucy Schwartz's, in the early novels; and Pierrette Daly's, in l'écriture. Isabelle Naginski and Marie-Jacques Hoog's workshop investigated Sand's poetics. Sergine Dixon's examined the aesthetics of Les Maîtres-Sonneurs, and Nancy Rogers' workshop compared Mauprat and *Jeanne*, with an eye toward refining the meaning of pastoral. In addition, Alex led a workshop on Sand's plays in relation to her life, and Mireille Bossis brought a group together to consider three of Sand's letters to three different correspondents during the early 1830s, a troubled time in her life.

Thelma Jurgrau's workshop at the Tours conference promoted the on-going group translation of *Histoire de ma vie*, referred to earlier. Among those participating were Alvin and Anita Lundquist, from Oxford, who may be remembered by many of our early members for their long, informative letters, enhanced with clippings from books, journals and newspapers, that always had some pertinence to Sand or to translation. Others who attended and remained loyal to the end of the project were Joyce Carleton, Sergine Dixon, Alba McKeon, Lucy Schwartz, and Alex Szogyi.

Marie-Jacques organized field trips to Saché, Nohant, and Gargilesse, and familiar supporters, Georges Lubin, Joseph Barry, and Gérard Roubichou gave special addresses, as did new ones, Albert Sonnenfeld and Simone Vierne. Less formal than our previous conferences, the meeting at Tours remains memorable for the ambiance—unforgettable meals at regional restaurants, dinner at the local château of Azayle-Ferron, with eccentric guests. The antics of three-year-old Nicolas Naginski Brynolfson at the château de Chenonceaux banquet left a particular impression on Marie Collins, as she recalled, when the four of us sat around reminiscing.

For Nancy Rogers, the event evoked the memory of a budding friendship with Naomi Schor,⁹ who had come to Tours to pursue her

interest in Idealism in the nineteenth century. Nancy recalls spending a lovely evening outside a café, with her then-husband, her one-year old son in a stroller, and Naomi, getting to know one another and talking about the scope of the novel over the century, including Sand's place in its history.

In November 1982, Isabelle organized and directed the Fifth International GS conference at Bard College, "George Sand: 150th Anniversary of a Nom de Plume (1832-1982)." The conference proceedings were published in volumes five and six (1982 and 1983) of the FGS Newsletter, along with the usual reviews and announcements. She notes in her editorial remarks that there were many old friends among the fifty or so participants, as well as many new faces. Once again the reception of Sand's work in other countries was of interest- Denmark, Germany, the US, as well as studies that compared Sand's writing with that of her contemporaries Flaubert and Henry James. Nor were gender issues neglected, witness papers coupling Sand with Marie d'Agoult, with Margaret Fuller, and with George Eliot. Innovative were panels devoted to a single work, a genre, and to Sand's evolving identity as a writer, elaborated on by Simone Vierne's special address: "George Sand parle de l'imagination." Three other scholars from France who attended were Henriette Bessis, Mireille Bossis, and Dominique Desanti.

Reappraisals of Sand's reputation brought familiar names to our growing list of dedicated Sandistes; our current president Annabelle Rea aimed to distinguish myth from reality in her paper "George Sand Misogynist?" Others whose names were to become familiar in future Sand studies were Anne Callahan and Mary Anne Garnett, who will be remembered for her long service as Vice President and Treasurer of the GSA. The names of Peter Sourian and Murray Sachs should also be mentioned for their contributions to this and future events. Alex once again took charge of arranging a dramatic event for this conference. Through his auspices, Ruth Wolff, with a cast of actors, gave a reading of her play about Sand and Chopin, "George and Frederic."

