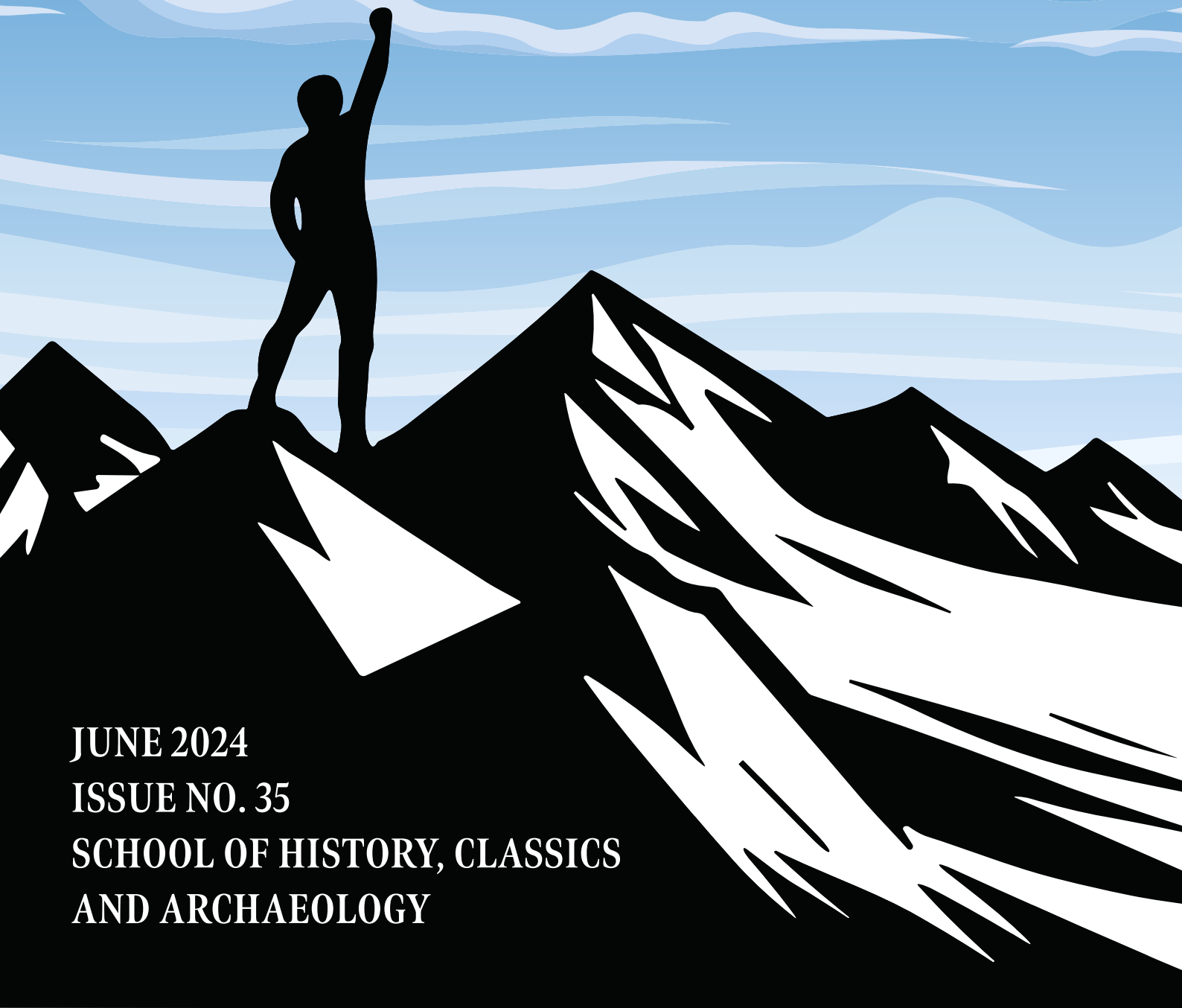
Retrospect Journal.

Tailwinds & TRAILBLAZERS



JUNE 2024
ISSUE NO. 35
SCHOOL OF HISTORY, CLASSICS
AND ARCHAEOLOGY

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S LETTER

THIS EDITION WAS PRODUCED BY

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Ailsa Fraser

DEPUTY EDITOR SECRETARY
Naomi Wallace

DEPUTY EDITOR TREASURER
Alicia Webb

SOCIAL MEDIA OFFICER
Dalma Roman

ACADEMIC LIAISON
Georgia Smith

DIGITAL EDITOR
Tristan Craig

RADIO OPERATOR
Sam Marks

ILLUSTRATORS

Jennifer Ashton
Aoife Céitinn
Ailsa Fraser

CONTRIBUTORS

Nathan Anton
Jake Beecroft
Sommer Bianchi
Edie Christian
Ailsa Fraser
Harry Fry
Flora Gilchrist
Darcy Gresham
Catherine Hodge
Kat Jivkova
Sam Marks
Edith Martell
Jamie McDonald
Francesca Newson
Olivia Norbury
Arianna North Castell
Dalma Roman
Louisa Steijger
Ishaabhya Tripathi
Oscar Virdee
Alia Walsh

COPY EDITORS

Jazmine Chambers
Mia Jones
Orla Thorburn

Think of a famous traveller. Many of the figures that immediately come to mind will have several things in common: they are usually men, European, and relatively wealthy. Travelling and exploring even has an explicitly colonial association with figures like Christopher Columbus, where their travels directly led to the violence of empire that much of the modern world is built on today. The idea of humanity's inherent need to explore is a narrative still used today in arguments for colonising space and expanding beyond our terrestrial boundaries. Edinburgh is a highly international city, and the University of Edinburgh reflects this. Thousands of students travel thousands of miles each year to study here, and in today's globalised world means this is seen as normal. But historically, who has been able to travel? And when they did, why did they?

In truth, throughout history people from all walks of life have travelled to other regions, other cultures, other lives. But their reasons for travelling rarely fit into the desire for exploration we think of today. This edition explores twenty-one examples of historical travel that expand our understanding of who travelled, what it meant, and why. We begin by looking at Proto-Indo-European myths about the journey between life and death and finish with the people who worked tirelessly to put man on the moon, despite knowing they would never travel there themselves. From examples of forced migration to those who were left behind, from those who travelled for inspiration to those who simply sought a better life, it becomes clear that travel can be a privilege, but also a necessity and a curse. Sometimes, the travellers came home changed; other times, they never came home at all.

Not a page of this edition could have been produced without the tireless efforts of the team here at Retrospect. I give enormous thanks to the Contributors who interpreted the brief in such creative ways and the Columnists who write for us throughout the year; to the Copy Editors who polish both these articles and the articles we publish on our website, week in, week out; and to the Illustrators, who continue to give our pages colour. The School of History, Classics, and Archaeology is also endlessly generous with their support as we produce these journals. We could not have done this without them. I am especially grateful to the Senior Editorial Team: Naomi Wallace, Alicia Webb, Georgia Smith, Dalma Roman, Tristan Craig, and Sam Marks. It has been the highlight of my student experience to serve as Editor-in-Chief this year. Finally, I'd like thank you, our readers, for continuing to support us. Next year promises to be even brighter, with Naomi Wallace as our Editor-in-Chief for 2024/25, and a fantastic incoming committee: Georgia Smith, Sam Marks, Flora Gilchrist, Dalma Roman, Tristan Craig, and Hannah Austin. I can't wait to see where Retrospect travels next.

Happy reading!

Ailsa Fraser
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH
School of History, Classics and Archaeology

SOCIETY UPDATES

It has been a privilege to serve as the Archaeology Society President for the 2023-2024 academic year, and I'd like to take a moment to reflect on everything ArchSoc has done this last semester, celebrate the hard work of the ArchSoc committee, and thank everyone who has contributed to ArchSoc's success this past year! We kicked off the semester with a programme of events in honour of 'Give It A Go Week' including a fast-paced scavenger hunt in the National Museum of Scotland and another artefact cleaning session! We continued our normal programming of events, including our Monday dig in collaboration with the Edinburgh Archaeology Field Society, coffee mornings, Thursday evening lecture series and pub visits, and Friday morning dissertation writing sessions! Semester 2 included some of ArchSoc's biggest and most fun-filled events, beginning with our trip to Stirling Castle and our participation in HCA's Student Society Pub Quiz in January! In February we held our Queering Archaeology programme of events which included some very informative lectures by museum professionals and a trip to the Lavendar Menace Community Queer Book Archive. ArchSoc took a weekend trip to Glasgow to participate in the Scottish Student Archaeology Conference, where many of our members presented on their research and myself and ArchSoc's Academic Events Officer, Maja, hosted a panel on the intersection of public archaeology and identity formation.

March was a particularly exciting month for ArchSoc, as we kicked the month off with hosting our annual Fieldwork Fair in the Playfair Library! This event was particularly exciting as many of our members got the opportunity to network with industry professionals and organise summer fieldwork and internship opportunities. In honour of Women's History Month in March, our Equality and Inclusion Officer Jayden hosted ArchSoc's annual Women in Heritage Panel, where ArchSoc members learnt about early female archaeologist's and gender inequality in archaeological publishing. Our Social Secretary, Moya, worked to collaborate with the Palaeontology Society to host 'Dig and Swig', a pub crawl filled with pints, new friendships, and rather elaborate dinosaur costumes! We also collaborated with the History Society twice in the month of March to host both a Postgraduate ceilidh and the panel 'History in the Digital Age'! The end of March saw ArchSoc's Annual General Meeting, where we elected our committee for 2024 and updated the ArchSoc Constitution.

I'd like to extend a great 'thank-you' to everyone who has contributed to ArchSoc this semester. First, thank you to all our members; your participation and enthusiam are what makes ArchSoc an amazing community! Thank you to the ArchSoc Committee: Kara, Harriet, Jayden, Maja, Moya, Eva, Emily, Lydia, Paulina, Jonathan, Ben, Hollie, and Elizabeth B. Working with you all has been the highlight of my final year of university, and I am so grateful to you all for your friendship and hard work. Thank you to the Archaeology department at the University of Edinburgh for all their help organizing the Fieldwork Fair, and to all of our external organizations and contacts who collaborated with us this semester.

Elizabeth Coleman
PRESIDENT
Archaeology Society

Edinburgh University Classics Society

For more information, visit the EUSA website:
https://www.eusa.ed.ac.uk/activities/view/classicssoc

SOCIETY UPDATES

The 'end of history' has fallen out of fashion over the past three decades. Like many students graduating this year, the idea of endings has been on my mind as I completed my undergraduate studies. Accepting that the surroundings I have known for four years may not be the ones I know in a matter of months prompts fresh appreciation for the things so easy to overlook during deadline season: the full plumes of cherry blossom in the Meadows; the sunny haze around Arthur's Seat and the Pentlands; the shadows across the courtyard of the Old Medical School.

With the end of another academic year, the History Society reflects on its events and projects. Academic Secretaries Molly McCaig and Isla McLellan organised events for Holocaust Memorial Day, LGBTQ+ History Month, and on History in the Digital Age, and continued to co-organise the Student Seminar Series with *Retrospect*, shortlisted at this year's EUSA Student Awards. Social Secretaries Nyah Priestley and Kirsty Ross-Oliver led this year's History Ball, at the atmospheric Dynamic Earth; what a treat it was to enjoy an evening of dinner, dance, and good company, four years on from the beginning of lockdown during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Student Experience Officers Daniel Ferguson and Freya Wilson hosted fortnightly coffee mornings and ran a Mindful March charity campaign. Trip Officers Olivia Fiorillo and Chelsea Laurik organised another international trip, this time to Vienna. First Year Undergraduate Representatives Olivia Laughton and Gabrielle Yurin and Postgraduate Representatives Divya Sharma and Robert Todesco facilitated coffee mornings and study sessions, with the Postgraduate Ceilidh a returning highlight. Sports Captains Ollie Griffiths, Oscar Johnson, Jane Pawlowicz, Adam Priest, Izzy Taylor, and Benny Worthington guided their teams to strong showings in the intramural leagues and organised charity and social events. Thanks to everyone who attended and supported History Society events this year. As ever, special thanks to Secretary Jane Pawlowicz and Treasurer Logan Breckon for providing such extensive administrative support, often unrecognised.

On reflection, the things which look like endings are more like forks in the road. There will be unfinished business, always, so perhaps the best that I, and others like me, can do is to recognise the legacies to which others can respond, if they wish. I have every confidence that the incoming History Society Committee, with Logan Breckon as President, will do well by the Society and the University community. The History Society achieved much this year and has much to look forward to next year. I will cheer them on from afar.

The History Society has been a highlight of my time at Edinburgh. I am grateful to those who encouraged me to run for a Committee position, who supported me over my year as President, and who kept me company throughout my undergraduate studies. May readers of this edition of *Retrospect* find their place in the History Society community in the forthcoming academic year and beyond.

Joshua MacRae
PRESIDENT
Edinburgh University History Society

THE JOURNEY BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH: THE ORIGINS OF AFTERLIFE BELIEFS

ARIANNA NORTH CASTELL

The journey between life and death is not merely a biological transition but a profound cultural construct that illuminates the deepest fears, hopes, and values of a society. This article delves into the origins of ancient afterlife beliefs, tracing how Proto-Indo-European (PIE) societies have shaped the understanding of this transition. The existence of such beliefs reveals a universal attempt by humans to understand, cope with, and assign significance to the concept of death. Given that death is uniquely devastating and universally applicable, the practices and stories surrounding it are not only fascinating but also deeply revealing of the human condition. Through exploring these systems of belief, we gain insights into how our ancestors made sense of the world beyond, providing us with a clearer view of our cultural legacies in dealing with life's final journey.

The study of PIE societies relies heavily on linguistic reconstructions to understand the culture, and beliefs of ancient Indo-European (IE) people. Linguists have reconstructed PIE vocabulary related to death, the afterlife, and religious concepts based on comparative analysis of descendant languages that, when coupled with archaeological evidence, can help us build an image of their beliefs. There are some issues that need to be considered when researching beliefs surrounding death. Firstly, the attitudes of the PIE societies surrounding death can make the study of their eschatology problematic. Many early societies equated naming with summoning, so to speak of death would risk summoning chthonic gods, making it a taboo subject to speak of and document. Furthermore, the traumatic nature of death makes it a subject that the brain naturally avoids. Death can often be a sudden occurrence, a loss of life without an actual physical change; this leads people to believe that an invisible change has occurred, one that is wholly inexplicable. As death is perceived as the loss of something intangible, the belief that it was a separation of the soul from the body was a natural conclusion. If the soul is not housed by the body, then it must be housed elsewhere, leading to beliefs about not only a separate realm for the dead, but also a journey that souls must take to reach this. It is clear from archaeological evidence that there was a strong belief in life after death, due to the presence of grave goods interred with the deceased to aid them on their journey to the next realm. The language surrounding death in the PIE world allows us to understand the features of their belief system and its successors. On the physical journey of the soul, souls will need to cross a river, often with the aid of a **g'erhaont* ('old man') and will encounter a guard dog (the Ancient Greek *'Kerberos'* named after the PIE 'spotted'). The location of a PIE realm for the dead is harder to pin down, however as they committed their dead to the ground knew that soft tissue decayed into the Earth, it's reasonable to suggest they believed in a realm connected to and below the earth.

We can also examine how the above transmitted to subsequent IE beliefs. A key source for reconstructing the beliefs of PIE religion are Vedic beliefs. Within their belief system we see a plethora of core PIE structures, the Rigveda being a vital text. According to Vedic beliefs, Yama was the first man to die and subsequently ruled the realm of the dead, Pitrloka. His name is PIE in origin, either coming from the prefix **yem,* meaning to contain or hold, or **yemos,* meaning twin. The journey of the *atman* (soul) was of particular focus, with evidence of detailed processes (*antyesti*) undertaken by the living to ensure the safe passage of the *atman* to Pitrloka. These practices are natural in a process of grief – they are PIE in origin and appear intrinsic to the human condition when faced with grief. Caring for the deceased in such a way allows the living to be active in their grief and negate the termination of their relationship with the deceased as they aid them to the beyond. The Greeks and Romans have similar processes, as well as an Underworld that mirrors the reconstructed PIE belief. There are funerary rites that must be followed to ensure safe passage to the Underworld. Souls take on the appearance of the deceased when buried, so those who died in traumatic ways would have wounds cleaned and

dressed, and all would be buried with a form of payment to allow them to cross into the realm of the dead. If not buried, souls cannot enter the Underworld and are trapped between realms for a hundred years, or according to some sources, forever. The actions of the living are therefore imperative to the wellbeing of the deceased, again allowing people to take an active role in their deceased loved ones' journeys. The physical underworld also closely mirrors the PIE, with a boundary to cross (the River Styx/Acheron depending on sources) and the **gˆerhaont* being Charon. The ruler of the realm is also present as Yamas is, as the god Hades/Pluto. Here the transmission of PIE beliefs to the ancient are evident.

There are also specific motifs recurring throughout ancient mythologies that have clear PIE origins. The concept of a *katabasis* is one, a 'journey below', often taken by heroes (although still alive) physically journeying to the Underworld. Many centre on rescue of a loved one – Orpheus descends to rescue his wife Eurydice, Gilgamesh for his friend Ekidnu (which, although not strictly PIE in origin, will have interacted with daughter traditions). Some journey in search of wisdom. In the Katha Upanishad, a young boy named Nachiketa is sent to Pitrloka to meet with Yama after he plagues his father with questions about life and death. Yama and the boy engage in a discussion surrounding the philosophical dimensions of the afterlife and the eternal nature of the soul. Odin takes a similar journey in the Prose Edda, travelling to Niflhel to find out the meaning of his son's dreams. Other times, heroes must go to complete a journey or a quest, like Heracles, sent to complete a labour, or Odysseus and Aeneas, who make stops in the Underworld on their respective journeys, arguably both for the pursuit of knowledge. Another key motif that has been alluded to is the idea of a divine ruler of the dead. Yama presides over Pitrloka, Hades/Pluto over the Underworld, Hel rules over the realm of death that bears her name. In Celtic mythology, Arawn rules the Otherworld, and in Baltic and Slavic mythology Velinas and Veles rule respectively. All these figures have similar features. Many of them guide the souls in the journey between life and death and have a role in the process of judging souls, each of the leaders being presented as arbiters of justice. Through these links it's an accurate assessment to say that a PIE ruler of the dead would have not only existed but would have also played a role in the judgement and journey of souls.

The influence of PIE beliefs on life after death have been expansive, not only interacting with ancient non-IE religions, but also modern beliefs. Indirect transmission of PIE beliefs seeped into the mythologies of the Egyptians and Mesopotamians, who both possessed physical underworlds with rulers, *katabases*, and methods of judging souls. It's clear that there was a reciprocal cultural exchange between PIE societies and the Mesopotamians and Egyptians. This widespread influence has shaped our modern beliefs and practices. The acts of burial and cremation are descended

from the PIE practices, notably the practice of providing offerings to honour the deceased. Notions of the soul's journey beyond death are still staple in many beliefs today, with strong beliefs in life after death and a physical afterlife or reincarnation. As PIE concepts interact with modern concepts, we can see the development of an afterlife that is centred in mortality. Early Underworlds such as the Homeric centre more on fate and natural order, rather than consequences of morality shown in life. Notable figures like Achilles express sorrow over their state in the underworld, suggesting that existence there is somewhat undesirable yet uniformly applied. The introduction of morality is seen in Underworlds such as Virgil's, which is extrapolated with the Christian influence, producing complex moral systems like that of Dante's Inferno. Such PIE beliefs are proof of a universal experience of grief, as they reveal complex systems of dealing and processing loss.

In tracing back to the origin of beliefs surrounding death, it is clear to see that the concept of a soul's journey is as old as human loss. The universality of these beliefs reveals a common human experience, as humans have turned to the same mechanisms to cope with death. The need to negate its finality and to incorporate human involvement in the process of death are well established methods coming to terms with loss. What began as simple and logical conceptions among PIE societies evolved over millennia, shaped by cultural exchanges, religious transformations, and philosophical developments. As IE descendants branched out into distinct cultures and civilizations, beliefs about the afterlife diversified and evolved, incorporating moral frameworks, concepts of judgement, and the influence of religious doctrines. As we undertake the process of grief throughout our lives, to look at past beliefs serves as a reminder of the universal human experience.

THE ROAD FROM HELL: ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE UPON THEIR ASCENT TO EARTH

CATHERINE HODGE

Dying a second time, now, there was no complaint to her husband (what, then, could she complain of, except that she had been loved?) (Ov. X. 78)

She had never imagined what hell looked like. The thought now seemed absurd, but she truly had never considered that she would end up here. But she hadn't really considered Elysium either; heaven and hell hadn't seemed important when there were crops to harvest and songs to sing.

Ironically, it was music that had gotten her into this mess.

There hadn't been a time before she knew how to dance, the music and the movement were as natural to her as breathing. The wedding had been full of dancing. Loud dancing, feet had crushed dew-softened sticks, laughter had carried through the forest, a party so loud it awoke the clouds.