The name of Sylvie L.F. Richards appeared earlier in this history as a participant in the West Virginia Conference in 1980. Sylvie was inspired to organize the Sixth International GS conference at Missouri Western State College in St. Joseph, in 1984. As mentioned earlier, that year marked the debut of George Sand Studies, numerically continuing its predecessor, the FGS Newsletter, but renamed and reformatted to fit its status as the peer-reviewed academic journal it had become. (The less formal newsletter would continue to keep members of GSA abreast of news and information.)¹⁰ The proceedings of the Missouri conference appeared in George Sand Studies 7:1/2:1984/85. From the "Introduction" by Professor Richards, we learn that scholarly papers were presented under various rubrics: "New Approaches in George Sand Criticism," a topic that resonates with the new developments in critical theory, featured presentations by Annabelle Rea and the duo of Pierrette Daly and Roland Champagne. While "New Perspectives on George Sand's Works," featured papers by Janis Glasgow and Isabelle Naginski, offering new slants on text and context. The interest in more traditional topics was sustained: "George Sand and Music" (Simone Vierne), "George Sand and Art" (Marie-Jacques Hoog and Sylvie Witkin), "George Sand and Theatre," (Gay Manifold Smith), "George Sand and Women Writers" (Dorothy Zimmerman and Ève Sourian). Another familiar name appears for the first time at this conference, that of David Powell, who together with Yvette Bozon-Scalzitti, gave papers on Les Maîtres-Sonneurs.¹¹ As a recent addition to the Hofstra faculty, David was soon appointed to the Editorial Board of GSS.

In 1986, ten years after organizing the first conference, Natalie once again directed the seventh international George Sand conference, "The World of George Sand," at Hofstra University. The conference was dedicated to the memory of Professor Joseph Astman, founding director of the Hofstra Cultural Center, who had died in 1986, prior to the conference. On the program's cover one can find the reproduction of a poster designed for the Friends by the artist Françoise Gilot,¹² whose posters of GS not only announced our conferences but would also appear on the covers of volumes eleven through fifteen of *GSS*.

With Natalie's encouragement, Alex Szoygi wrote a play about Sand and Chopin, "Dialectic of the Heart." Under his direction, the pianist Byron Janis performed the role of Chopin, Micheline Lerner played Sand, and Maria Cooper Janis took the role of Solange. Alex remembers a large audience, including Georges and Mady Lubin, Christiane Sand, and André Gadaud. Among the dignitaries who addressed the gathering were Henri Peyre, Georges Lubin, and Marilyn French (an alumna of Hofstra.) The centerpiece of the conference was "A Nineteenth-Century Evening in the Salon of George Sand," an event to mark the opening of an exhibit of paintings, books, manuscripts, and memorabilia, under the patronage of the French Embassy, preceding the performance of the play.

Equally exciting was the impressive number of scholars who attended the conference. Sixty among the more than eighty papers submitted were selected for presentation. For the first time the audience had to choose from the panels that doubled in each time slot in order to stay within the three-day limit of the conference, and each panel had a moderator. Some of the topics were interest-Sand of perennial and her contemporaries, Sand and the Theatre, Sand's reception in Russia, Spain, Cuba, and Germany. Some scholars drew parallels: Fanny Lewald and Sand; Valentine and La Princesse de Clèves; Sand, Flaubert, and the Commune. And two situated Sand's concerns with healing (Annabelle Rea) and with journalism (George Bernstein) within the context of her own time. The topic of gender vis-àvis reputation was audible especially in a panel called "Perspectives on George Sand," where Naomi Schor spoke on "Recanonizing Sand." More than ever, careful attention was paid to individual works; a panel of three spoke on textual aspects of Indiana. Lélia, Spiridion, Le Meunier d'Angibault, Nanon and apprentice works were subjects of thematic analysis; a panel of four focused on Consuelo and Leone Leoni; and three papers on narrative were presented, including one by a new member, Kathryn Crecelius.

Widening geographical interest in Sand is also apparent: Yi Jai-Hi from Korea; Renée Weingarten from England; Uta Wagner from Belgium; Gislinde Seybert and Gisela Spies-Schlientz from Germany; Lynn Kettler Penrod and Jeanne Goldin from Canada; Annarosa Poli from Italy; Françoise van Rossum-Guyon from the Netherlands; Louisette Hamzeh from Israel; and from France, Antoinette Fouque (Founder and Director of Les Éditions des Femmes), Nicole Mozet, and Henriette Bessis. Others who would go on to make a difference in our organization appeared for the first time at this conference: Tamara Alvarez-Detrell, Jane Nicholson, Mary Rice, Brigitte Lane, and last but not least, Lucienne Frappier-Mazur.