The spiking pain of the bite still hurt now; there was no way to measure time since then – it could have been days or years. Regardless, the sting from the bite never ceased, it thudded against her ankle, a constant reminder of her short-lived marriage. He would still claim they were married. Of course he would. He thought they were both returning home.

The thud of the bite provided a sort of warped song itself; a beat to walk to, a beat to count in the endless seconds, minutes, hours she spent away from home. Sometimes, she pulled the tatters of her wedding gown to shield the wound from her sight, and yet she swore to the Gods above, below and around her that the dress shifted ever so slightly to the beat she could feel. Melodies had chased her and her husband since the day they were born; it was a shame they were now trying to outrun them.

The proposal was ridiculous, and she had argued with him about it. How they were being set up to fail, it was so obvious to her. She would inevitably trip or stumble or simply collapse from the poison thrumming through her veins, and he would turn around. He admitted it himself; he had never not been able to look at her. From the first time he saw her, a hundred thousand new songs came alive around him.

Orpheus would not listen. It would be easy, he promised her, kissing her forehead as he had done when she reached the bottom of the aisle. One last journey, and they would take it together. After this, once the sunlight kissed their faces, they would be home, and they would never, ever, leave their sanctuary again.

She had died in her wedding dress, she thought miserably as she trudged along after him. It was glued to her now, like a second skin, it would never be shed.

"Stop thinking about the damned dress!" he called jovially. How long had they been walking? How long had they been trying to escape for him to still believe so truly?
"You haven't been wearing the dress for all these days! It itches!"
"When we return, I'll buy you a dress of the finest silk, and I will brush your hair and thread through the most beautiful flowers in the glade"
"We don't live near a glade"
"I'll plant one."
She rolled her eyes. "I can hear your smug smile."
"You married this smug smile"
"Don't remind me."

She had missed his smug smile, she thought ruefully. And his messy hair that her mother hated, that she had ran her hands through. When they returned to the surface, she would wash it for him. That was the thing about Orpheus. He had an uncanny ability to believe that despite everything, it would

be okay. She hadn't, of course, told her husband that she had been getting colder and colder as they gained closer to the sunlight.

The pain in her ankle had been growing from a steady beat to walk to, to utterly unignorable. With each step, the thrumming grew stronger, a steady, loud urging to turn back to the darker caverns, where the pain would be lessened. The pain would always exist, but back in Hades, it would exist as her lifeline to above, a constant reminder of what she had had in those blissful last hours when she had been dancing with her husband.

"Are you shivering?"
"Don't turn and check-"
"Of course I'm not going to check I'm not an idiot"
"Then how do you know I'm shivering?"
"I can hear your teeth chattering. Although I can't see how you're actually cold, because I can feel the sun breaking through from here. I swear I'm sweating buckets."

Her laugh was breathy at best. "Eurydice?" Still that cool, ease about him. "Are you not feeling well? We can slow down if you like?" She managed a non-committal noise from the back of her throat – the path had become slightly uphill, and the rocks were cutting into her feet; she knew they would scar, her own map she could trace one day.

"I'm fine." Gone was any hope to her voice, now she was snappy and cold and not the woman who got married under the sunrise.
"We should stop for a moment."
"And do what? Wait for me to warm up?"
"Eurydice, what's wrong?" He had decidedly stopped in his tracks. Gone was the hopeful tone; now there was a tone he had never used with her before.

"Don't get angry with me." The pain in her foot had begun to scream. Above them there was the sound of people, they were *so* close, her heart began to weep.
"I've never been angry with you"
"Orpheus."
"Eurydice?" Oh, her sweet boy, he had already lost so much and didn't know it.
"My foot hurts." It was a whisper, a stupid, weak reason to stop walking. Orpheus, her husband, had clawed his way down to the very pits of hell to find her, and she couldn't follow him back into the sunlight. She had never wanted to see his face more, to hold it in his hands, kiss his cheek.

"I can't carry you." His voice had never sounded so unlyrical in its bluntness, so small. Suddenly she was acutely aware of just how very young they were, really. In the grand scheme of things they were children, being toyed and tortured with by beings far older, and far more bitter than they ever could be.

"It's okay," her words wobbled, "I'm so tired Orpheus." And she was. So unbelievably tired of running from the inevitable. She was dead. She had been since the eve of her wedding. It was beginning to infect every part of her; the wound on her foot was just the entry point. Whilst the sun sounded lovely, the cold earth below would soothe the burning grief she had felt in the pit of her stomach for so long now.

He wouldn't do it. Not unless she asked.

"Please."

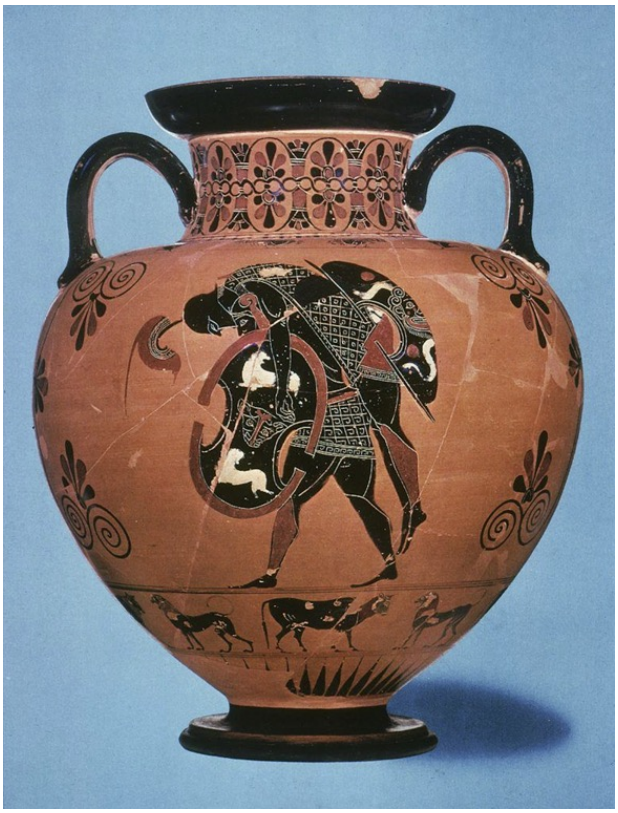
There would be no song about this moment, not really. People would never be able to comprehend that they would give up, so close to the summit. People wouldn't believe that in the final moments of his very own tragedy, the boy with music in his veins would fall utterly flat.

In the end, they stood for endless minutes, and even the rocks that had been whispering for her to turn and flee back to that cold, damp cove below the earth hushed. She didn't need to say another word to him. Eventually, he let out a breath and straightened his back.

Oh, that face she fell in love with, so broken. That long, raggedy hair she would never run her hands through again, and that voice that brought the very earth back to life, and sent her blissfully to an endless, dreamless sleep.

TRAVELLING THROUGH GRIEF: A VISUAL ANALYSIS OF AIAS CARRYING ACHILLES IN GREEK POTTERY

ALIA WALSH



The subject of Aias' grief (more commonly known by his Latin name, Ajax) at the death of Achilles has inspired many great works of art throughout Classical Greece. This piece will focus on an analysis of a Type A neck-amphora attributed to the potter and painter Exekias (flourished circa 550-525 BC). The amphora depicts on both faces Aias carrying the dead Achilles off the Trojan battlefield after being killed by Paris in the Trojan War. I pose a new reading of the iconography on this vase to explore Aias' physical journey off the battlefield, but also his journey through grief.

The *Aias and the Body of Achilles* amphora dates to c. 540 BC and is currently located in Munich, Germany. Scholarship surrounding this particular vase is monopolised by debates over which face of the amphora is Side A, and which is Side B. There is general consensus that Figure 1 is the intended Side B, as both of Aias' legs are bent at a greater angle, and are spaced further apart, in comparison to Figure 2. Aias' head also faces the ground at a greater angle, as he hunches over in a pose of strain. His eyes just peek over the top of his shield as he struggles to move forward. Classical scholars generally believe that these physical signs indicate that Aias has been carrying Achilles for longer than in Figure 2, as he has begun to show signs of the strain of carrying the weight of the hero's body. Through this reading, the vase depicts Aias' physical journey, moving from Side A to Side B (Fig 2-1) on the vase. This journey is documented by Aias' physical struggle and exertion. I believe this reading completely fails to take into account Aias' grief at the murder of Achilles, who was his cousin, friend, and the best of the Greeks, the *'Aristos Achaion'*. Because of this, I pose to read the amphora in reverse, arguing that the illustration of Aias' physical journey carrying Achilles acts as a metaphor for his journey through grief.

It can be argued that Exekias' amphora shows Aias literally shouldering the embodiment of his grief, as he struggles under the weight of Achilles. His legs start the journey off the battlefield bent and spaced apart in an attempt to carry the large burden of raw grief. As Aias' physical journey continues onto the second side of the amphora, he is better able to carry the weight of Achilles as he has both physically and metaphorically journeyed along the grieving process, and time has allowed him to heal and cope more with the burden of his grief. Just over a year ago, my family and I suffered a traumatic bereavement. In the months that followed, my mum found great comfort in a metaphor that psychologist Niamh Fitzpatrick perpetuated. She states that grief is like carrying a backpack filled with rocks. Instantly, the weight from the rocks is crippling, and you struggle to move. You strain under the weight and inch forward, but over time you find yourself able to walk upright, and eventually, the weight becomes manageable. The rocks are always there, and their weight never changes, but you adjust to them; you are able to carry them, and eventually you become stronger. I believe this metaphor is directly reflected in Exekias' depiction of Aias as he learns to adjust to the weight of Achilles, who is

both physically weighing him down, but also a representation of the weight of grief which he must carry with him.

Homer, the famous Greek poet and bard, tells us that next to Achilles, Aias was the second greatest warrior of all the Greeks. Despite this, among all Greek vase painters, Exekias was the only one to take a special interest in Aias, who appears in roughly 20 to 23% of Exekias' corpus of work; no other hero or deity appears as frequently as Aias. Exekias both established three famous tropes of Aias' depiction, as well as breathed a new lease of life into common illustrations. A key change that he made to our amphora was Aias' direction of travel. Typically, a victor in early Greek art moved to the right, however Exekias shows Aias facing the left on both faces of the amphora. Depictions of Aias carrying Achilles off the battlefield that predated our amphora, for example the François Vase, show Aias travelling to the right. This key change in Exekias' depiction characterises Aias as a grief-stricken young man, instead of in his normal heroic stature. Exekias' motivation for such a focus on Aias in his work may be due to the fact that he moved to Athens from Salamis, where Aias is said to have been born. This is also the location of the oldest cult celebrating Aias, showing that Exekias was honouring his homeland's hero, and therefore had a special connection to him. Athens established Salamis as an Athenian colony in the sixth century BC, with Exekias producing the *Aias and the Body of Achilles* amphora just over halfway through this century. Exekias had ties to both Athens and Salamis, and their inhabitants would have suffered from trauma connected to war and the loss of loved ones due to the colonisation. Through this contextualisation, it can be argued that Exekias produced the images on our amphora to explore the nature and process of grief related to warfare due to the commonality of this theme at the time. This provides further evidence to support our new reading of this vase. The sixth century BC in Greece was also a period of large expansion, which resulted in conflict generally throughout the Mediterranean world. This made the consumption of Exekias' *Aias and the Body of Achilles* amphora easy and attractive to an ancient audience due to the omnipresent nature of grief in society during the sixth century.

This article's new reading of the iconography on Exekias' *Aias and the Body of Achilles* amphora shows how the vase both explores Aias' physical journey off of the Trojan battlefield, but also encapsulates his journey through grief. Aias simultaneously shoulders the weight of Achilles' divine body, but also its metaphorical representation of the weight of grief Achilles' death has caused, which now presses down on Aias. He initially struggles under this pressure, but as his journey through grief progresses to the other side of the amphora, Aias has learnt to adapt to the new weight he must carry and stands taller. The sensitive depiction of this metaphor, I believe, also helps to highlight the universal nature of grief, and how it transcends time. As an image found to be potent in circa 540 BC, it can also acutely relate to a contemporary modern audience, 2560 years later.

Figure 1 - Proposed Side A

Figure 2 - Proposed Side B

MYTH AND MODERNITY: THE JOURNEY ARCHETYPE WITHIN HOMER'S ODYSSEY AND JOYCE'S ULYSSES

EDIE CHRISTIAN

The motif of the physical journey has been employed throughout literature to explore journeys of metaphorical and emotional development by the characters. This tradition originated with the ancient Greeks, epitomised by Homer's *Odyssey*. This epic poem is conventionally dated to around the eighth or seventh century BC, although historians agree that there is evidence of its oral recitation from a time before writing. It details the journey of its protagonist, Odysseus, trying to return to Ithaca following the ten-year Trojan War and the many divine and mortal obstacles he encounters on his travels. This tale has subsequently become central to the Western canon, topping the BBC Culture poll of 100 Stories that Shaped the World. Authors ranging from Dante Alighieri to Margaret Atwood have adopted aspects of the poem for their work. James Joyce's modernist novel, *Ulysses* (1922), reimagines Odysseus' decade-long journey through ancient Greece through a single day in Dublin: June 16, 1904. Despite being an evidently more mundane journey around the city, *Ulysses* contains many character parallels to Homer's epic, as well as being explicitly structured in a similar way. Joyce organises his work around arguably the most illustrious journey in literature to highlight the comparative mundanity and ennui of modern life.

Despite the spiritual and mythological elements of Homer's *Odyssey*, it is fundamentally a journey of the human experience; the narrative — as the *Iliad* before it — is split into twenty-four books. The importance of familial and romantic love is emphasised, with Odysseus desperate to return to his wife and son, Penelope and Telemachus — he "pine[s], all my days/to travel home and see the dawn of my return". In this way, it embodies the ancient Greek theme of *nostos,* or homecoming, in which an epic hero returns after war and experiences some form of transformation on their travels. Both Odysseus and his men are faced with temptations throughout their journey, with the sorceress Circe using "wicked drugs/to wipe from their memories any thought of home". Despite artificial attempts to prevent the hero's *nostos*, this is overcome by the

humanity at the centre of the poem; it indicates that without a notion of home or family, a facet of the human experience is lost. This memory of home is metonymised in the symbol of the bed, which Odysseus worries may have been 'set… elsewhere' in the twenty years he had spent away from Ithaca. This use of the marital bed as a symbol of stability against the chaos of his journey represents the importance of human loyalty, particularly compared to the comparative selfishness and greed of the gods, with Odysseus refusing the temptation from the nymph Calypso to become immortal through marrying her. Vogel suggests the titling of a work an 'odyssey' is to 'make a distinction between purpose and mission'; whilst Odysseus' travels are evidently physical, they have an ultimate purpose in returning home to his family at the poem's climax.

Joyce's *Ulysses* ostensibly takes a far more cynical view of its respective journey. The narrative is split into 18 episodes, roughly corresponding to the books of the *Odyssey* in what Ezra Pound described as 'a scaffold'. Whilst there are several parallels between Joyce's and Homer's characters, *Ulysses* is unquestionably grounded in its modernist context; its stream-of-consciousness approach and experimental use of language helps to develop what was perceived as the modern ennui felt both as a result of industrialisation and the disaffection of post-war society. Arguably the biggest difference between the texts is that whilst Odysseus is driven by familial love to return home, Leopold Bloom, Odysseus' parallel, is apathetic in comparison, suffering from purposelessness. The rough similarity of the order of the two narratives are necessarily modified to adapt the tale into one day. For example, Odysseus' travel to the underworld in Book 11 is brought forward and paralleled by 'Hades', Episode 6 of *Ulysses*. Here, Bloom attends a funeral in a carriage to mirror Odysseus' journey to hell - Weir suggests that 'just as Homer's Hades is filled with the great heroes of the Trojan War', so if the 'Dublin cityscape is populated by statues' of Irish political heroes in the fight for independence. Whilst Ulysses captures the universality of human experience through its reflection of the *Odyssey*, it is simultaneously anchored within the context of Irish nationalism, as Joyce both exposes the devastation that British colonialism has enacted, as well as accusing nationalists of looking back to a traditional Irish identity. This is explored through nationalist characters such as the 'citizen', who attacks Bloom — whilst his disparaging view of British influence is accurate, he is portrayed as blinded by his unquestioning love for Ireland. Although *Ulysses* depicts a timeless journey dating to ancient traditions, the journey motif is contextualised and modernised through the employment of themes of Irish nationalism.

A series of parallels are drawn between Penelope and Molly, the respective wives of Odysseus and Leopold Bloom. Both are physically stationary for much of the narrative, although Penelope is active in refusing her suitors and preserving the household in anticipation of her husband's return. Whilst this culminates in a happy reunion, there is no tangible *nostos* for Molly Bloom, who instead takes narrative control over the final episode, 'Penelope'. This is where the two characters seemingly diverge, as Molly recounts a psychological journey of exploration through her desires and regrets. She focuses upon her ongoing affair with Blazes Boylan and past lovers, demonstrating her lack of connection in a modern world - she subverts the traditional expectations of feminine fidelity and motherhood that are arguably exemplified by Penelope. The obscenity of this episode angered early feminists in Joyce's depiction of the female mind; however, some have argued that it remains a proto-feminist representation of sexual liberation. Indeed, we as the readers are far more privy to Molly's interior world than Penelope's; although Molly remains fairly static, it is not a stretch to view her reflections at the end as an emotional and psychological journey that come across as more revelatory than her husband's physical one.

The comparative analysis of Homer's *Odyssey* and Joyce's *Ulysses* offer an insight into the enduring journey archetype in literature across different cultures and periods. From Odysseus' epic voyage across the Mediterranean to Leopold Bloom's aimless wandering through the streets of Dublin, the hero's journey has undoubtedly been transformed from ancient myth, grounded in the oral tradition, into a more despairing depiction of modern life amidst the rapid industrialisation of the twentieth century.

BUEN CAMINO: EUROPE'S OLDEST AND BUSIEST PILGRIMAGE TO SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

DARCY GRESHAM

Widely respected as Europe's oldest, busiest, and most well-known pilgrimage route, the Camino de Santiago is a trail leading to Santiago de Compostela in North-West Spain. The traditional route winds through the north of the Iberian Peninsula into the Holy City. Originating in the ninth century, the route was walked by the King to confirm the remains of St James in the city, named Santiago in reference to the Latin moniker of the Saint. The endurance of the pilgrimage through centuries has led to it being recognised by UNESCO due to its cultural significance.

The routes of the pilgrimage lie in the tales of Saint James, whose martyrdom won him the title of Saint James the Greater, differentiating him from another apostle of the same name. The first apostle to shed his blood for Christ, today Saint James is remembered as the patron saint of both pilgrims and Spain. His links to Spain were born in the early days of the Christian community in Jerusalem, when James travelled to the Iberian Peninsula to convert locals from Roman paganism. Upon returning to Jerusalem, James fell victim of Herod's persecution around 44 CE (Acts 12:1-2). His beheading made him the first apostle of Jesus Christ to be martyred. From here on, the question of what happened to James's remains has been shrouded in legend. The most popular tales tell of his disciples carrying his body, or that angels guided his body in a stone boat to the coast of Spain. The commonality in both theories is their agreement that the remains were finally buried in Santiago de Compostela, hence it became the final destination of the Camino. However, the Camino did not emerge immediately, and despite being buried shortly after his death, it took eight centuries before the tomb of St. James was discovered in 813 CE. It was from this discovery that the pilgrimage was created. Since the Middle Ages, its promoters believe in the legend that Charlemagne was the first pilgrim. Although this is generally viewed as a myth, it displays the importance and endurance of the legends.

The legacy of Saint James attracts hundreds of thousands of people each year to Santiago as a spiritual beacon of guidance as well as leading them on a journey of discovery. In the crypt of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, beneath the main altar, one can visit the St James' remains uncased in a silver urn. Following the completion of the pilgrimage, many attend the special pilgrim's mass in the Cathedral. Such an event is a special and memorable way to end a journey, and for many to honour the reason for the walk. It also offers the chance for pilgrims to shelter from the midday heat after such an exertion and take in the architectural wonder of the Romanesque Cathedral.

The scallop shell is the symbol of St James, which has now been adopted by pilgrims on the route as a souvenir of their journey and to recognise others on the same path. As a pilgrimage, the majority of walkers are motivated by religious reasons, but in the past few years the Camino has gained significance as a journey taken for spiritual motivations or as a physical challenge. Whilst walking the route many stay in '*albergues*' (pilgrim hostels) these primitive rooms compromise usually of a large shared dormitory with between six and sixteen bunk beds and limited bathroom facilities. Mostly run by the local municipality, these are found on the trail and are exclusively for pilgrims who have to show their '*credential*' (pilgrim stamp book).

When walking the Camino in the summer of 2022, my friends and I stayed solely in these *albergues* on route. That of Hospital de Bruma stands out in our minds; it was the sole accommodation in the tiny hamlet where the third leg of our trip ended. That morning, we arose at 5am in order to secure beds – which are non-reservable – and were rewarded with a night in a historic building that used to function as the hospital for the surrounding villages and pilgrims passing through. Many such buildings along the Camino were constructed because of the route and are now flourishing

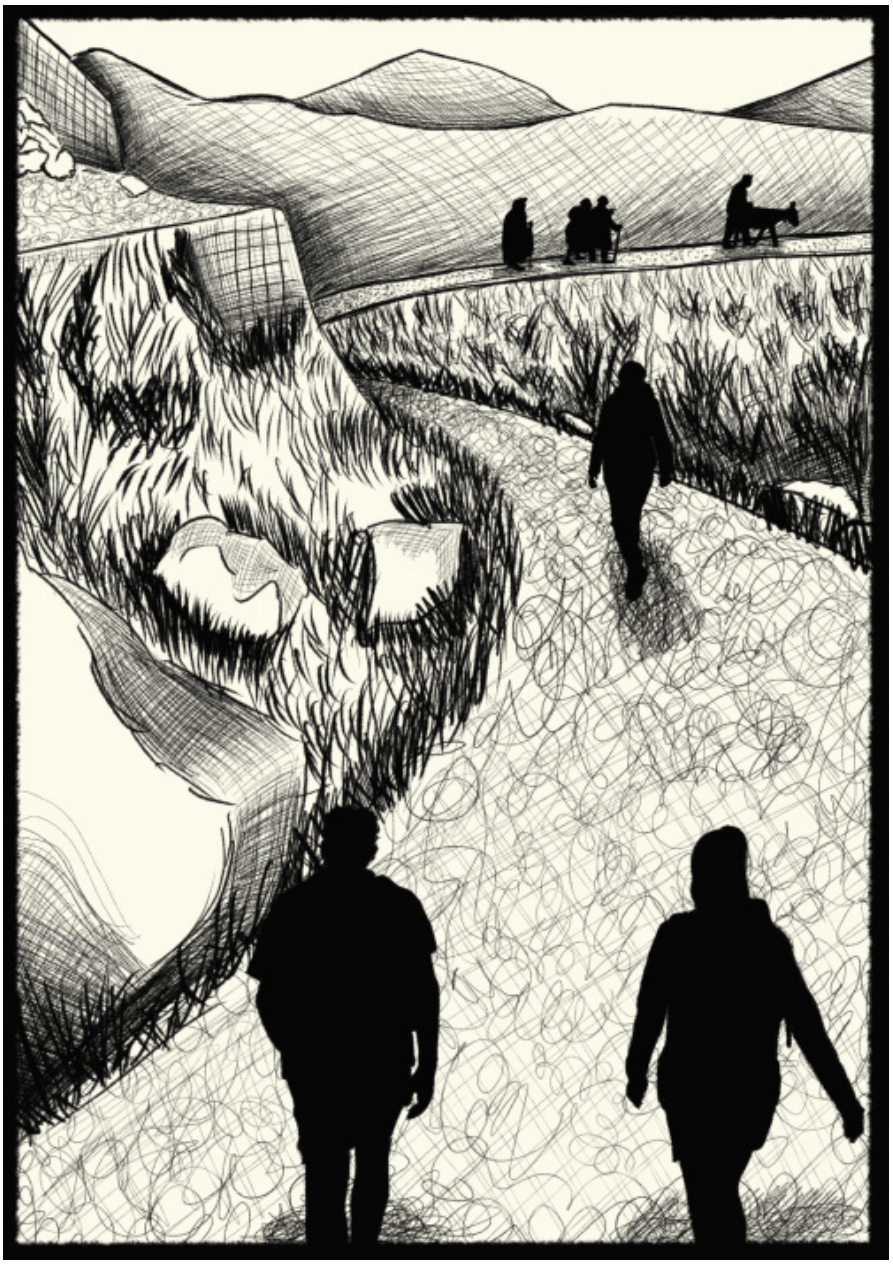


ILLUSTRATION BY AILSA FRASER

because of such connections. Details like these enhance the sense of community and atmosphere of the journey.

The culture of Galicia is another main draw of the Camino. Galicia is historically Celtic, and the 'English way' pilgrimage traditionally began in Northern England across the North Pennines before heading to Ferrol. Locally, St Andrew's Way from Edinburgh to St. Andrews can also be linked to the Camino Inglés in Spain to complete the Compostela. Galicia is one of the least visited Spanish regions, behind more popular tourist destinations of Catalonia, Andalusia, Madrid, and Valencia to name a few and not forgetting top holiday destinations of its Islands. However, the resurgence of the Camino is fuelling an increasing number of visitors. Many visit Santiago de Compostela without walking the way of St. James – between 4-5 million are usually recorded versus over 440,000 pilgrims. To gain pilgrim classification, one must have walked over 100km (or cycled over 200km) of the Camino, collecting stamps to document the journey.

Walking through Galicia gives a unique insight into rural Spain missed in the bigger cities – adorned with farms and villages, the Camino winds through this overlooked destination. Medina claims the Camino as Northern Spain's main tourist product, illustrating the magnetism of the route, and various studies support this idea that the prestige of the Camino enables a strong regional image in Galicia.

The official heritage discourse has been an important factor in the revival of the pilgrimage. This is apparent physically, with investments such as route signs and symbols of the trail that enable easy navigation without any other direction. It was in 1987 that the Camino was designated the first European cultural route by the Council of Europe. By 1993, UNESCO dedicated the Spanish routes as part of a World Heritage site, and just six years later this was expanded to include French ways. The city of Santiago de Compostela has been a world heritage site in 1985, in recognition of the final destination of the Camino coupled with the relics of St. James and the Cathedral. Part of the branding of the Camino came to include the aforementioned scallop shell, modernised in 1993 with straight lines in 'European' colours of a yellow shell on a blue flag, reflective of that of the EU. However, there are many competing identities at play when discussing the Camino. One is aware, through more than just signage, of European, Spanish, Galician, religious, and local identities. Although there is an overarching idea of a larger community of pilgrims transcending this, able to merge the best of every world.

The transformation from pilgrim to tourist is present in much of the literature surrounding the Camino. There are some who see, upon arrival in Santiago de Compostela, a change back to a consumer within a consumer society. González believes in the consensus that tourism is a modern metamorphosis of pilgrimage, in the secular meaning of the world, where secularisation has modified the symbolic meaning of places to become nothing more than tourist sites. Where 'pilgrimage' was historically used in reference to a religious journey, in relation particularly to the Camino, the lines have become blurred. However, I believe this is only a positive - it has opened the route to a greater number of people allowing them the opportunity to take in all the Camino has to offer. One does not have to subscribe to the religious ideals in order to appreciate the significance and history of the way.

The Camino de Santiago, in all of its forms, is an unparalleled experience; its legacy and endurance from the ninth century to today is a perfect illustration of that. The stunning architecture of the Holy City Santiago de Compostela coupled with the journey through the heart of rural Galicia has created a remarkable journey that will be walked for centuries more. The historic and religious origins of the Way deepen the meaning of the walk and provide an atmospheric setting and sense of historical significance that is impossible to escape. Whether one travels for religious or other purposes, there is much to be gained and learned from such a journey. As the pilgrims would say, *Buen Camino*.

"THE WOMEN NEVER LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY": GENDER, HOSPITALITY, AND TRAVEL IN THE MEDIEVAL INDIAN OCEAN

AILSA FRASER

The medieval Indian Ocean was a hub of enormous interconnectivity. Traders from at least four major cultures, Chinese, Indonesian, Hindu, and Irano-Arabic, exchanged goods across the Indian Ocean littoral, without one centre of power becoming hegemonic. While the Indian Ocean has received far less attention to this culture of exchange than the Mediterranean has, its scholarship demonstrates extensive trade and travel that is difficult to deny. In particular, the spread of Islam throughout the Indian Ocean in the early part of this period both was born of these connections and facilitated them, as it provided a shared lodestone for disparate cultures with which to interact, until the ocean has been described as a "Muslim lake". Likewise, environmental factors supported this long-term travel and exchange as well. Not only was the ocean divided into three circuits, each geographically and culturally distinct, but the monsoon winds were a weather phenomenon that set a strict sailing schedule for ships. From October to March, the northeast monsoon winds favoured westward travel, while from April to September, the southwest monsoon winds allowed for travel eastward. It was difficult travelling against these winds, so travellers would be away for months at a time and reliant on the hospitality of locals, friends or strangers, until the winds changed and allowed them to sail home. Hospitality, therefore, was an essential feature in Indian Ocean trade - one used primarily by men and provided primarily by women. Perhaps the most famous travel account from this period that demonstrates this, and the one I'll be referring to, is Ibn Battuta, a North African fourteenth-century traveller who visited much of the medieval Islamic world, from North Africa to China, including the Maldives in the Indian Ocean.

His travels demonstrate the ease of movement through the Indian Ocean, especially for an educated Muslim man, but it is important to emphasise it was primarily men who travelled. Women tended to stay behind to look after the home, which was vital in facilitating this travel. This is naturally not a feature unique to the Indian Ocean in this period. However, it is a significant one, although the heterogenous cultures of the Indian Ocean littoral mean it manifested differently in different regions. Even today, millions of Muslims around the littoral, from Mozambique to Malaysia, practice matrilineal systems of inheritance and have done for centuries. This is likely because of these patterns of movement. There were no guarantees that sons would return from their travels. Some even operate on the assumption that men travel while women do not: Koya traders in India view the household as belonging to the wife, while the husband travels between households, even outside of trade. Islam is often seen as a patriarchal religion, but that these matrilineal systems have in the past few centuries successfully defended themselves against accusations they contradict the Qur'an demonstrates this is not necessarily true. It is important to note, therefore, that if women did not move around the ocean as freely as men, this inequality was not the fault of Islam, especially since, as already mentioned, this is hardly the only region in which women were less likely to travel than men. The fact these women did not travel, however, was an essential facilitator of the travel that did happen. Throughout the sources, we see consistently that having a home to return to, and a place to rest, was a vital part of successful trade and travel. Someone had to stay behind to inherit that home, as these matrilineal systems suggest.

Ibn Battuta's experience in the Maldives is an excellent example of this. He landed on the island of Kinolhas in the Raa atoll in December 1343 and stayed for approximately eighteen months, later returning briefly in 1346. His detailed descriptions of Maldivian society and customs are of enormous use to historians, for this article his section on Maldivian women in particular. Archaeological evidence alongside Ibn Battuta's word has firmly situated the Maldives as a common rest stop and trading post for the Indian Ocean trade, but Ibn Battuta reports that despite this connectivity,

"the women never leave their country." While incoming travellers often married local wives for the duration of their stay, it was only a "temporary marriage" as they would have to divorce them before they left. Ibn Battuta himself had four wives during his stay, who he later divorced. There were certainly political and economic motivations to marry, and class was a factor in choosing wives. Ibn Battuta mentions enslaved women and concubines who were unmarried; in contrast, he himself was wedded to a highborn relative of Sultana Khadlja, as her previous two husbands had died, and it was an auspicious match. The use of women relatives in marriage is seen elsewhere in the Indian Ocean to network and consolidate good trading partnership as well. In Aden, Japheth b. Bundar, an Iranian Jew who served as the Representative of Merchants, used several strategic marriages to unite his family with the family of the Egyptian Representative of Merchants, producing a network that spanned much of the western side of the Indian Ocean trade. Through these marriages, women certainly contributed to facilitating trade and travel. However, their most significant contribution was in the home.

Ibn Battuta recounts that in the Maldives, "the woman never entrusts the service of her husband to anyone but herself; it is she who brings him his food and removes it from his presence, who washes his hand and brings him the water for his ablutions, and who covers his feet when he sleeps." In short, it was the wife who cared totally for her husband

within the home, with little input needed from the husband. This division of labour allowed travellers to the Maldives to arrive and live conveniently. Marriage was easy, as Ibn Battuta describes, "on account of the smallness of the dowries and the pleasure of their women's society", as was divorce. Men travelling to the islands could therefore find hospitality once they landed and be cared for until their stay there was finished. While Ibn Battuta, on first attempting to leave the Maldives, did run into trouble in doing so for political reasons, once this passed, he seemed to have no trouble divorcing and leaving his wives behind, even though one of them was pregnant. It was therefore easy for him to arrive and to leave, confident in the hospitality he would find. This style of travel, wherein he expects hospitality wherever he visits, is common across Ibn Battuta's travels—François-Xavier Fauvelle describes him as "an insatiable freeloader"- suggesting hospitality was important to travel both across the Indian Ocean and elsewhere in the Islamicate world. Furthermore, other travellers in the Indian Ocean in this period relied on this same gendered labour. Abraham Ben Yiju, a Jewish merchant from Mahdia, settled on the Malabar coast in 1132. He swiftly purchased an enslaved Tulu woman named Ashu, freeing and marrying her. His motivations in doing so were likely domestic. Hospitality in medieval Malabarat was vital but complex; not only did his new home require domestic labour, but her local knowledge would be vital to fulfil the requirements of merchant hospitality. They may have to host fellow merchants trapped by the monsoon winds; likewise, he himself may be away for months at a time and need a wife to maintain his home for him to return to.

As such, while men were the ones who actually travelled through the Indian Ocean, women and their labour enabled this specifically by staying behind. They built and maintained homes for travellers to rest in and return to once their business was done. In the social context of the monsoon winds and the importance of hospitality, this was essential. This pattern is seen across the Indian Ocean in different forms. I have focused on Ibn Battuta's experience in the Maldives, but examples range from India to Aden to matrilineal societies still in existence all over the ocean today. Even in 1514, a census revealed many recently arrived Portuguese men had too married women from across the Indian Ocean, demonstrating the importance of local women's labour for travellers across time. The matrilineal societies still in existence today demonstrate the unusual legacy of this phenomenon. As men travelled while women did not, the fact women were more likely to be present made them a better prospect for inheriting and maintaining property. As such, while there are numerous ways to study the medieval Indian Ocean trade, from economic transactions to cultural exchange and religious adaptation, it is vital to recognise and examine labour done by women that enabled the trade and travel to happen at all. Women throughout the Indian Ocean worked to provide anchors both to their husbands, newlywed husbands, and travellers, maintaining a home for well-travelled men to return to. Hospitality was unquestionably important in trade determined by six-month weather cycles. Focusing on the people who laid the groundwork for that hospitality to be provided at all reveals how the women of the Indian Ocean world worked to make the ocean a connecting space just as much as male travellers did.

RITUALS TO RENAISSANCE: A TALE OF TOBACCO

OSCAR VIRDEE

Flames spark in the luminous black of the night, lit cigarettes are raised to pursed lips. Bittersweet smoke is inhaled, held, and loosed into the burning chill of an Edinburgh night.

Bring the cancer-stricken tube back up to your lover's lips. A deep drag quickens your heart and takes just the right amount of edge off. But as you exhale, you wonder, "Where does this come from?"

An Italian and a Frenchman go to South America, which sounds a bit like the start of a bad joke, but the conclusion we are left with is a cigarette, rather than the butt of a poor jest. The trailblazers in question are Christopher Columbus and Jean Nicot (the reason it's called *Nicot*ine), but before following the trail these men burnt across the world, it's worth looking into where tobacco use has come from.

Tobacco is extracted from the leaves of Genus *Nicotina*, a plant from the nightshade family (including its slightly less *spicy* cousin, tomatoes) indigenous to the Americas. Humans have been using tobacco for roughly twenty-one centuries. Humanity probably didn't first smoke tobacco, rather adopting an 'eat it, and find out later' approach.
Native and Mesoamericans evidently found out that they enjoyed tobacco, and no doubt the slight niccy rush you feel. Your cheeky cig contains tobacco containing 1% to 3% nicotine. Whereas wild tobacco had a more psychoactive effect thanks to a nicotine content of 9%.

When our first trailblazer, Columbus, came kicking to America, tobacco had been ingrained into every part of Americana. From being used as Dutch courage before battle, to an aphrodisiac, to shamanistic rituals for people to connect with their gods.

Undoubtedly, Native and Meso Americans lit the torch on smoking culture. But how was it perceived by the European trailblazers of the time? Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, a governor of Hispaniola, said that:

"The chiefs employ a tube shaped like a Y, filled with the lighted weed … in this way they imbibe the smoke until they become unconscious and lie sprawling on the ground like men in a drunk slumber.."

In around 1528, Columbus brought tobacco back to Europe in the form of a few leaves and seeds. Due to the attitudes towards vices at the time, which were likely a result of the

Spanish church, tobacco use was seen as unsavoury.

However, the rest of Europe had had its first hit of tobacco, and like any first-time smoker, was itching for another cigarette. Tobacco gradually wafted from the New World into Europe, and its popularity spread like wildfire, aided by reports of its medical properties.

In 1559, Jean Nicot, the Frenchman in our story, began branding tobacco in France. Francis II, the young ruler of France at the time, frequently suffered from headaches. The king's mother was desperate for anything to help alleviate her son's pain. When Nicot sent seeds, leaves and snuff as a possible cure, they were mystified by the herb's healing capabilities.

By 1560, the French were cultivating tobacco across the country, for its medicinal and commercial qualities. A decade later, botanists began calling the herb *Nicotiana,* allowing Jean Nicot's name to fall into the zeitgeist of a new, tobacco-exposed Europe.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE: A SITE OF POWER, POLITICS, AND POSSESSION

OLIVIA NORBURY

Content warning: This article contains mentions of suicide, sexual assault, and rape.

An estimated 11 million Africans were displaced across slave societies throughout the transatlantic slave trade, spanning over four hundred years from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Yet, the processes and effects of the Atlantic Ocean as a site of exploitation are often neglected in favour of the exploitative conditions of bondage upon arrival to the New World. The Middle Passage was the forced voyage of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World, which typically took from one to two months. During these voyages, sailors employed their power to dehumanise captives, establish authority and control, and utilise violence to subjugate them emotionally and physically. Slavery is often understood in terms of physical sites of exploitation of labour, and therefore cargo ships as a central site of slavery that initiated the process of the possession of African bodies has been overlooked. Rather than merely a method of transportation, these ships were agents that broke and unmade enslaved Africans, essentially erasing any form of freedom that they possessed, and enabling their domination by white sailors.

Approximately one million enslaved Africans died during the journey to the Americas, although the true death rate is likely much higher. Most studies on slavery focus on plantations rather than shipboard captivity and rely on quantitative methodology that tracks the statistics of the movements of enslaved Africans. The approach has dominated historiography since the late 1960s and is valuable in uncovering the extent of the slave trade but erases the personal experiences and individuality of Africans who underwent the journey, reducing them to a number or a monetary value. There is inevitably a scarcity of evidence, as the majority of surviving evidence is written by white men. Furthermore, evidence such as that from the Royal African Company, letters, and newspapers often lack detail, length, and is skewed by personal and political motivations. Thus, the one-sided perspective that favours the colonial elite therefore works to silence the African voice in historical records. Deconstructing these sources enables us to piece together the actions and impact of the journeys across the Middle Passage that functioned to destroy enslaved Africans, but also reveals that it was a site where they fought back against white sailors, and their wider subjugation. Furthermore, by spotlighting the few sources that exist, this article seeks to uncover the individual stories of enslaved Africans who endured these journeys, attempting to return to them a semblance of their agency and humanity. Ultimately, it asserts the place of enslaved Africans in the colonial archives that have traditionally systematically excluded them.

One of the few existing firsthand testimonies of the Middle Passage was written by an enslaved African, Olaudah Equiano, in his 1789 *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa the African.* He describes the hold of the ship as 'a scene of horror almost inconceivable', wishing 'for the last friend, death, to relieve me'. His account details the physical subjugation that Africans endured, who were 'hourly whipped for not eating' and 'most severely cut' for attempting to jump overboard. The fact that Africans attempted suicide as an alternative to remaining on the ship highlights the horrific conditions that they were subjected to. It further suggests that enslaved Africans exercised their own agency and will, displaying individual acts of resistance against the control of their bodies. The tragic nature of their methods of resistance nevertheless demonstrates an attempt to disrupt the slave trade as a system of labour, by decreasing the human and economic capital available to slaveowners. White sailors evidently implemented a regime of violence that sought to dominate enslaved Africans, a physical manifestation of the racial ideology that justified the enslavement of Africans who were deemed inherently inferior and subhuman.

Sailors on these ships further psychologically oppressed

African captives by subjecting them to an environment that Equiano describes as 'almost suffocated us'. A testimony from Asa-Asa, an enslaved African who arrived in the French West Indies, narrates how they were 'chained together by the legs below deck'. Not only did sailors physically overpower captives by chaining them together, but further humiliated them, treating them as commodities who were stripped of any agency or humanity. Ships were rife with sicknesses and disease, further contributing to the degrading of African bodies. The hot, pestilential environment of the ships, exacerbated by sounds of 'crying', suggests the oppressive conditions that Africans such as Equiano and Asa-Asa were subjected to. Thus, the notion that plantation owners drove Africans to their breaking point upon their arrival to the New World negates the trauma of their experiences travelling from Africa. The Middle Passage functioned as the site whereby the violent possession of enslaved Africans began, rather than merely a route for transporting goods across the sea.