It behooves the founding members to conclude our history of the GSA with the conference of 1986, the best evidence of our growth over ten years as a vital organization and a model for those that would follow. These are listed in full on the GSA web site, including the splendid, just completed Seventeenth International Conference on the work of GS, held in Dublin, and organized by Jacinta Wright of Dublin City University and Nigel Harkness of Queen's University, Belfast.

¹ The new wave in US doctorates focusing on Sand's work started in 1966, when Janis Glasgow published her dissertation, "Psychological Realism in GS's Early Novels and Short Stories (1831-1835)." This was followed in 1967 by René Merker's "Exoticism in the Works of GS," then Anne C. Perry's "GS feuilletoniste 1844-1848," in 1973, and Nancy Rogers' "The Persuasive Style of the Young GS," in 1974.

² M. Lubin had already embarked on the monumental task of editing Sand's correspondence, having published the first volume in 1964. *Correspondance*, tome XI, was published in 1976, the year our history begins.

³ The enormous debt Sandistes owe to Georges Lubin is acknowledged in GSS Vol. 14 (1995), that contains a tribute to M. Lubin, as well as a 14-page "Bibliography of Works by Georges Lubin on George Sand and Romanticism," by Isabelle Naginski, Guest Editor of that issue. In addition, Isabelle and Marie-Jacques Hoog published a necrology, in GSS Vol. 19 (2000), on the occasion of M. Lubin's death.

⁵ The proceedings were published in 1982, and according to Webmaster David Powell, the bibliography is presently available on the GS web site (http://www.hofstra.edu/georgesand).

⁶ Alex recalls her also an artist and a fine cook. I quote him: "Philip Thompson and I have been guests in her home and have eaten some of her favorite dishes on Sand's very own plates. Christiane has lived with her books and the many remarkable puppets created by Sand and her son, Maurice, to accompany the plays they brought to life in the theatre they created. She has made sure that the kitchen and the home are as authentic as they were in Sand's lifetime. Christiane's life has been devoted to keeping George Sand and her legacy alive. We owe her a genuine debt of gratitude."

⁷ The papers from that Amherst colloquium, by Marie-Jeanne Pécile, Germaine Brée, Georges Lubin, and Joseph Barry, were published in Nineteenth-Century French Studies IV:4:1976. That colloquium and the published proceedings pre-date the first Hofstra conference in November 1976. In her "Introduction," Ms. Pécile refers to the centennial of Sand's death and to the opening of the all-male Amherst College to women students as motives of the colloquium. She also credits the French Embassy, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Cultural Counselor with recognizing an opportunity to support the extraordinary dedication of M. Lubin in reviving interest in a writer whose work had fallen into decline in France. That support was likely linked to US interest in M. Lubin's efforts to further his work on George Sand.

⁸ Janis Glasgow, *George Sand: Collected Essays* (Troy, NY: The Whitson Publishing Company, 1986). It is fitting that, after her untimely death in 2001, a prize for the best doctoral dissertation on Sand, in the name of Janis Glasgow, was established to honor this pioneer in Sand studies.

⁹ Naomi Schor (1943-2001) brought many of the arguments of French psychoanalytic and deconstructionist theory to the American academy. She wrote books on Zola's crowds, feminist aesthetics, and cultural studies, and, especially *George Sand and Idealism* (Columbia UP, 1993).

¹⁰ In the "List of Contents of Previous Issues," contained in *GSS* 19:2000, Guest Editor Thelma Jurgrau summarized the difference between concerns of Sandistes in the 70s and 80s compared to 2000. She noted that the seeds of our former interest in correcting Sand's tarnished reputation as a woman and writer have blossomed. New perspectives in

criticism, greater accessibility of texts, and easier exchange of ideas among Sandistes have enabled the exposure of some of Sand's subversive literary devices. They have also allowed us to gain the possibility of making aesthetic sense of the so-called flaws in her texts, to discover her timeless themes and motifs, and to refine our view of her work within the context of her forebears and her time.

¹¹ Webmaster's correction: David Powell's paper was on *Consuelo* and Dominique Fernandez' *Porporino*.

¹² Françoise was the much younger companion of Picasso, who gave him two children, Paloma, the jewelry designer, and Claude, who currently directs the Picasso Museum in Paris.

⁴ Others who added to our collective memory were Annabelle Rea, Nancy Rogers, Isabelle Naginski, and Marie-Jacques Hoog.