The treatment of captives was inherently gendered, and women suffered greater domination onboard these ships, that subsequently further marginalises their experiences in the historical narrative. Alexander Falconbridge, a surgeon on several eighteenth-century ships, reported that 'the common sailors are allowed to have intercourse' with enslaved women, and that the officers 'indulge[d] their passions among them at pleasure, and sometimes are guilty of such brutal excesses as disgrace human nature'. Women commonly suffered sexual assault and rape, but the privileging of masculinity erases black women from slave ships, confining them solely to plantations. Examining these types of sources enables a reconstruction of voices who are erased from the colonial archives, whereby slave ships are marked as untraditional spaces for bonded females. It humanises the lives of these women whose intersection of race and gender works to historically silence not only their individual experiences, but their existence throughout the Middle Passage.

The history of the Middle Passage has further been understudied by historians regarding enslaved resistance. They neglect evidence of enslaved resistance prior to the arrival of enslaved Africans in the New World, thus assuming that they passively accepted voyages on slave ships and disregarding African agency. Evidence suggests that shipboard resistance was common during the transatlantic slave trade, and over four hundred cases of enslaved rebellion occurred during the eighteenth century alone, of which the numbers are likely much higher as many went unrecorded. Captives exercised isolated acts of defiance: Falconbridge recorded a woman who 'refused both food and medicine' and willed herself to die, which she eventually did. Starvation was a common method of individual resistance, as Africans faced challenges in resisting their position, such as language barriers that stunted communications between them, the lack of tools or space to fight with, the inability to run away, and the enclosed authoritarian environment of the ship. In refusing to consume food or medicine, vital especially in the ship environment that harboured many illnesses, enslaved Africans sought to personally reject the system that violently suppressed them. They sabotaged their bodies as a source of labour, thus disrupting the white crew who controlled them.

Others resisted enslavement more violently: Dr Trotter, at the parliamentary select committee in 1790-91, recounted how a man refused all sustenance onboard the ship, and further attempted to cut his own throat twice. His violent form of resistance not only suggests the horrific conditions onboard the ship that drove him to attempt to kill himself, but further that Africans actively sought to challenge white domination. Resistance of their oppressive conditions through starvation and suicide was often the only way that they could, with no legal protection from the violence and assault that crew members used to control them.

Africans vastly outnumbered the crew on slave ships and were therefore considered a threat. Larger revolts and insurrection represented a political struggle between enslaved Africans and crew members, whereby enslaved Africans attempted to completely overthrow the system of violent, exploitative enslavement onboard the ships and beyond. For example, onboard the ship *Clare,* 'Negroes rose', and made 'themselves Masters of Gunpowder and Fire Arms', landing and liberating themselves on the Gold Coast in 1729. Africans thus assumed agency, challenging the oppressive regime of the crew, and overturning the typical power dynamics on this slave ship. The threatening nature of the vast number of Africans onboard slave ships provoked crews into employing a repressive system of chains, imprisonment, violence, and

brutality. Further, many slave revolts ended in defeat owing to the imbalance in control between enslaved Africans and crew members. Nevertheless, the fact that they attempted it disrupts the stereotype that posits those enslaved as passive victims of an inevitable process. It suggests how the Middle Passage shaped subsequent enslaved resistance on plantations and challenges the notion that African slave resistance was ineffective.

Contrary to typical historical narratives, the Middle Passage functioned as an intrinsic part of enslavement that significantly impacted enslaved lives. Enslaved Africans on ships not only endured a violent, brutal regime that broke them down, but further incited a tradition of resistance that impacted their subsequent experiences under enslavement. The assumption of African passivity negates the agency that captives on slave ships exercised to resist white supremacy. The assumption that enslavement began in the New World further erases the function of the Middle Passage, in which crews of slave ships employed a system of violent domination. The psychological, emotional, and physical ramifications of the trauma experienced on these ships manifested in the subsequent experiences of enslaved Africans, whose legacy still has an ongoing impact today.

FROM ARISTOCRATIC TRADITION TO GLOBAL PHENOMENON: THE GRAND TOUR'S EVOLUTION INTO MODERN-DAY TOURISM

FRANCESCA NEWSON

The Grand Tour was a popular tradition between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, when European aristocrats travelled throughout Europe with the aim of completing their cultural education. The concept of tourism was undoubtedly developed through the Grand Tour, as travel began to be considered as an activity of leisure. Those who undertook this journey experienced a literary and artistic education which became an important stage in the life of the aristocratic classes. The Tour could take anything between two to eight years and was more than just a round of sightseeing. It was a serious undertaking and a journey of self-discovery and intellectual enlightenment.

Originating in the seventeenth century, and whilst initially associated with the British nobility, by the mid-eighteenth century, the Grand Tour had become a part of the European aristocratic education. The Tour would start in Paris and typically end in Rome; travellers would also visit countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark. In these countries they would encounter art, architecture, and many different customs and languages, which then allowed for the exchange of ideas across national borders. It was viewed as an educational rite of passage for privileged young men as the Grand Tour contributed significantly to the gastronomic, social, architectural and political evolution of the home countries. These young men were influenced by what they had seen abroad, which promoted cross-cultural transmission amongst European countries.

Travel at the time of the Grand Tour was arduous and expensive and consequently it was reserved only for the privileged classes. People usually travelled by coach which explained why tourists typically travelled for several years at a time. For the first time significant amounts of people were travelling – not necessarily in groups, but there were more people visiting new destinations. As well as providing a rich education for masses of aristocrats, the Grand Tour also had an impact on the countries that the tourists visited. As time went on, restaurants, museums, and accommodation for the visitors grew and guidebooks were published promoting this kind of travel.

Although there was no set itinerary, the key and central destination was always Italy. It held substantial cultural and historical significance owing to its rich artistic legacy and classical ruins. Visitors focused on the cities of Rome, Venice, and Florence, exploring the architecture and art they had to offer. This shaped the British perception of Italy as a beacon of Western civilisation. Travellers would spend several months in Italy, also visiting cities such as Milan, Turin, Naples, Pisa, Padua and Bologna. Venice was famous for its annual carnival as well as being a popular city to commission

artworks as souvenirs for visitors to take home. Artists such as Canaletto and Giovanni Battista Piranesi created the famous 'veduta' landscape paintings of Venice which were particularly popular with tourists. Florence was also a major attraction renowned as, being the birthplace of the Renaissance, the city hosted private collections of art by Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo.

A further attraction Italy offered young British aristocrats was the vibrant social scene which provided them with the opportunity to meet fellow aristocrats, intellectuals and artists from across Europe. The Grand Tour therefore encouraged intellectual exchanges which resulted in the circulation of cultural practices and traditions.

During the eighteenth century British travellers were particularly fascinated by and placed a greater emphasis on classical ruins in Italy. They viewed Italy as a repository of classical civilisation which would provide opportunities for educational enrichment. The tourists saw them as tangible connections to the classical past, providing insights into the lifestyles of the ancient societies. Significantly, British tourists had a strong grounding in classical studies and therefore would compare descriptions of sites from Roman writers such as Horace, Virgil, and Pliny. Structures like the Colosseum were marvelled at, as was the artistic skill displayed in the ancient pottery. This fostered admiration for antiquity amongst European aristocrats. Although mainland Italy provided sufficient examples of classical architecture and objects, Sicily was of particular interest to the British tourists. The history of Sicily displayed a fascinating combination of Mediterranean, Greek, Roman, and Arab influences. Notably the Greek remains in Agrigento excited interest. Its rich history of colonisation and conquest characterised it as a multifaceted destination for the Grand Tour.

The tradition of the Grand Tour was most popular during the eighteenth century, and it declined in the nineteenth century. However, it was in this later period that the Grand Tour became less exclusive and more accessible to those in more middle classes. Industrialisation allowed for the growth of the middle class which meant more people had disposable incomes. These middle classes aspired to acquire the same level of cultural knowledge and experience as the landowning and aristocratic classes. Furthermore, advancements in transportation such as development of railways and steamships provided more affordable and efficient ways to travel. The democratisation of travel marked a shift as travelling was now more accessible for a larger portion of society.

The Grand Tour's legacy extends far beyond its historical context as it influenced contemporary travel practices. It significantly laid the groundwork for modern tourism by popularising travel to Europe and encouraging curiosity about different cultures and societies. The Grand Tour's emphasis on leisure and education continues to resonate in modern tourism as travellers seek intellectual stimulation as well as relaxation. Moreover, the Erasmus organisation, a European Union initiative which encourages international exchange in higher education, in the tradition of the Grand Tour provides intellectual education within the domain of cross-cultural exchange. It encourages young people to travel through study exchanges abroad in a more accessible way, thus becoming 'a citizen of the world' in the same way aristocrats viewed their travelling around Europe.

Through the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, international tourism became one of the world's most important economic activities. Therefore the history of

ILLUSTRATIONS BY AILSA FRASER

tourism is extremely important and relevant for shaping our society today. Of course, it was not just the Grand Tour that played a significant role in the development of Western tourism, as the ancient Greeks and Romans also promoted the concept of visiting essential sites in order to gain important cultural experiences. The Seven Wonders of the World became tourist sites for both Greeks and Romans. Pilgrimages, whilst primarily religious journeys, also displayed similar aspects to the Grand Tour, as pilgrims would visit pre-planned destinations and enjoy the company of their fellow travellers and collect souvenirs. As well as Christian pilgrimages immortalised in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* pilgrimages to Buddhist sites started to occur more than two thousand years ago.

Whilst the history of global tourism had begun to put down roots long before the start of the Grand Tour, the Tour had a profound influence on the idea of promoting cross-cultural understanding, which laid the groundwork for the interconnectedness of the continent that persists to this day. It represented a transformation of how travel was viewed as the Grand Tourists undertook travel for educational and leisure purposes rather than for trade or war. The Grand Tour was a transformative cultural institution in Europe, holding profound significance for centuries.

FROM COTTAGE TO FACTORY: URBAN MIGRATION IN EARLY INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN

NATHAN ANTON

The towns and cities of early industrial Britain do not conjure up a very appealing image. Often termed "urban slums", Britain's burgeoning industrial centres reflected perhaps the exact antithesis of rural bliss. Smog, cramped housing, endemic disease, crime and shockingly low life expectancy, cities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries represented the pinnacle of unfettered capitalism. Exploitative industrialists, seeming to utilise labourers (often children) to maximise profit. Indeed, before 1842, boys under the age of nine could be sent down into the mines, and it was not until 1847 that all children and young people had their working day capped at ten hours in the factory.

The 1851 census, however, reported that 205,375 people had migrated in the previous year in some form for work. This statistic then begs a very clear question: Why on earth would such a scale of people voluntarily move into the towns and cities, surely aware of the manner in which they were going to be exploited? Was the countryside not a more attractive offer, with seemingly guaranteed agricultural work? Indeed, the 1815 Corn Laws –which placed strict protectionist tariffs on imported wheat- surely reflected the continuing importance of domestic grain and with it the regular people who worked the land for a living. This article argues that the industrial centres offered dramatic, newfound benefits for rural people, while agricultural labourers experienced a kind of hardship far removed from any notion of 'rural bliss'. Before considering the factors attracting labourers to the city, it is first necessary to establish the circumstances which forced rural people out of the countryside.

Looking first at agricultural workers, the process of enclosure entirely changed their lives. Traditionally, much of the land in Britain had been held in "common". This meant that it was not owned in a typical sense, but rather that individuals could utilise a small plot to, for example, grow some crops or graze a cow. As such, common land was vital to the subsistence of rural workers. However, over the course of a centuries-long process of enclosure, common land was divided up between larger farmers and members of the landed gentry. Those who had utilised the land but could not prove legal ownership lost out, becoming reliant on those who now owned the land for an often-meagre wage to survive. It should be noted that enclosure certainly did not begin in the early industrial period; as early as the sixteenth century, Cardinal Wolsey had promoted it during the reign of Henry VIII. However, it was during and in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, as agriculture suffered under the strain of war and post-war depression, that the process was rapidly accelerated. While seven million acres of land were enclosed in Britain from 1760 to 1815, only 200,000 acres were *not* enclosed between 1815 and 1845. The reason behind enclosure is quite straightforward: it is far more economically beneficial to have one large landowner own a field and grow one specific crop on it than for the field to be held in common where produce cannot then be sold on. However, the impacts of enclosure on the lives of those who had once relied on common land cannot be underestimated.

Along with five other agricultural labourers in Dorset, the story of George Loveless best reflects how enclosure had drastically worsened his livelihood. Loveless worked the land belonging to James Frampton, the owner of Morton House in Tolpuddle. He was paid a weekly wage of nine shillings; however, the rate was cut over time and by 1830 had become just seven shillings. For context, that was enough to buy bread; nothing left over for soap, meat or anything close to luxury. As such, Loveless formed a union, the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers, with five others to negotiate with Frampton. Needless to say, the labourers failed. Not only would Frampton not agree to a wage increase, but Loveless was arrested, tried and sentenced in 1834 to transportation to Australia under the Unlawful Oaths Act of 1797 for swearing an oath of secrecy at each union meeting. He was later pardoned, but his experience emphasised the complete powerlessness of rural labourers in the face of enclosure, an

ILLUSTRATION BY AILSA FRASER

unresponsive landowning elite and a government terrified of working people uniting.

If agricultural labourers had it so bad, what about rural artisans? Cottage industries had flourished throughout Britain for centuries. The system of apprenticeships, legally formatted in 1563 through the Statute of Artificers, provided stability and even a form of luxury for many in the early modern period. Handloom weavers, potters, wool spinners and farmers; all possessing skills pivotal to Britain's economy. Or so it would seem.

To say that industrialisation disrupted this system would be a striking understatement. The fact is, the technological advancements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries — though undoubtedly crucial to burgeoning industrial capital — shook up the cottage industries in a manner never seen before. Handlooms were replaced by the power loom, rapidly accelerating the scale of production but simultaneously disempowering the weavers. Indeed, it is reasonable to say that workers in the early industrial factories felt like slaves to the machines. It should come as no surprise then, that much of the radicalism of early nineteenth-century Britain was driven by the weavers, facing as they were wage cuts, mass unemployment and a dramatic end to their once stable livelihoods. Though perhaps the most extreme case, the experience of the weavers was almost ubiquitous in early industrial Britain. Though some rural industries remained, for example in Worcester and Somerset, the vast majority were crushed by mechanisation. The 1830 Swing Riots in Kent, when 387 threshing machines were destroyed in protests against political powerlessness, economic degradation and the replacement of rural artisans for technology should come as little surprise.

While both rural artisans and labourers suffered tremendously in early industrial Britain, their decision to migrate to the urban centres, slums as they were, was motivated by another factor entirely out of their control. In this case, however, it

was fear which drove workers to the city. The fear of poverty. The old poor relief system, based on parish "outdoor relief" raised by local ratepayers had become increasingly strained by the early nineteenth century. Criticised heavily by utilitarians, who viewed its irregularities and heavy costs as promoting idleness among the rural poor, the Elizabethan Poor Law was replaced by Grey's Whig government in 1834 with the Poor Law Amendment Act. Popularly known as the New Poor Law, the government had appeared to make poverty itself a crime. Parishes were brought together to form Poor Law Unions, gathering sufficient resources to form a workhouse. Inside the workhouse, families were to be separated, starvation rations handed out and harsh punishments dulled out to those who did not submit. Most shockingly, an investigation into the workhouse in Andover in 1845 found inmates gnawing on the bones they had been instructed to crush. Termed "indoor relief", poor relief thus became the very last resort for working men and women. Of course, there was substantial backlash to the New Poor Law, not in the least from traditional Tory paternalists who saw the system as "laying axe to the root of the social construct". However, by and large, the threat of the workhouse all but forced struggling rural labourers and artisans to look for work in the city. No longer could they rely on parish handouts to help get by.

This article has focused mainly on what propelled workers to leave the countryside. The attractions of the urban centres cannot be overlooked, however. While the notion of "urban slums" was widespread, the cities did offer higher wages, seasonal stability and day-by-day structure. Gone were the days of reliance on the weather to determine both when you worked and how much you could eat. The pay and hours of factory workers were instead dependent on the owner, while the gradual implementation of protective legislation helped restrict the unfettered capitalism so associated with early industrial Britain.

For many who migrated, their lives in the early industrial centres appeared to get far worse after they arrived. It is important to also not forget that many others did not leave rural areas. Indeed, agriculture was then and continues to be a building block of the British economy. Nevertheless, the migration of rural labourers and artisans from the seemingly blissful countryside to urban hell appears, after investigation, to have been more rational than perhaps first assumed. Enclosure, mechanisation and the decline of parish poor relief — coupled with the undoubted economic attraction of the factories – were critical components in what was then, and arguably still is, the largest demographic shift in British history: the Industrial Revolution.

BOARDING THE ORIENT EXPRESS: THE EMERGENCE OF WOMEN JOURNEY-CHRONICLERS IN THE BALKANS, 1860-1920

KAT JIVKOVA

If women journey-chroniclers were invigorated by the prospect of travel, never were they more so than in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The expansion of transport networks, including the construction of the Orient Express between Paris and Istanbul, rendered journeying significantly more accessible to millions of women, who were not necessarily confined to upper- and middle-class status. Indeed, women became active participants within this era of mass mobility, which was largely reflected in their travel writings and epistolary correspondence. The concept of women's journeying has received considerable attention from women's and feminist historians in the past decade. In her seminal work on women's journeying, for instance, Emma Robinson-Tomsett sheds light on the prevalence of British women within journey history, which was previously only configured in masculinist terms. Meanwhile, Mary Baine's work on the relationship between Victorian women travel writers and empire reinforces that they too could be proponents of colonial discourse. More specific to my region of interest, Andrew Hammond explores British female travel literature centred on south-east Europe in the Victorian age. It is noteworthy that most of the literature on women journeyers centres on British women, and especially Victorian ones, with an even smaller proportion concerned with journeys to the Balkans – Ellen Browning's *Wanderings in Hungary* (1896) and Edith Durham's *Through the Lands of the Serb* (1904) are few examples. Little research has been done, however, on women travellers *from* this region. I dedicate my article to women journey-chroniclers of varying statuses who lived in the Ottoman Empire and Balkan states, and equally undertook journeys within these regions.

For the Balkan woman, travel was a means through which they could learn a new way of life – this sentiment is present in most writings of the period. During her travels to the Turkish city of Niš, for example, Serbian travel writer Jelena Dimitrijević wrote about the Muslim women she encountered. Titled *Pisma iz Niša* (1897), her travel account recounts these experiences, in which she oscillates between the typical xenophobic sentiment toward Turkish culture more broadly cemented within Serbian discourse, and a genuine appreciation for the transcultural facets of the city. The latter attitude is more interesting for the purpose of my study. Dimitrijević, for instance, criticises her Serbian companion, whom she takes with her to a Muslim wedding, for mocking the unfamiliar customs of the ceremony. Rather than siding with her friend, she states the following: "those who do not know how to respect what is unfamiliar cannot love what is their own." Thus, she subverts Serbian norms by showing respect and open interest for the Turkish betrothal process. More generally, she remarks the following: "If I ever heard someone say, 'Evil as a Turk', I would smile and remember my present neighbours [her Muslim woman friends]." Her appreciation is further reflected by the fact that her works combined the Serbian language with the local dialect of Niš. Dimitrijević's work, therefore, can be interpreted as evidence of female agency in the Balkans, highlighted by the journalist's ability to transcend her Christian-Serbian status, and enter the private life of the harem. This perspective is especially refreshing, since it came after Fatme Aliye's famous call for European women travellers to write about Muslim women in a less derogatory manner.

Similarly, the Bulgarian philanthropist Iordanka Filaretova, upon arriving to Constantinople in 1862, stated the following: "[…] although I have never left Sofia before, I believe that I will learn how to live in other places." Once again, we see the ways in which women could accept new ways of life and culture through journeys. Meanwhile, the Romanian writer Dora d'Istria, in works dedicated to her travels across various Balkan nations, praises the region for its beautiful cultures and people. For instance, she uses her political standing as the wife of Russian prince Alexandr

Koltsov Massalski to applaud the nation of Albania during her travels there in 1866: "[…] it always makes an interesting spectacle to follow a small people through the trials of being conquered without ever losing the qualities which make up the powerful national spirit." These positive representations extended to other Balkan nations, thus subverting Western perceptions of the region as backward and uncivilised, a notion that now predominates Balkanist discourse.

In contrast, the Greek novelist Demetra Vaka, on her journeys across the Balkan peninsula in the late nineteenth century, expresses condescension toward the behaviours of the women she encountered. Her travelogue, *The Heart of the Balkans* (1917), substantiates this. In one instance, she criticises a group of Montenegrin women for treating her like an exhibition while she undresses: "To them it was one of the most marvellous sights that they had ever witnessed." Here, it is Vaka who becomes the spectacle, while the Montenegrin women assume the role of spectators, temporarily disrupting Vaka's status as "the observer" during her travels. This notion is quickly destabilised, with Vaka once again retaking her agency – she continues to condemn the women for their lack and hygiene and general cultural backwardness. It is noteworthy to mention that Vaka's writings were by and large nationalistic in character, given that they were written at a time during which the modern Greek nation state began to take root. Thus, embedded in her texts is a complex interplay of forces – Greek nationalism and irredentism, coupled with the condescension of the "Other" (the rest of the Balkan countries). Vaka was not the only female writer to patronise her Balkan counterparts. The Ottoman author Melek Hanım, who also possessed Armenian, Greek and French heritage, expresses similar sentiments during her visit to Belgrade in the 1870s. While she describes the Serbian women and their customs neutrally, her broader description of the capital city is far from so: "Belgrad was then an ill-built town; its streets were narrow, dirty, and ill-paved." Notably, this account was written around the beginnings of the Serbian-Ottoman Wars (1876-1878), which marked a watershed moment in the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Hanım's description of Serbia, therefore, did not escape the political climate which accompanied her journey.

ILLUSTRATION BY JENNIFER ASHTON

Further, journeying was one of many tools that contributed to the making of the modern Balkan woman. By travelling alone, encountering foreigners,

and entering spaces that had previously been ascribed to men, women became active participants in the future of Balkan identity outside the rhetoric of Ottoman imperialism. This is exemplified by Raina Kostentseva's memoir, *Moiat Roden Grad Sofia (1908)*, in which she describes her travels on the Orient Express. Spanning across Europe, from Paris to Istanbul, the Orient Express quite literally offered its clients a journey from the West to the Orient, with the Balkans serving as a borderland between these realms. On one of her nights on the train, Kostentseva was approached by a group of curious foreigners wishing to examine her Bulgarian cigarettes and lighting kit. She humorously ends the story by underscoring that she accidentally almost set the train carriage on fire after failing to fully extinguish the paraphernalia in her bag. Within this tale, Kostentseva challenges multiple Bulgarian conventions: she smokes, a practice that was largely gendered in the early twentieth century, she flirtatiously converses with a group of men, and she is on the brink of destroying a carriage of the Orient Express. Thus, the train trip offers Kostentseva a means through which her status as a Bulgarian woman is superseded by her status as foremost a *journeyer*. Later in her account, however, Kostentseva attributes the continued subordination of women to "Turkish times", thus highlighting her rejection of the Ottoman past, and reinforcing her support for the construction of a Bulgarian national identity. Her nationalism is further reflected in her visit to Macedonia, during which she recounts with nostalgia the "old Makedoniia" before the revolutionary movement commenced.

Ultimately, Balkan women journeyers participated in broader networks of travel discourse; the practice of journeying was increasingly enmeshed with issues of nationalism, Westernisation, and feminism, vis-à-vis the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Some women used their writings as a means of expressing admiration for their neighbours' cultures, while others condemned them in an effort to propel their own nations. Meanwhile, travel granted Balkan women newfound agency by contributing to their reconfiguration into "the modern women". The travel accounts analysed above subverted various literary conventions: on the one hand, some challenged Western conceptions of the Balkans as primitive and oriental, and on the other, they introduced accounts of women, written *by* women. In this respect, I call for a further enquiry into the legacy of Balkan women journeyers, which may unveil further nuances in the relationship between different Balkan countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and between women of varying Balkan heritage.

THE FIRST MONARCH TO CIRCUMNAVIGATE THE GLOBE: HAWAIIAN KING KALĀKAUA'S 1881 WORLD TOUR

SAM MARKS

Hawaii, the fiftieth U.S. state to be admitted on August 29, 1959, has one of the most complex relationships to the Union. Situated far in the Pacific Ocean, the series of islands has one of the most ethnically and religiously diverse populations of any state. While most states actively sought to become part of the United States, Hawaii was annexed after the native Kingdom of Hawaii was overthrown and replaced with a white business-owning oligarchy. Due to its unique culture, history, and population, Hawaiian sovereignty has been a small but persistent movement aiming to regain independence from the United States.

Before becoming a state, the Hawaiian Kingdom governed the Pacific islands from 1795 to 1893 under the House of Kamehameha. In the eighteenth century, Hawaii gained diplomatic recognition from the United States and Europe, seeing a wave of explorers, merchants, and whalers venture to the islands for economic opportunity. Missionaries converted most of the native population to Christianity. America elites established sugar plantations on the islands, seeing an influx in contract workers from China, Japan, the Philippines, and Portugal. The resulting immigrant populations brought diseases such as leprosy and smallpox that decimated the native population. The Hawaiian monarchy resisted these destructive elements and aimed to save the islands from peril in the 1880s.

In 1874, following a lack of succession for the House of Kamehameha, David Kalākaua was elected King by the Hawaiian legislature. Focusing on the social decline of Hawaii, his inauguration was celebrated with Hula dancing, a native Hawaiian dance form that was previously banned in public that has become one of the most widely celebrated aspects of Hawaiian culture. He frequently greeted guests at ʻIolani Palace by playing his ukulele, hosted luaus, practiced surfing, and wrote Hawaii's current regional anthem, "Hawaiʻi Ponoʻī". Rather than attempting to further model Hawaii off Great Britain and the United States, Kalākaua incentivized the First Hawaiian Renaissance based on cultural nationalism. Attempting to stop the native population decline, Kalākaua embarked on an ambitious 281-day world tour that would see him become the first monarch to circumnavigate the globe.

In 1881, King Kalākaua set out on a world tour to spread global awareness of the decline in Hawaii's culture at the hands of disease and resource extraction. By travelling the world, he hoped to encourage leaders in America, Europe, and Asia to incentivize sugar plantation laborers to settle in family groups. Most sugar plantation laborers were single males, not giving the native Hawaiian population opportunities to start families. Kalākaua believed if more women and children immigrated to Hawaii, there would be

greater chance of native Hawaiians being able to spread their culture. Setting out to sea on the *City of Sydney* on January 20, 1881, Kalākaua and his traveling companions were sent off by the Royal Hawaiian Band, Hawaiian army, Catholic and Protestant communities, and well-wishers who sang Native Hawaiian songs.

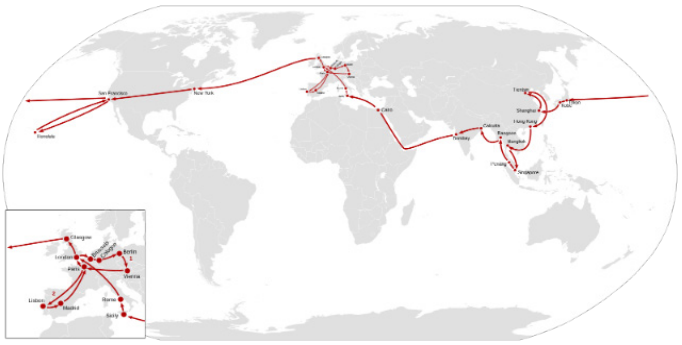
Accompanied by two personal friends, Charles Hasting Judd and George W. Macfarlane, and private cook Robert von Oelhoffen, Kalākaua's party landed in San Francisco, California on January 29. They were greeted with a 21-gun salute and, during their stay, met state Governor George Clement Perkins and honored in Chinatown by the Chinese Counsel-General. The rendezvous in San Francisco exemplified the types of greetings Kalākaua would receive across the world. Setting off from California on February 8, the Hawaiian king would journey the full length of the Pacific to arrive in Japan.

Arriving in Japan on February 8, Kalākaua was greeted with elaborate welcome ceremonies and the "Hawai'i Pono'ī" anthem play for his party. Hawaii and Japan had good relations since the 1871 Reciprocity treaty was signed and Kalākaua attempted to expand on these provisions during audiences with Emperor Meiji. Kalākaua feared the U.S. was planning on annexing Hawaii and, in secret meetings with the Emperor, advocated for Hawaii to become a protectorate of Japan. Additionally, Kalākaua discussed his grand political vision of a federated union of Polynesian states where the Pacific Island nations would band together to protect their populations, economic interests, and native culture. The Emperor declined to do both, but these proposed ideas would have severe ramifications to Hawaii's sovereignty after Kalākaua's journey was completed.

Kalākaua used his connections to the Freemasons to stay in various lodges across the various countries he visited. Following Japan, Kalākaua's party would travel to China, Hong Kong, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Myanmar, and India where he was greeted as a guest of honor by various nobles and notables. Sailing the Red Sea to Egypt, Kalākaua was given a tour of the Pyramids of Giza and the Sphinx despite no diplomatic treaty between the two nations. In many of these locations, the party encouraged rulers and administrative figures to promote emigration of agricultural workers to Hawaii.

On June 29, Kalākaua arrived in Italy, beginning his journey throughout Europe. When reaching England, he was given an audience with Queen Victoria. In Portugal, he initiated negotiations for a new treaty to support family emigration to Hawaii. On September 7, Kalākaua ventured to Scotland as his final destination in Europe, meeting the Lord Provost of Glasgow and touring Edinburgh. He departed back to the United States from Liverpool on September 13th.

Arriving in New York on September 23, Kalākaua's attended no functions as the assassination of President James A. Garfield brought about a citywide mourning. He did meet Thomas Edison to discuss upgrading Hawaii's streetlight with electricity. Traveling to Washington, D.C. on September 27, Kalākaua was introduced to newly inaugurated president Chester Alan Arthur. Boarding a train from D.C., the Hawaiian king visited various states such as Ohio, Kentucky, Nebraska, and Utah until arriving in California on October 11. On October 29, the King had finally returned home to Honolulu greeted by homecoming celebrations that lasted for days.



A map of Kalākaua's journey around the world.

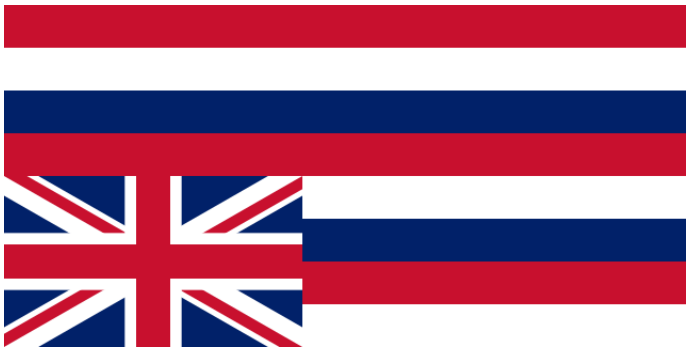
The benefits of Kalākaua's journey were mixed. Japan sent 943 contract laborers in families in 1885, whose immigration to Hawaii is still commemorated today. Kalākaua attempted to emulate European monarchies by renovating Iolani Palace and holding elaborate public ceremonies to commemorate the Islands advancements in technology. But while the King was widely celebrated for his return, some believed his journey was more of an excuse to see the world rather than just to save Hawaii.

The expenditures of the entire journey were estimated to be upwards of $22,500 and the refurbishing of the Palace at $343,595. The extravagance Kalākaua exuded ultimately saw the Kingdom of Hawaii come under increased pressure from white immigrants who supported U.S. annexation of Hawaii. In 1887, Kalākaua was forced by a militia commanded by judge Sanford B. Dole to sign the Bayonet Constitution, which surrendered the control of the cabinet to the legislature. This was the first major step towards U.S. annexation of what would become the fiftieth State.

On December 5, 1891, Kalākaua died while on a visit to California. His sister Liliuokalani succeeded him, serving as the only Queen of Hawaii. In 1893, Liliuokalani was overthrown by Dole's militia with the assistance of U.S. Secretary of State John W. Foster and Ambassador John L. Stevens. Dole established the provisional government of Hawaii, declaring himself as president of the islands. 21,000 natives signed anti-annexations petitions and protested the overthrow of the monarchy. While U.S. President Grover Cleveland denounced the overthrow as illegal and called an investigation, it was largely unsuccessful to convict any figures involved as pro-annexationist voices in the federal government gained greater power.

In 1898, Hawaii was formally annexed by U.S. President William McKinley and remained a territory until it received statehood in 1959. In 1993, 100 years after the overthrow of the monarchy, U.S. President Bill Clinton signed a joint Apology Resolution for U.S. involvement in the overthrow of the monarchy but declined to offer any reparations to natives in Hawaii. That same year, 17,000 Hawaiian's marched to demand native control over Hawaiian trust lands.

Kalākaua's legacy still remains strong in many aspects of Hawaiian cultural sovereignty. He was inducted into the Hawaiian music hall of fame for his encouragement of music and several places across the Islands have been named in his honor. The ukulele remains a symbol of Hawaiian culture with artists like Israel Kamakawiwo'ole using it to promote messages of national pride. Though currently just one of 50 states that make up the United States, Kalākaua ensured a wave of national pride and cultural promotion would keep Hawaii distinct from the rest of America and the world he circumnavigated.



Hawaii's state flag upside down, a symbol of support for Hawaiian sovereignty.

ROGER CASEMENT'S JOURNEY OF JUSTICE

LOUISA STEIJGER

***Content Warning**: This article includes mentions of violence, murder, weapons, mutilation, and rape.*

Sir Roger Casement (1864-1916) was not merely a diplomat in the British Colonial Service or an Irish nationalist; he was a man who dedicated his life to fighting against the forces of colonial and exploitative oppression, challenging the status quo with unwavering determination. Casement's journey as a humanitarian spanned continents where he was confronted by the brutal realities of colonial exploitation and corporate greed. From his investigations into the atrocities committed in the Congo Free State to his exploration of the abuses of the rubber industry in Peru, Casement's tireless advocacy ignited international outrage and catalysed much-needed reforms across the globe. Turning his attention to Irish nationalism and the fight for his own nation's independence, Casement met a tragic end in which he was hung for treasonous actions against Britain. A reflection of Casement's journey of justice and courage highlights how his legacy laid the groundwork for the future of humanitarianism, serving as a reminder of the enduring power of one individual to make a difference in the world.

As a result of the 1884-85 Berlin Conference, the administration of the Congo Free State was granted to a charitable company under King Leopold II's ownership, with the goal to end slavery and guarantee free trade for all. Whilst Leopold II was a constitutional monarch, in the context of the Congo Free State he exercised absolute sovereignty separate from Belgium's imperialist rule. Subsequently, this permitted Leopold to retain both a sizeable portion of the Congo as his private domain and a portion of some of the concession-awarded companies. Casement journeyed to the Congo in 1903, as part of the British Consul, to investigate reported human rights abuses associated with the rubber and ivory trade. However, his journey uncovered Leopold's failures to uphold his philanthropic promises: instead, Casement discovered how Leopold had transformed the Congo into a brutal regime underpinned by slave labour. Renting a steamboat, Casement travelled to the Upper Congo, a remote area of the Congo Free State, where he bore witness to the horrors inflicted upon indigenous peoples by the ruthless regime. Throughout his journey, Casement witnessed colonialism in its most brutal form, in which forced labour, excessive taxes, mutilation, murder and depopulation were synonymous with Leopold's regime. Subsequently, Casement produced a government report for the British Foreign Office on the Congo in February 1904, which meticulously documented the atrocities committed in the name of profit. His report prompted international outrage and catalysed much-needed reforms including the Belgian government's subsequent action in 1908 to remove Leopold from power in the Congo. This decision marked a pivotal moment in the history of colonialism, demonstrating the power of public outcry and diplomatic pressure in promoting vital change and reform. The publication of Casement's damning report was instrumental in bringing an end to one of the most shocking examples of colonial exploitation and catalysing the recognition of universal human rights.

Following his journey to the Congo, Casement turned his gaze towards South America, where he confronted the brutal abuses of the rubber industry in Peru, and particularly the region of Putumayo, a remote area of the Amazon. Operating as part of the British consular service in 1910, Casement investigated the atrocities committed by the Peruvian Amazon Co, a rubber boom company, that exploited both the indigenous Amerindians and British subjects from Barbados. Casement interviewed the victims and witnesses of this rubber exploitation and discovered that the indigenous people of Putumayo were treated as slaves, with practices such as rape, starvation, flogging, and murder utilised as methods of control to ensure the ultimate exploitation and commodification of rubber. Subsequently, Casement's journey to Peru surmounted in the publication of a secondary report in March 1911 for the Foreign Office that exposed the

exploitation of indigenous peoples in the Peruvian Amazon. Whilst his report attracted widespread attention, it did little to improve the conditions for the inhabitants in Putumayo. Thus, Casement's journey reveals the limitations of individuals within humanitarian intervention, underscoring the systemic challenges inherent in addressing human rights abuses. Whilst Casement's journey failed to deliver change in comparison to his actions in the Congo, his journey drew further attention to the necessity to reconcile the pursuit of profit with the protection of human dignity and the enduring need for collective action to confront injustice and uphold universal rights.

Casement's journey of justice culminated with his fervent dedication to the cause of Irish nationalism and independence. He recognised parallels between the oppressive colonial regimes he witnessed in the Congo Free State and Ireland under British rule. He saw the shared struggle for self-determination and freedom from oppressive foreign rule, which further fuelled his growing concern for the nationalist movement in Ireland. The formation of the Irish Volunteers in November 1913, a political militia that sought to protect Irish Home Rule, provided Casement with a new purpose as a member of the provisional committee. Operating within the Irish Volunteers, Casement played a pivotal role in organizing the July 1916 Howth gunrunning which actively went around the British ban on Irish gun imports securing arms from Germany for the burgeoning independence movement. Furthermore, Casement played an instrumental role in rallying support for the cause abroad, particularly within the United States, in which Casement raised significant funds from Irish Americans. However, the outbreak of the First World War distracted attention from Irish Affairs and thus, Casement looked elsewhere for support to defend the Irish Home Rule. Casement believed that Germany could offer crucial support to the cause and would benefit from Irish Independence as it would limit Britain's maritime sovereignty providing Germany with the power to access the Atlantic. Indeed, an Irish Rebellion would benefit Germany, as it would distract British Forces and potentially dissuade Irish Americans, and by extension the US, from entering the war. Consequently, Casement travelled to Germany to secure military aid. However, Casement's efforts were thwarted when Britain intercepted communications resulting in Casement's arrest on the eve of the Easter Rising. He was tried for treason alongside fifteen other rebel leaders and subsequently hung on the 3 August 1916 at the age of fifty-one. In death, Casement became a symbol of unwavering dedication to the pursuit of justice and the enduring struggle for Irish Independence.

ILLUSTRATION BY AOIFE CÉITINN

Despite his heroism and sacrifice, to some extent, Casement's legacy remains a subject of debate and controversy. While he is hailed by some as a visionary and a martyr for the cause of justice, others view him with suspicion and disdain, as a result of his involvement in treasonous activities against the British and his tarnished reputation due to his alleged sexuality. The publication of Casement's *Black Diaries*, supposedly documenting his homosexual activities, a once imprisonable offence, further complicated Casement's legacy as a national hero. Many argued that his identity differed to the other 1916 leaders and subverted the notion that revolutionaries were hyper-masculine figures who defended Ireland above all else. However, it is crucial to note that some believe the *Black Diaries t*o be the work of the British Secret Service who wanted to further ruin Casement's reputation within conservative Ireland. Arguably, Casement's sexuality, once considered taboo and a potential source of shame, now serves as a reminder of the struggles faced by LGTBQ+ individuals throughout history. In a period where Ireland has made significant strides in advancing LGBTQ+ rights, including the legalisation of same-sex marriage and the election of its first openly gay Taoiseach, Leo Varadkar, Casement's story takes on new relevance. Furthermore, the backdrop of Brexit and Ireland's evolving relationship with the UK prompts a revaluation of Casement's legacy, enabling a greater understanding of his role as a champion of Irish nationalism and sovereignty. Thus, Casement's unwavering commitment to justice and his profound impact on the course of history cannot be denied.

Roger Casement's remarkable journey crossed continents and ideologies, leaving a deep-rooted mark on the history of colonialism, human rights, and the struggle for national sovereignty. From the Congo to Peru and ultimately to Ireland, Casement confronted the brutal realities of exploitation, oppression, and colonialism, witnessing the ultimate culmination of human greed and ambition. His tireless advocacy demonstrates the power of individual courage in the face of injustice and reveals his legacy in setting the stage for the enduring struggle for human dignity and universal rights.

'ADDING TO THE COSMOPOLITAN FLAVOR' OR NOT: LACKING STRENGTH AND PERSISTENT TENSION WITHIN NEW YORK'S DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES

HARRRY FRY

When remarking on persistent and rapid immigration into New York by 1888, *The Sun* advertised that 'local' New Yorkers only saw this 'adding to the cosmopolitan flavour'. In actuality, official census records named them the 'alien' or 'foreign-born' population, affirming the tone of Dos Passos' novel on American discontent towards migrants and refuting New York's historically free and proudly multicultural image. After its founding in the 1620s by the Dutch West India Company, New York was commercialised drastically under English hegemony to become the world's most cosmopolitan city from the American Revolution onwards. Within the context of migrant history, this city's vibrant transformation and its popular status in the modern day hides the overtly racist atmosphere it had from the nineteenth century onwards. The city's restrictions against each migrant community fuelled an awakening of cultural differences, instigating hostile competitiveness and ethnic segregation.

Chinatowns, Little Italy, German bakeries, traditional Jazz music, and diverse religious histories are the consequences of such immigration into New York during the 1800s. Their existence points towards empowered and open-minded attitudes amongst long-term residents. Discussions on its intolerant past have been confined to how New Yorkers perceived foreigners, regularly failing to explain why their attitudes were unwelcoming, or connects this to why these migrants from across the world were also hostile to one another. New York created a volatile environment for its migrant population, ensuring those who resettled failed to fulfil the supposed possibilities of interdependence and cultural hybridity. Due to the shallow mindsets of New Yorkers and a lack of preparation for the immense growth of the city, the potential for true multiculturalism was broken as migrants instead attempted to culturally assimilate, fuelling compounded and internalised racism. The *not* of this article's title relates to the established scholarly name for this reality: 'Salad Bowl'. In opposition to the progressive 'Mixing Bowl' New York could have founded, this terminology – likening reality to a separated dish where each group remains isolated – emphasises diasporic communities existing under parallel journeys of contrasting intolerance.

The tensions between migrants were initially spurred by limited room and resources. Ellis Island's regulations allowed families to enter with some form of physical income and foodstuffs, limiting the majority's housing options to overfilled tenement buildings in unhygienic and unsafe conditions. Being without approved education and frequently unable to speak any English, migrants worked in sweatshops, construction, or domestic services within either factories or converted homes. These structures lacked both heating and sufficient lighting, this was a particular issue during the winter months and becomes even more significant when considering workers eye health. In a state of continual poverty, migrant families largely remained in overcrowded housing, which had the highest yellow fever contraction rates. Amplifying these considerations made by Rosenwaike and Model, Kolb proposes that the 'mixing pot' experience of migrants *caused* their 'salad bowl' attitudes. Her research focuses equally on migrants' brutal journey to the United States. They were crammed in stations and harbours at home for departure, squeezed on unsanitary ships with rampant cholera infection rates, and arrived at Ellis Island or the "Isle of Tears", where they feared rejection and detention. As they were risking their futures entirely during this journey – a terrifying ordeal where some migrants are recorded to have contracted trachoma from crying in excess on the ships – families were discontent and therefore possessed an inward focus. In struggling to be certain of their security, migrants fought for themselves and their families, limiting any sense of unity between others who could be stealing their chance at success.

While traditionalists question how migrants could have struggled, as New York was experiencing prosperity during this period, Model finds this dilemma an insufficient query. The city was unwelcoming towards migrants whose safety was never considered. Rather, they were placed within the quarters of society no other group wanted to be involved in. In a similar vein, the local population were mentally unequipped and unmovable towards these new cultures. At the heart of global migrant struggles is a cultural and language barrier, which exacerbated communication issues, even between migrant communities themselves. Rosenwaike suggests evidence of missing cultures on census records arose from an inability to gain such information, not only because of non-English speaking migrants but because of New York authorities' limited comprehension of each distinct foreign culture. Feeling the sentiment of being unwanted and being perceived as 'the other', migrants locked themselves in with each other. However, this did not equate to migrant cross-cultural interconnectedness, as they remained segregated with merely their singular ethnicities.

To explain this twofold segregated reality, the themes of prejudices and stereotypes must be approached. The theory of nativism within this subject is coined by Hirota to distinguish migrant struggles when turbulently assimilating into American society. Migrant communities altered lifestyles which New York locals found unattractive, transforming yet confining their culture to gain approval from the domineering race. Chinatown and Little Italy served different food to incentivise New Yorkers to regularly visit, Black Jazz became performative and represented in glamorised clothing and decorations for shows, and Irish and German migrants silenced their novel religious beliefs when unpopular to appease traditional church and sermon practices. Nonetheless, maintaining restrictions on their cultural frameworks did not ease tensions and intolerance. Hirota notes more firmly that foreign cultures did not match true New Yorker resident identity and, vitally, locals did not allow them to enter their institution and world. The practices of assimilation and ethnicisation were unrewarded, yet merely broke down migrant's appreciation of their original, home culture.

Anzia Yezierska, a Jewish immigrant who epitomised migrant life in New York, found that 'In America you can say what you feel – you can voice your thoughts in the open streets without fear'. While this remark proposes freedom of expression in the city, it conversely intended to depict the ability of residents to instigate prejudice against

the foreign population. Particularly concerning African Americans, whose population rose to make up 30% of New York by the eighteenth century, white New York residents struggled to accept their growing existence and activity post-slavery. This is significant as immigrants to New York mirrored the white residents' intolerant sentiments, in that preserving historic, white-oriented American identity was vital. To assimilate and in hopes of slipping into local status, migrants regularly followed trends, including damaging ones such as these which enacted hostility towards African Americans existing freely alongside them. This secures the belief of scholars that both domestic and global migrants into New York were segregated, isolating themselves from each other as internalised racism arose.

The theme of cuisines and food cultures is addressed in historiography on New York migrant history, but its formal relevance to the subject remains contentious. This topic, when evaluated, contributes to a tangible dimension of segregation and competitiveness between migrant groups which exists discreetly in the present day. Samuel King's study, entitled 'Exclusive Dining', posits that the Chinese Exclusion Act was unwritten due to local desires to have their own version of Eastern cuisine. King extends her analyses to Said's theory of orientalism, substantiating American desire for Chinese produce and existence in their country as a historical penchant for grasping the so-called 'Middle Kingdom'. However overwritten this may be, her research validates the presentation of different migrant communities as fighting for local appreciation and attention. Each 'Little' culture district or 'town' clung to enthusiasm from New Yorkers to ascertain more robust settlement in the city, and one might ask to what extent this penetrates contemporary life.

While support networks and solidarity eventually could have been formed, this initial century of truly global migration into New York is defined by a hostile and tense atmosphere. Migrants prioritised themselves, and even then, struggled to gain prosperity. The virtual impossibility of finding stability or a sense of belonging meant their neighbouring cultures and enclaves were more competition than a friend in parallel arms. Given both the overt and covert unwelcomeness of the city, the inevitability of segregation could be proposed. Why is New York a quintessential example of a thriving cross-cultural melting pot when, identically to other regions with migrant bubbles, this pot was founded through exclusion and seclusion on all fronts?

FOUR AMONG THREE

EDITH MARTELL

Author's Note: Ernest Shackleton and two members of his crew embarked on one final thirty-six-hour push across the stretch of ice that separated their camp at Elephant Bay from the whaling stations of South Georgia and salvation. Though he and his crew refused to talk about it, Shackleton himself acknowledges in his account of the events a presence, felt beside them during that time. Indeed, T. S. Eliot's poem The Wasteland *takes from this the idea of a fourth man. Another on the road, though incorporeal, still tangible.*

In the ice cold of the arctic, the loudest of sounds is that in your head. I can attest to this; the first time I became aware of another on the fields we walked, I felt as though a shadow had passed before the sun and left me wanting. Blinking became mechanical as I stared at it. A person: there was no denying its shape, but its substance was where it became more difficult. It seemed an oil slick, like the backs of the hunting seals that would often breach beside the prow of our ship. It seemed the black-tar dips in the waves, the snow the foam. The snow was white, of course, in a way that could never be described — I have tried, now my feet are back in London and the wind is no longer trying to steal me away. I have likened it to the skeletal mass of whale-fall and to the dark eyed killers' stripes, but nothing quite captures the rawness. The snow was white as a blade was sharp — it was a pure untouchable truth. It seemed to me that we had grown bigger in the bigness of the whole.

And the thing against it. The man, the fourth among us. It was dark as night and twice as silent. It was softer than water and harder than ice — I felt it would as soon have drowned us as helped us swim. If it had touched me, it would have been the tundra that reached out. Worsley and Crean were close, strong, companions but even their steady eyes began to flicker and cloud the longer we pressed on. It would eat us up inside, this shared denial. Or maybe it was something else that would be doing the eating: we were all prepared to die, though none of us could seem to manage it.

Our dogs, our faithful companions, became something different to our minds. Their jaws, the line of their bones was as close to those shapes beneath the water as anything. Their lonely howls would answer those of the wind, the teeth in their mouths and their lolling pink tongues slashed across like stolen pomegranate seeds, sticky and inviting and dangerous. I would not spend six months more in this place.

It was all fire and ice, this song and dance. The push and pull of the place. Below the surface, the honeyed tar of the seals would break and roll, curious eyes watched us — and they were not alone. The man, our companion, watched on with unwavering intensity. There was not a malice, perhaps, that was intentional, but there was an unease between the group at its stare. The water would have killed us had we thought to touch it, the breath stolen from our lungs before we submerged, but like the bears that roamed that never changing tundra we did not stray from our hunt.

I thought to myself often: is it the arctic we fear? Its neck seemed wrong somehow -its eyes, which it must have had, are glassy in my recollection. It was off, like an older idea of man, something pulled from within our shared history to stand before us. I did not, I do not, like it. Something deep within me, something that had previously held fast, bolted at the sight of it. The oldest terror flooded through me — but with it the strangest calm. I felt beholden to it. It would not harm me as it would not harm the ground on which it stood. We all belonged to the same substance, and in that way, were allied with it on that cold and lonely coast. I had reached the naked soul of man, and from it I could never again turn away.

When it came near, I could smell the same sweet damp

ILLUSTRATION BY AILSA FRASER

as when my father poisoned rabbits beneath our house one summer: rot. It clung to us; though the setting sun washed the world in dazzling colours it could not seem to wash us of it. There was no communication on our parts about its existence, nor was there conversation directed towards it. I do not know, if it had spoken, what it would have sounded like. The creaking wail of the ice floes became our radio: if we listened hard enough, we could pretend it was static. We were in a gentlemen's club in London, and we were freezing to death. I think we were afraid, of course, of hearing it. I still do not wish to know what it said.

I felt I ought to pray to my God, though I did not remember Him in that place; I began, instead, to dedicate the rhythm of my footsteps to whatever it was that would offer me salvation. In some way, I understood those people of old. Without the comfort of such necessities as running water and hand soap I began to paint faces into the howling storm. Worsley would flinch at nothing, and we would all breathe deeply, as if underwater. The ice would not have killed us; it was the cold it warned us of that would. In some peculiar way, I began to imagine myself below the ice - a dark object with all the grace of a seal but none of the likeness. Trapped down there, I would wonder if I, too, would poke my head above the lead and turn one ugly eye to travellers in anticipation. It must have been so lonely, before we came along.

Of course, the grass begets the man. The cycle of growth and rebirth, growth and death one impenetrable as long as we have existed. There have been songs written on this inevitability, whole religions pulled tight to shield its truth. There was no chance of losing our humanity in this place, no: we were too alien for that, too separate, but to lose our time? Our sense of those growing things that lurked beneath our weary feet? That was all too real a possibility. The cold tugged at my edges and pulled at myself until it was all that I knew, it was all that I—

The gannets on those cliffs bought forth their strange song,

and left it floating on the air. God's chorus; in harmony with the elements, the smell of their waste pungent. The taste of its foulness was in my lungs and my mouth, I breathed it in, and I loved it for its life. There was something awful in their wailing – the insistence of their presence on that icy plain. It was something real, at least, to keep us grounded. I would still check above my shoulder from time to time, flinching at an imagined form, but with each step towards that bay and its huts — towards salvation — I felt a little less afraid. I had moved through the winter and had come out into the spring of my life. The beach before me was fresh and clean in a way that the ice, in its impenetrable whiteness, had never achieved. The waves stretched out before me like my future, with the artic behind me. When we arrived at the whalers', shaved our beards and combed our hair, I felt a numbness not caused by the cold. In the wind I heard its voice — *come back come back come back* — I felt its joy and I felt our absence; my face was clean, and my hands were empty once more. Before us stood salvation, before us stood England.

It was as alien to us as the land to which it so clearly belonged. There was a desire there, evident to us, to understand and then return, to our world, our entirety. Over those long thirty-six hours I felt we became close to that tundra, as if it had sent something to greet us and to guide us back to our home of iron and steel. I still do not know the purpose of this encounter nor its bearing on my life, but I can speak for one and all when I say that we remain, to this day, four. Not three.

RUSSIANS IN EGYPT: FAMILY LEGACY IN GLOBAL CONTEXT

SOMMER BIANCHI

Growing up, my grandmother, Halina, would tell my sister and I stories about growing up in Egypt. We heard about everything from my great-grandmother's cooking to how long the school bus took to take her home. I always wanted to know more about not only my grandmother, but also my great-grandmother, and her escape from Russia to Egypt. If anyone could be labelled a traveler and trailblazer, it would be my great-grandmother, Xenia. I will be using oral histories from my mother and my aunts to set the foundation of their stories, confirming those with family records such as marriage and death certificates. These personal stories will then be used to look at the general context of Russian refugees in Egypt after the Russian Revolution. This article will take the stories of my great-grandparents, Xenia and Alexy, and use them to further understand the experiences of Russian immigrants, specifically in Egypt.

I would like to specify that my great-grandparents considered themselves Russian, even though they were from what we would consider Ukraine. In recorded documents, they identified as being from "Ukraine, Russia", seeing Ukraine as being within Russia. My great-grandparents are Ukrainian, but because their birthplaces were within Russia at the time and because they themselves identified as Ukrainians within Russia, I will be referring to them as Russian throughout this article.

Figure 1: From left to right, Xenia, Halina, and Alexy Krougley in Cairo, 1948

Xenia (possibly Aksinya or Aksinia) Ivan Sivak (sometimes Sivakowa) was born on February 16, 1896, in Borsna Tchenigov, Russia, which is in the present-day Chernihiv Oblast, Ukraine. Her father was John Sivak, a wealthy landowner, which placed Xenia and her six siblings in the aristocratic class. There is not much information on her life until she is a young adult. One of Xenia's younger sisters wanted to get married but was unable to until Xenia herself got married. Therefore, Xenia was sent to stay in a convent with her aunt in Jerusalem sometime between 1915 and 1917. Old photographs and further research suggest that this convent belongs to the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene, which is at the bottom of the Mount of Olives in the Garden of Gethsemane. The church was recruiting Russian women to stay and worship there, leading to Xenia's residence at the convent. Xenia herself was deeply religious and remained at the convent until after the First World War. She then became employed as a lady's companion by her aunt's friend until 1920 or 1921, when she joined other Russians finding refuge in Egypt.

Alexy, or Alexis Ivan Krougly, was born on October 18,

Figure 2: Xenia, middle, at the convent in Jerusalem

1895, in Onipropetvosk/Yekaterinoslav, Russia, which is present-day Dnipro/ Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine. Alexy was also from a big family but was not from a high social class. He was from a military family: one of nine children, almost all boys and almost all soldiers. He, too, joined the military, becoming an officer. Alexy was injured towards the end of the First World War and recovered in Constantinople. He then rejoined the military with the White Army in the Russian Civil War, fighting in Crimea. When it became clear that the White Army would lose, many of its members, including Alexy, boarded British ships to find refuge. While some ships went directly to Alexandria, Alexy made his way into Palestine, as he was either injured or had tuberculosis. Once recovered, Alexy made the final leg of his journey, finding himself in the Sidi Bishr camp in around 1921 or 1922.

The British were heavily involved in the movement and housing of Russian refugees. What began as military aid and support started to shift to possible evacuation for White Army soldiers. These evacuations were taking place at the port of Novorossiysk in Southern Russia, with ships departing to multiple destinations within the Black Sea. In 1920, the British government was not enacting measures to evacuate anyone except for military personnel. This was until the British High Commissioner in Southern Russia, Halford Mackinder, promised the families of White Army soldiers that they would also be taken to safety. The result was the British government scrambling to find a way to fulfill his promise, first with military families and then all those with military connections, and finally civilians. Where they would end up was complicated. In the end, there were refugees in modern-day Istanbul, Prinkipo, Lemnos, Cyprus, Tuzla, and Salonika. By the time the S.S. Saratov left port, Istanbul was experiencing famine from the number of refugees now living there, and their previous destination of Cyprus was similarly overcrowded. There was one option that had be ruled out due to political unrest, but with a boat filled with refugees and more on their way, the S.S. *Saratov* made its way south to Alexandria, starting the flow of Russian refugees into Egypt.

Before the S.S. *Saratov* docked, there were already around 4,000 Russians in Egypt due to the existence of military hospitals. The reason why these camps were not automatically thought of as refugee camps is because the soldiers who recovered in these camps then returned to war, so these camps were not being used as semi-permanent housing. When it was decided that refugees would be staying in Alexandria, there were no camps built specifically for them, so old prisoner of war camps and military bases were used. At their peak, the number of Russians in Egypt jumped from around 4,000 to around 10,000.

Alexandria had four refugee camps: Tel el Kebir, Abbassia, Isamlia, and Sidi Bishr. Tel el Kebir was the main camp, with Abbassia operating as a military hospital, and Sidi Bishr was originally for families with ill or elderly members but became general purpose later on. Life inside the camps relied heavily on the Russian Orthodox Church. Refugees had unknown futures in front of them: their families were separated, and they were in an unknown country with no permanent home or source of income. Religion therefore

Figure 3: Alexy, second from left, with other Russian refugees in Alexandria

became a central part of camp life, with the church becoming a way to preserve their cultural identity. Schools were established in Sidi Bishr and were key to maintaining Russian children's cultural identities, as well as continuing their education by teaching multiple languages. Camps were filled with choirs, orchestras, even newspapers to bind together their communities, despite disparities in wealth and opportunities within the groups. There were also efforts from the British and Egyptian governments to keep Arabs and Russians separate, which led to Russians struggling to find employment outside the camps due to anti-British and anti-European attitudes. Many refugees left the camps and found their way around the world, with this all camps closed on May 27, 1922, leaving only 2,000 Russians in Egypt.

Among them were Xenia and Alexy. How they met is unknown, but they married on January 15, 1923, and settled in Abu Qir. My grandmother, Halina, was born August 29, 1924. Abu Qir was a community of formerly affluent and noble Russian refugees. Many of them were artists and musicians, with my grandmother being taught piano by a famous Russian pianist. These communities, while within Egypt, were very much Russian. Russian and Ukrainian were my grandmother's first languages, with Arabic being the third. The Arabs and Russians were not separate, but Russian culture, specifically the Russian Orthodox Church, were central to these communities. The church was the roots to "home", to tradition from a place they had lost. It would be incorrect to say that Russian immigrants did not assimilate into Egyptian culture, but this connection to the Russian Orthodox Church and groups such as orchestras and choirs worked to maintain a distinct Russian culture within refugee communities.

My great-grandparents continued to travel the world. They moved to Cairo after the Second World War, and then followed my grandmother to New York. They first stayed with someone affiliated with the Russian Orthodox Church in Brooklyn, before moving to Hollis, and finally Franklin Square in Long Island, where my mother was born. They moved to Maine later, where Alexy died in 1969. Xenia then moved back to Franklin Square with my grandmother, Halina, and died in 1982.

History is at its best when it comes alive. Xenia and Alexy have always been real to me: they're my great-grandparents. I've seen their photos, I have their jewelry and books, so they have always existed for me. Powerful history is what makes them real for others, and I have tried my best to make them real for you too. I thought in digging through records and academic journals that I would find a deeper connection to my family, but I didn't expect to find a deeper emotional connection to the greater historical topic of Russian Civil war refugees. I look forward to doing more biographical research in the future, and I encourage everyone who can to investigate their family history, as it helps connect us to the history inside us all.

PIONEERING ARTISTS: WAS TRAVEL NECESSARY FOR SUCCESS?

FLORA GILCHRIST

From premodern renaissance art to post-impressionism, travel has always been an essential theme influencing the artworks, styles, and techniques of many famous artists. Whether said travel was within the continent of Europe or further afield, travelling unearthed new cultures and experiences for artists and visitors alike. This article firstly aims to explore the works of premodern artists El Greco and Albrecht Dürer, exploring their stylistic changes. However, this inherent assumption that travel enriches the work of the traveller is situated in the context of the nineteenth and twentieth century, when accounts from foreign places circulated in the public sphere, making their way back to Europe through art exhibitions, human zoos, and the rise of colonialism, and manifesting through art movements such as primitivism. The increased accessibility of knowledge during colonial times begs the question: was travel as important, and even if artists did travel, were these distant places accurately depicted? As with some artists, like Picasso, the influence from African tribal art is very apparent, but Picasso hardly travelled. Moreover, when studying the work of Paul Gaugin, who travelled to Tahiti, Eurocentrism dominates, revealing that travel often only deepens the preconceptions of the traveller. By studying a range of artists, it becomes clear that the act of travelling is multifaceted, both enriching artistic styles, and also acting as a mechanism whereby harmful Eurocentric assumptions can be perpetuated.

It is clear that in premodern times, namely the sixteenth century, travel acted as a means of furthering artistic talent and expression. El Greco benefitted greatly from travel, developing new bold styles, thus enabling El Greco's transformation into a world-renowned artist. Born in Crete, El Greco travelled from Greece to the heart of the renaissance, seeking to learn western artistic techniques, specifically the art of naturalism. Travelling most certainly paid off for El Greco, resulting in striking differences between his earlier versus later works once he settled in Toledo, Spain. When in Crete, El Greco's

Figure 1: El Greco's The Burial of the Count of Orgaz

artworks included warmer colours and a less realistic style. Craving practical workshop experience, El Greco moved from Venice to Rome to Spain, picking up artistic styles and mentors as he travelled, famously being mentored by Titian. *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, circa 1586, epitomises the artistic styles El Greco picked up along his travels. Not only this, but this artwork also showcases the cultural hybridity that emerges from travelling, with El Greco's Cretan roots still shining through. It depicts the miracle of Saint Stephen and Augustine's presence at the burial of Count Orgaz. Its darker but more golden hues portray Renaissance techniques, whereas the naturalistic crowd of people surrounding the Count is typical of Cretan paintings. *The Burial* is therefore an artful blend of old and new, adopting new renaissance iconography but steadily maintaining byzantine influences from his earlier works. After studying the works of El Greco in more detail, it is clear travelling births the

Figure 2: Dürer's The Adoration of the Trinity

growth of new artistic experiences and stylistic awareness.

Another artist who benefitted greatly from travel was Albrecht Dürer, originally from Germany. Dürer travelled for similar reasons to El Greco; to become acquainted with Italian culture and combining his Northern Renaissance style with Italian features. Dürer's *The Adoration of the Trinity*, circa 1511, transgresses the labels of Northern versus Italian Renaissance. Dürer employs a Venetian colour palette of red, blue, and green, inspired by the classical works of Leonardo Da Vinci, however, he combines Italian styles with an elaborately carved wooden frame. This intricately crafted frame exemplifies Dürer's German and gothic roots, where woodcutting techniques developed in the Low Countries. Dürer's skilful combinations of styles lay the foundations for his transformation into a world renown artist. Recognition of Dürer's works stretched beyond contemporary accolades, with there being nearly 11,000 publications written about him to date.

The examples of El Greco and Albert Dürer certainly exemplify the utility of travel during premodern times, specifically the fifteenth century, however upon progressing into more modern times the purpose of travel becomes more nuanced and questionable. During El Greco's lifetime, to become well recognised as an artist you had to travel to circulate your own work. In later centuries, the success stories of artists would often circulate without the artist even leaving their home country. This calls into question the very purpose and nature of travelling. During the height of imperialism, looted art objects circulated amongst European capital cities, aiding the formation of the primitivist art movement. Primitivism was a western art movement founded in the early twentieth century, aiming to 'appreciate' and encompass so called 'abstract' techniques from non-western nations. In the early 1900s, non-western 'primitive art' has been exoticized and arguably fetishized by modern artists such as Picasso, Derain, and Matisse. These artists aligned themselves with primitivism to focus on spontaneity, impulsiveness, emotion, and imagination in their practices. Picasso is a prime example of this 'travel-less' phenomenon, having achieved international recognition by profiting off unfamiliar foreign styles in his work, despite hardly venturing outside of France and Spain. One of Picasso's most famous works, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, uses African tribal masks to cover the faces of five sex workers. The masks themselves look realistic because the objects were looted from Africa and kept in Picasso's studio. In this instance, Picasso completely skipped the travel phase of success, using other people's

Figure 3: Picasso's La Demoiselles d'Avignon

objects without giving full credit. The example of Picasso is not to say that travel was an irregular occurrence during the nineteenth century. There were many artists, including post-impressionists, who traversed many continents. Another interesting point of comparison between premodern artists and post impressionists surrounding the purpose of travel is that premodern artists mostly travelled to learn the techniques of other 'likeminded' European art practices, whereas in the height of imperialism priorities shifted. Many post impressionists travelled in order to impress the west, thus perpetuating harmful Eurocentric stereotypes forced onto 'othered' cultures. A main example of this is artist Paul Gaugin, as although his success relied on his travels unlike Picasso, Gaugin is often accused of appropriated peoples' cultures as opposed to appreciating the livelihoods of others. Unlike Picasso, Gaugin grew up well travelled, living in Peru and working as a merchant marine sailing around the world. Gaugin's trip to Tahiti was the main source of inspiration for his strong stylistic change. Gaugin wanted to add a primitive element to his art, however in doing so portrayed Tahiti in an incredibly fantasised light, as a distant and exotic land. Furthermore, Gaugin's paintings often included the objectification of indigenous Tahitian women. There is a massive scholarly debate surrounding Paul Gaugin and whether he respected the cultures he painted or not. Scholar Robert Goldwater coins the term 'romantic primitivism,' attributing Gaugin's work to this label. In particular, Gaugin's *Spirit of the Dead Watching* is the epitome of 'romantic primitivism,' with the artwork embodying a dreamy and less realistic setting, due to the purple background and masked figure watching over a nude black woman. Not only is this woman objectified in her nudity, forced onto the bed in an act of subordination and stillness, the figure in the background of the painting dressed completely in black creates an unsettling atmosphere. This shows that Gaugin did not travel to Tahiti solely to paint a realistic portrayal of Tahiti, but rather to experiment and play with the western fear of otherness.

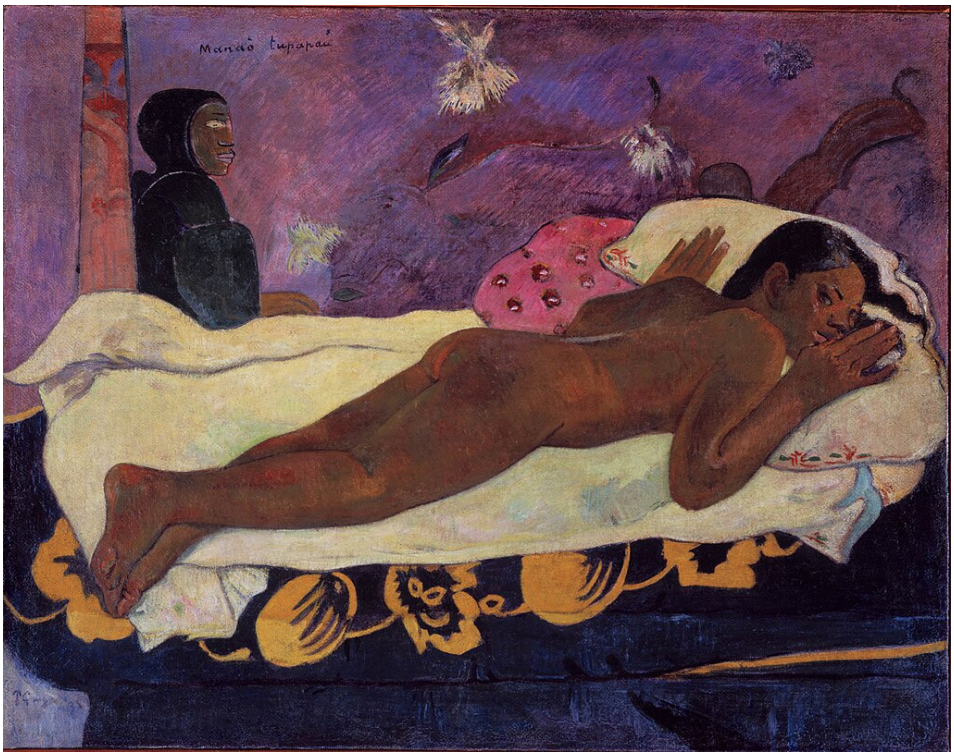


Figure 4: Gaugin's Spirit of the Dead Watching

To conclude, travel has always been a vital component to success for well-known artists. However, upon studying a range of artists from different periods and styles, it is clear that reasons behind travel change from artist to artist. Premodern painters El Greco and Albrecht Dürer celebrate and combine the artistic techniques of the cultures they visit in a skilful and meaningful way, creating culturally intertwined pieces. However, by looking at the work of more recent artists, specifically post impressionists, the art of travel (or lack thereof) becomes a vessel that can be exploited and appropriated. Despite visiting Tahiti, Gaugin's paintings are arguably still dictated by the western fear of otherness, with the subjects in his paintings and locations often seeming faraway and abnormal. Similarly, with Picasso's lack of travelling, he is able to remove himself from the true origin and culture of the art and African masks he collects. Ultimately, the art of travelling undoubtedly influenced artists, but in light of the 'primitivist art' movement, travelling sometimes becomes less effective in breaking down presumptions surrounding otherness.

RECLAIMING LENINGRAD: MIGRATION AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE WAKE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

ISHAABHYA TRIPATHI

From Russia's imperial capital to the site of the most devastating wartime siege in history, Leningrad's memory endures as a centre of political phenomena. However, cities have always been defined by their populations, most of whom were civilians. War, siege, and dictatorship all had cataclysmic effects on Leningrad's citizens, but the repatriation of refugees, reconstruction of the city, and continuation of life under the Soviet regime demonstrate the extraordinary ability of cities to repair and rebuild themselves.

After the Second World War, Soviet officials wanted Leningrad to serve as a blueprint socialist city that others should strive to emulate. This ignited debate about instigating population controls in Leningrad, with people being turned away or accepted based on their employment and the suitability of their skills. Managing net migration to Leningrad became increasingly difficult, especially because the central USSR government in Moscow called many displaced Leningraders back to the city so that they could boost post-war industrial productivity and help the economy. The fact that accommodation was state-owned provided a filter of sorts through which returning Leningraders could be categorised, with some being denied re-entry to their former homes. Displaced citizens could only return if they could contribute to rebuilding infrastructure or the economy. Workers whose jobs contributed towards reconstruction were more likely to be able to come back early. Travel to Leningrad from outside the Soviet Union and from Leningrad to other Soviet cities was controlled by the Soviet government, because managing migration in this way was crucial to instating influence and exercising political power on the government's part. The local government in Leningrad and central government in Moscow had contentious discussions and conflicting opinions over allowing people back into the city, since Leningrad authorities wanted to restrict migration relative to the resources they had.

In some historical literature, the Moscow government has been accused of 'provincializing' Leningrad. Essentially, evacuated Leningraders were not allowed to come back, and their places in the city were reportedly filled with migrants from the countryside. Ultimately, the Moscow government wanted to control migration to Leningrad so that it would line up with their economic goals for the city. Whilst Leningrad authorities wanted to limit this migration to what could be sustained by their resources, the number of people moving into the city increased every year in the early post-war period, with Leningrad seeing 660,000 migrants in 1945. Not all of these were evacuated citizens who were now coming home; many were young people coming to study in Leningrad or those who had been recruited to work in the city. Despite the conflict between Leningrad and Moscow governments, they both agreed that Leningrad was becoming a hotbed for Russia's intellectuals, particularly those specialising in science and technology. This would undoubtedly be invaluable for the economy, as well as contributing to the research conducted by institutions such as Leningrad University and the Chemical and Technological Institute, so students, professors, and young professionals were allowed to return earlier than other civilians.

Mass migration to Leningrad meant that the housing system had to be reformed and extended in order to cope with the ensuing residential shortage. For Soviet officials, this was an opportunity to transform the city into the socialist exemplar that politicians had been aiming for since the start of the post-war period. Under Stalinism, housing was conceived on the premise that communities would be centred around their neighbourhoods. Childcare, healthcare, and education would theoretically all be available within each community, meaning that employment posed the only reason for someone to leave their district. Even shops were situated around train stations, so that Leningraders could buy groceries, personal care products, and other essentials on their journey to and from work. Leningrad could be

Figure 1: Citizens of Leningrad queuing for water during the Siege of Leningrad, which lasted 872 days

rebuilt in part around this ideal because most of its housing was damaged by shelling during the Second World War.

An important factor when considering Leningrad's reconstruction is the status it had as a centre of power and culture for the Soviet political regime. In terms of importance and esteem, the only city that surpassed Leningrad was Moscow. This meant that Leningrad received more economic aid from the central government; placed in the context of post-war poverty and shortages, this further incited migration to the city. As part of the regime, the state oversaw the construction of post-war accommodation, and their plan for returning civilians was to allocate housing mostly indiscriminately. However, priority was given to the families of military servicepeople, academics, and recipients of state honours. People who had stayed in Leningrad during the Second World War had been relocated to whatever accommodation was still standing and unoccupied, which left many returning Leningraders without anywhere to live. Plans were drawn up for brick-on-brick flat complexes that would provide entire families with homes, but these were not built at the speed that Leningrad authorities requested or required. These plans were revised, with pre-made wall panels taking the place of brick. State intervention in the housing of returning civilians resulted in the construction of new housing being closely monitored. These enterprises were placed under a lot of pressure to build housing as quickly as possible. Businesses that were building new accommodation sometimes had their construction projects taken away from them and given to other developers. Despite these efforts, many workers were left homeless and ended up living in their workplaces, since property businesses were criticised for housing workers in hostels. A lot of these hostels were run-down and lacking in crucial utilities such as electricity and hot water. However, hostels opened without government permission were branded illegal and the people behind such enterprises were taken to court over their construction. The very fresh and traumatic memory of the Second World War made it all the more difficult for civilians to come back to Leningrad and resume their lives there—for example, a mother and daughter were once denied the opportunity to resume residence in their pre-war flat because the mother's passport had been stamped by Nazi officials during their period of occupation. They were only allowed back because a family member's status as an army officer gave them priority for accommodation allocation.

Overall, migration and the effect that this had on the architecture of the city was haphazardly managed and did not turn out the way that Soviet officials had planned. The plan to corral Leningraders into communities—to the extent that even shopping was incorporated into the daily commute—did not work. The mass evacuation and starvation of Leningrad's civilians during the siege in the Second World War was a highly traumatic experience that left a massive mark on the city, but the flood of migrants who came back immediately after the war and who persevered against the rules and restrictions imposed by the Soviet government speaks to an overwhelming love of Leningrad and its enduring presence not just as a centre of political power, but as a home.

MORE THAN TEMPERA ON CANVAS: *THE MIGRATION SERIES*

DALMA ROMAN

"I do not look upon the story of the Blacks in America as a separate experience to the American culture but as a part of the American heritage and experience as a whole"
— Jacob Lawrence, 1943

Figure 1: Panel 1 of Lawrence's Migration Series: During World War I there was a great migration north by southern African Americans.

Picture this: twentieth-century America. A time when consumer culture was at its height and the echoes of World War II still lingered alongside the soon-to-be arms race of the Cold War. The nation was on the edge of transformation. However, amidst all of this, a greater seismic change was underway within the cultural and social aspects of society. At the heart of this was the rise of a voice that would soon change the world of art history—Jacob Lawerence. Lawrence embarked on a journey of artistic expression that would capture the essence of American History. His creation of *The Migration Series* not only stands as a testament to his talent but serves as a reflection of the Great Migration—a phenomenon that would reshape the soul of the nation.

The Great Migration was a mass relocation of over six million African Americans from the deep South to the urban North. Fleeing from the oppressive laws created by Jim Crow segregation and seeking refuge from economic hardship, millions embarked on this transformative journey, with the hope of achieving new opportunities. Lawrence's depiction of this movement offered a window into the collective consciousness of these individuals in motion by diving into themes of resilience, struggle, and triumph. Through this the stories of those who sought freedom and self-determination unfold. In every brushstroke, Lawrence not only reflects on American history but guides us toward a more enlightened and inclusive future we should achieve.

To truly appreciate Lawerence's work, it is necessary to delve into the historical context of this era. The Great Migration, spanning from 1910 to 1970, is accounted as one of the most prominent movements in American history. This incentive of a 'new northern beginning' had long lingered in society since the rise of the Civil War and Reconstruction era, but only began to gain popularity around the twentieth century due to economic prosperity and the rise of racial violence within the South.

From Pittsburgh to New York, these cities were overtaken by industrial titans who fostered an environment of production and competition within the labor market, hoping to boost the economy by encouraging southern migrants to come up north. Moreover, with the growth of racism in the Deep South, from the resurgence of the KKK to the rise of race riots, segregation and economic disparity towards Black people only grew. This, in turn, further motivated those to seek refuge in a new location.

However, migrants often encountered a bittersweet reality in the North. Although the North banned the use of segregation laws, prejudice was still widespread. As a result, African Americans began to carve out communities of their own, fostering a haven where they could thrive. One such community emerged in Harlem, New York, a neighborhood coined the 'Black Mecca of the World'. Harlem became a beacon of black culture and creativity during the twentieth century, inspiring writers, artists, and thinkers to flourish

against the backdrop of northern industrial life. This so-called 'Harlem Renaissance' soon became the root that inspired Lawerence's creation of *The Migration Series.*

The Migration Series is composed of sixty small-scale tempera paintings that encapsulate the themes of the Great Migration. Through these panels, a distinctive reflection of narratives, symbolism, colors, and composition vividly captures the trials and triumphs African Americans encountered.

Arguably, Lawrence's most iconic piece in his series is Panel 49, *They Found Discrimination in the North. It was a Different Kind.* While at first a seemingly mundane scene of a restaurant divided by a bold yellow rope, upon deeper reflection, this simple composition embodies the key themes discovered during the Great Migration. On the Left side of the rope, white diners sit comfortably enjoying their meals. Conversely, on the right, black patrons are relegated to their own space, isolated from their white counterparts.

The panel reflects themes of discrimination and isolation. By depicting the figures in the painting wearing dark clothing, Lawrence symbolizes the shadow of discrimination that looms over them. This attire not only reflects their physical appearance but also the weight of societal prejudice in the U.S. during this era. In turn, Lawerence reflects a narrative that unveils the Northern facade of discrimination that came alongside the Great Migration.

Moreover, the way Lawerence portrays the white figures in the panel reflects deeper symbolism. By having the figure on the lower-left side of the painting clutching a newspaper this symbolizes how mainstream media in the twentieth century upheld discriminatory narratives. Additionally, Lawrence only paints facial expressions on the white figure, while the African Americans are depicted with only form and contour through their bodies. This artistic choice emphasizes the dehumanization experienced by African Americans as they were reduced to mere bodies in society, highlighting the power dynamics at play during this era.

The color palette further amplifies the theme of isolation and discrimination. The flat grey background and the dark hues of the figures evoke a sense of alienation. Furthermore, Lawrence's perspective of the figures makes them appear

Figure 2: Panel 49 of Lawrence's Migration Series: They Found Discrimination in the North. It was a Different Kind.

small in comparison to their surroundings, reinforcing the marginalization black individuals faced during this time. In all, echoing how African Americans were made secondary-class citizens within Northern cities during the twentieth Century.

Overall, Jacob Lawerence's *Migration Series* stands as a testament to the enduring power of contemporary art and social commentary. Moreover, the series reflects on themes of migration, racial inequality, and the quest for social justice continues to echo in today's world, while also serving as a reminder of America's racial history by bringing awareness to the realities African Americans faced during the twentieth century. At a time when mainstream narratives often ignored the experiences of marginalized communities, Lawrence's series boldly depicted the challenges faced by African Americans during the Great Migration. By shedding light on these experiences, Lawrence's work continues to provoke thought, inspire dialogue, and challenge us to strive for a better future.

ROADS TO DIVISION: HOW INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS AIDED URBAN SEGREGATION IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA

JAKE BEECROFT

Following America's triumph in the Second World War, the nation embarked on a period of unprecedented prosperity. This era saw the rise of the baby boom, a flourishing manufacturing sector, and a surge in consumer spending and access to goods. It seemed as though the hardships of the 1930s had been left behind. With this newfound wealth came substantial national investment, particularly in infrastructure. The passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 marked a pivotal moment, igniting a nationwide effort to modernise transportation networks. Financed by federal funding, a legion of planners embarked on this ambitious infrastructure transformation. Planning, however, came amidst a backdrop of escalating racial tensions and the burgeoning civil rights movement, to which the project began to take influence as planners embraced lobbying around Black and white segregation cities. Infrastructure built to modernise America resulted in a more racially divided society as Black communities in inner city areas stood at the forefront of demolition, while new road networks ultimately facilitated white flight out of increasingly deprived urban areas, solidifying the racial boundaries around property ownership and zoning that infamously continue to divide American cities well into the twenty-first century.

With the dense populations of most American cities, the need to clear land for highways became a dilemma for urban planners who had to sacrifice homes and businesses, often resulting in the levelling of entire blocks within cities to make way for multi-lane roads and junctions. In many scenarios this involved the demolition of low-income, primarily Black neighbourhoods, rather than the cities risking their more "affluent" all-white neighbourhoods. This policy of demolition was entwined with ideas of urban renewal, in which, with federal and state funding, many cities embarked on sweeping plans to modernise and develop urban areas often containing slum dwellings that had emerged under rapid American industrialisation and internal migration. Overtown, Miami, known by many as "Harlem of the South," was a thriving Black community targeted in this manner for its described "undesirable" state. The resulting construction of the I-95 highway through Miami displaced 10,000 residents, utterly gutting the community of Overtown. In Nashville, the I-40 resulted in a similar government removal of 620 houses, twenty-seven apartment buildings, and six Black churches, in a predominantly Black community. The cases of urban demolition resulted in the displacement of over a million people. Civic planners would continuously refer to these as "undesirable" or "blighted" neighbourhoods, which resulted primarily in Black American communities facing demolition over white. City planners felt that such clearances of homes improved the "beauty" of many downtown areas previously occupied by lower-class Black Americans. This process became a common practice not just in the *de jure* Jim Crow southern cities mentioned above but also in comparatively more integrated cities like Chicago, Detroit, and Washington.

A trend in the demolition of Black neighbourhoods can also be measured in the resilience of white-controlled organisations and unions to the preservation of their own neighbourhoods. As many local governing bodies were controlled primarily by all White boards, in a time of reinforcing Jim Crow laws, these bodies would actively block the demolition of White neighbourhoods, seeking to use the highways to develop physical boundaries between communities and to halt black integration into all White communities. The I-59 through Birmingham was successfully routed to avoid the affluent white

neighbourhood of Woodland, supported by the Woodland Chamber of Commerce, a local lobby group backed by powerful white business owners and local leaders. This rerouting of the I-59 also served as a physical barrier in the west of Birmingham the highway was built to run along the southern boundary of the primarily Black Ensley community and separates them from the Ensley Highlands, a primarily White neighbourhood. Despite planning changes to the I-59 being deeming "awkward", with the route containing an ineffective bend to circumnavigate the highlands, resulting in the need for motorists to slow down, the plan still went ahead, seemingly to ensure the containment of the Black community.

ILLUSTRATION BY JENNIFER ASHTON

New highways and the accessibility for the White urban middle-classes to commute led to the unintended consequence of mass white flight out of many American cities. With the construction boom of the 1950s came a mass sprawl of suburban developments that offered those in dense and overcrowded cities an affordable escape from city living. The construction of new suburban settlements appeared even more economically viable for even the lower middle-classes, with the establishment of the Federal Housing Association, a new deal-era government body. This association provided low-interest mortgages, making homeownership more achievable than ever for America's booming population. The FHA itself utilised discriminatory practices in an effort to limit the ownership of suburban housing and contain the living quarters of Black Americans. This came in the form of redlining, in which the association would deny low-interest-rate loans to Americans based on their neighbourhoods, in which they would be coded A, B, C, or D, as to whether lenders should offer those residents low-interest mortgages. If just one Black resident lived within these zones, they would be redlined and disqualified. The result of low-rate mortgages based on race led to the gradual flock of White city inhabitants into new suburban segregated developments, such as the Levittown development in New York, which provided homes for 84,000 people.

With the development of low-rate mortgages outside of the dense cities, the construction of the highways provided a means for those within the cities to work while not having to live in the overcrowded spaces. The result of road connections led to the rise of the suburban commuter and the mass exodus of White families from cities. The exodus of many middle-class White inhabitants from inner city areas took with it wealth and many middle-class businesses that were integral to upholding established mixed communities. Cities began to lose White residents by the tens of thousands to the

new suburbs; Atlanta, for reference, lost 160,000 between 1960 and 1980. Subsequent city planners overlooked neighbourhoods that became all-Black areas and instead turned their attention to the new suburbs. Government neglect and loss of taxation revenue on White middle-class residents worsened disinvestment as areas from school funding to public transportation investment began to decline prompting city planners to focus their funding on making the suburban commute more palatable into the city centres.

The development of highway infrastructure in the twentieth century continues to play a divisive role in the movement for racial economic equality. The highway networks not only permanently tore through vibrant Black communities, developed over centuries, but also established a more entrenched form of segregation in the fabric of American society by widening the gap in Black and White homeownership. With the flight of white Americans to low-mortality suburbs, the ownership of property for white Americans skyrocketed from 20% to 64.3% by 1960, while redlining restrictions and the containment of Black Americans in inner-city areas left Black homeownership at only 38% by 1960. The legacy of homeownership continues to set back economic equality within the US as Black communities in often deprived urban areas continue to feel the consequences of city planning decades ago. Cities such as Detroit and Baltimore offer the most visible scar of vast, vacant property lots from white flight, while public services and opportunities for employment remain crippled for the Black residents socially trapped within the concrete barriers built decades ago.

The legacy of urban and interstate highways, now ageing and facing a crumbling state, has prompted a debate to reconsider the role or even need played by these colossal highways to sustain a healthy and diverse city landscape. In the words of Professor Norman Garrick at the University of Connecticut, from his studies on transportation, US cities "basically destroyed themselves" to facilitate suburban commuters on the highways. Rochester, New York, has emerged at the forefront of a possible repair to the damages. In 2013, they began the demolition on the eastern side of the highway, in a sunken inner section of the inter-loop motorway. With the land reclaimed, the city began a regeneration project constructing new apartments and bike lanes on the newly reclaimed land, offering more affordable and modern accommodation within the city. A small project for the nationwide issue, the case in Rochester reflects an attempt by contemporary planners to reconcile the social injustices dividing American cities, a part shared by highway projects. As up to thirty cities across America continue to discuss some form of highway removal, these crumbling roads, sold to the public with the aim of binding the nation together rather than segregating the nation, remain a barrier to social integration in many American cities.

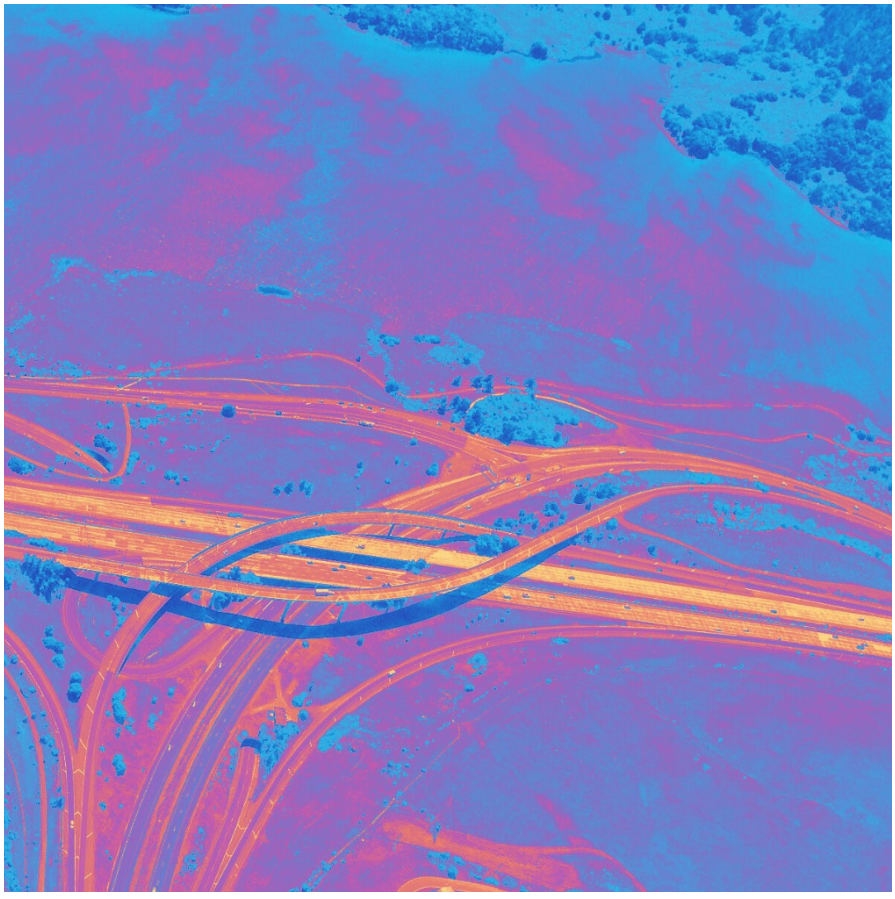


ILLUSTRATION BY JENNIFER ASHTON

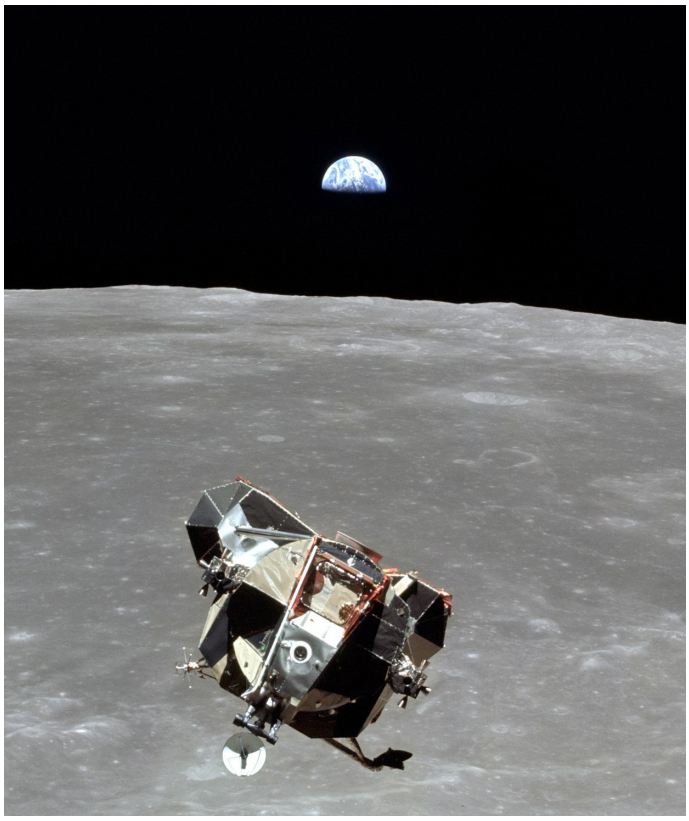
ONE OF MANY: WHEN FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE SET FOOT ON THE MOON

JAMIE MCDONALD

A photo from the Apollo 11 mission is one of the most famous ever taken. In the foreground, the lunar lander soars over the Moon's rugged surface; in the background, Earth's light is a pinprick in the vast blackness of space. Every single human alive in 1969 is in this photo - including Buzz Aldrin and Neil Armstrong, adrift in space - and every human who had ever lived and died. All except one - the photographer, Michael Collins. He shot the image as the lunar lander took his colleagues on their historic journey from the Moon's orbit to its surface.

As he orbited the Moon, Collins was the furthest a single individual had been from civilisation. And yet, the man, who like most of us, would never step foot on a surface other than that of his home planet, was curiously content. "I am alone now, truly alone… I feel this powerfully - not as fear or loneliness - but as awareness, anticipation, satisfaction, confidence, almost exultation. I like the feeling." He didn't even hear Armstrong's momentous 'one small step' line, having lost communication round the dark side of the Moon as his fellow astronaut leapt into the history books.

Collins is not nearly as well-known as Armstrong or Aldrin, who, since the mission, remain household names. Trailblazers, adventurers, usually are. It isn't difficult to list the Wrights, Lindbergh, Earhart, Yeager, Gagarin - those whose achievements in flight paved the way for Apollo 11's Moon Landing. However, within the lunar project itself, the names are harder to recall. Collins is perhaps the best known of the remaining Apollo astronauts: Conrad, Borman, Stafford, Anders, Lovell, who are known to students of space history, but not much more widely than that. And what of the Smiths, Joneses, Robinsons, Garcias, Moores? The four-hundred-thousand workers who contributed towards the Apollo space program but who would never reach the heights – both literally or figuratively - of Armstrong and Aldrin. Perhaps these employees offer the key to understanding Collin's contentedness.



The goal which President Kennedy set out in the early 1960s was to put a man on the Moon and return him safely, within the decade. Admirable in its simplicity, Kennedy's goal was 'achievable' in that it had a clear endpoint. The main achievement was remarkable. Any NASA worker could gaze at the Moon, content in the fact that some of their work, against the odds, landed on its surface. They would be among the six-hundred-million people - one-fifth of the world's population at the time - watching on the television as Armstrong and Aldrin bounded around the Lunar surface.

The trickle-down effect of the space race was remarkable. The boost to American national pride was much needed for those in power, after the US had lost almost every other key milestone in the race to the Moon. Yet, by fostering a sense of a shared global project, space exploration also "served as a pressure valve", as Bradley Shreve puts it, for the tension of the Cold War. Scientifically, the Apollo program was revolutionary,

with experiments conducted on the surface of the Moon still contributing towards discoveries more than fifty years later.

The impact on culture, too, was immeasurable. It is no coincidence that the years after the moon landing saw the release of *Star Wars*, the *Star Trek* films, and the classic Soviet animation *The Mystery of the Third Planet*. When Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* released in 1968, the majority of the Apollo astronauts went to see it in theatres. Later in the same year, Apollo 8's Bill Anders remarked that the Moon was far less interesting than writer Arthur C. Clarke had made it seem. Even James Bond had a space-age adventure in 1979's *Moonraker*. From the culture shock the Moon-landing generated, it is easy to understand why most of the four-hundred-thousand staff felt their work worthwhile.

That a 'noble goal' is essential to a happy workforce is evident when looking at how easily this can go wrong. The average worker will never see any of the billions of dollars in profit their bosses make at a private company. One example of workers crossing from public to private is enough to illustrate this. Some cleaners, cooks, and other 'menial' staff who worked for the NHS before their jobs were outsourced to private firms report that they lost their sense of obligation when they were no longer public sector employees. "When everybody worked for the hospital," a former-NHS cook - now privately employed - told journalist John Harris, "the domestics… had pride. And that was because they were on the same side." When workers had a noble end-goal - the care of patients - they were proud of their jobs. When the goal became profit, they lost the love for their job.

The evidence from NASA suggests the link was very clear, and was positively defined, between the work done by employees and the final result: putting a man on the moon. In his study of NASA employees' testimony and of the speeches of John F. Kennedy, Andrew M. Carton tries to understand why they were so successful. First, NASA's goals were simple, easily understood, and yet substantial. 'Put a man on the moon' defines the goal in just six words. Yet the stages towards this goal were well defined too. Employees could say, 'I am building electrical circuits for the Mercury project, which will provide the research required to launch the Gemini project, which will pave the way for Apollo, which will reach the Moon.' At the same time, because of the link between their everyday work and the final goal, employees could reach for different stages of abstraction in more detailed ways ('I am building the circuits which will connect the button to the light, which will help the astronaut see what they are doing') or as simple as possible.

The simplicity of the goal is reflected in an infamous quote which Carton uses in his title: when asked what his role at NASA was, a cleaner responded: "I'm not mopping the floor, I'm putting a man on the Moon." The fact the cleaner denies his real and tangible role is revealing. He is not mopping the floor, a job traditionally perceived as demeaning, he is instead concretely contributing to putting a man on the Moon. This sense of duty pervades every level of NASA's organisation, right to the very top. When he discovered he would be flying aboard Apollo 8, which would not land on the moon, astronaut Jim Lovell declared him and his fellow astronauts' role as "pathfinders for those who follow." He could just as easily be saying, 'I *am* stepping on the Moon, as is every one of the four-hundred-thousand other workers. Without me, this mission would be impossible.'

Every day as they went into work, NASA employees could link their work to the Moon mission and to the positive effects it had on society at large. This only happened because their work was understood - by them and by their superiors - as important. Both the goal and the work itself were essential: the immediate short-term task ceased to be ephemeral when it fitted into something that mattered. Fitting this attitude into the example of the NHS cleaner from earlier, it is easy to understand why the latter felt despondent. Their role went from 'by cleaning this ward, I am providing free healthcare for the entire country' to 'by cleaning this ward, I am fulfilling my contractual obligation, and producing financial profit for my employer.'

This is where we come back to Michael Collins. Why was he so content to remain in orbit, merely photographing his fellow astronauts instead of joining them on the Moon's surface? Perhaps it is easier to ask why the electrician was content to make the circuit, or why the cleaner was content to mop the floors. He was not simply orbiting the Moon. He was stepping with Armstrong onto its surface.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE JOURNEY BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH: THE ORIGINS OF AFTERLIFE BELIEFES | Arianna North Castell

Fortson, Benjamin W. *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction*. Second edition. Chichester, U.K: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Hansen, J.L. *Indo-European Views of Death and the Afterlife as Determined from Archaeological, Mythological, and Linguistic Sources*. University of California, 1987.

Mallory, J. P., and Douglas Q. Adams. *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Parker Pearson, Mike. *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. 1st ed. London: History Press Limited, The, 2003.

Puhvel, Jaan. *Comparative Mythology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Image credit: Charon, illustration by Gustave Doré for an 1861 edition of Dante's Inferno. Public Domain. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Charon-Greek-mythology

TRAVELLING THROUGH GRIEF: A VISUAL ANALYSIS OF AIAS CARRYING ACHILLES IN GREEK POTTERY | Alia Walsh

Giudice, G. (2019), "Followers' di Exekias: La bottega del Pittore di Lysippides nel Persephoneion di Locri Epizefiri', in *Studi miscellanei di ceramografia greca*, Catania, Ediarch, 35-84.

Mackay, E. A. (2010), *Tradition and Originality: a study of Exekias*, Oxford, Archaeopress.

Moore, M. B. (1980), 'Exekias and Telamonian Ajax', *American Journal of Archaeology,* Vol. 4, No. 4, 417-34.

The Sports Chronicle website, 'A Life of Two Halves' by Niamh Fitzpatrick (2020), [URL: https://www.thesportschronicle.com/more-sports/niamh-fitzpatrick-psychologist/]

Woodford, S., and Loudon, M. (1980), 'Two Trojan Themes: The Iconography of Ajax Carrying the Body of Achilles and of Aeneas carrying Anchises in Black Figure Vase Painting', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 84, No. 1, 25-40.

Main image credits: Exekias, 6th cent. B.C. *Amphora: Ajax with Body of Achilles.* c.540 B.C. Bavaria (Germany). Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13590961.

Figures 1 and 2 image credits: Giudice, G. (2019), "Followers' di Exekias: La bottega del Pittore di Lysippides nel Persephoneion di Locri Epizefiri', in *Studi miscellanei di ceramografia greca,* Catania, Ediarch, 35-84.

MYTH AND MODERNITY: THE JOURNEY ARCHETYPE WITHIN HOMER'S ODYSSEY AND JOYCE'S ULYSSES | Edie Christian

Antigone. "The Tale of Two Beds: Wandering and Homecoming in the Odyssey." *Antigone*, 9 Oct. 2021, antigonejournal.com/2021/10/two-beds-odyssey/.

Haynes, Natalie. "The Greatest Tale Ever Told?" *www.bbc.com*, 22 May 2018, www.bbc.com/culture/article/20180521-the-greatest-tale-ever-told.
Homer. Odyssey. Penguin Classics, 2003.

Joyce, James. *Ulysses*. Penguin Modern Classics, 2011.
O'Brien, Edna. "James Joyce's Odyssey." *The New Yorker*, 30 May 1999, www.newyorker.com/magazine/1999/06/07/joyces-odyssey.

Pendleton, Ross. "The Ancient Influences on James Joyce's 'Ulysses.'" *Medium*, 9 Feb. 2020, medium.com/@ross.d.pendleton/the-ancient-influences-on-james-joyces-ulysses-204efce96e0a.

Vogel, Dan. "A Lexicon Rhetoricae for 'Journey' Literature." *College English*, vol. 36, no. 2, Oct. 1974, p. 185, https://doi.org/10.2307/374776.

Wykes, David. "The Odyssey in Ulysses." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language,* vol. 10, no. 2, 1968, pp. 301–16.

Image credit: *Ulixes mosaic in the Bardo National Museum*. Wikimedia Commons. Public Domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mosa%C3%AFque_d'Ulysse_et_les_sir%C3%A8nes.jpg

BUEN CAMINO: EUROPE'S OLDEST AND BUSIEST PILGRIMAGE TO SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA | Darcy Gresham

Drake Boehm, Barbara. "Reclaiming Saint James." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, July 31, 2015. https://www.metmuseum.org/articles/reclaiming-saint-james.

Hesp, Annie, and Sánchez y Sánchez Samuel. *The Camino de Santiago in the 21st Century: Interdisciplinary perspectives and global views*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Lois González, Rube´n C. "The Camino de Santiago and Its Contemporary Renewal: Pilgrims, Tourists and Territorial Identities." *Culture and Religion* 14, no. 1 (March 2013): 8–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2012.756406.

López, Ana M. "Santiago de Compostela: Tourist Visits by Purpose." *Statista*, July 6, 2021. https://www.statista.com/statistics/765344/distribution-of-tourist-visits-to-santiago-de-compostela-by-purpose/.

López, Ana M. "International Tourists in Spain by Region 2022." *Statista*, June 29, 2023. https://www.statista.com/statistics/447801/foreign-tourists-visiting-spain-by-destination-region/.

Murray, Michael. "The Cultural Heritage of Pilgrim Itineraries: The Camino de Santiago." *Journeys* 15, no. 2 (January 1, 2014). https://doi.org/10.3167/jys.2014.150204.

Schrire, Dani. "The Camino de Santiago the Interplay of European Heritage and New Traditions." *2006* 36, no. 2 (July 1, 2006): 69–86. https://doi.org/10.16995/ee.1008.

"THE WOMEN NEVER LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY": GENDER, HOSPITALITY, AND TRAVEL IN THE MEDIEVAL INDIAN OCEAN | Ailsa Fraser

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Before European Hegemony: the World System A.D. 1250-1350.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Abu-Lughod, Lila. *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Billé, Franck, Sanjyot Mehendale, and James Lankton, ed. *The Maritime Silk Road: Global Connectivities, Regional Nodes, Localities.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022.

Bonate, Liazzat J.K. "Islam and Matriliny along the Indian Ocean Rim: Revisiting the Old 'Paradox' by Comparing the Minangkabau, Kerala and Coastal Northern Mozambique." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore)* 48, no. 3 (2017): 436–451.

Chaudhuri, K. N. *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Fauvelle, François-Xavier. *The Golden Rhinoceros: Histories of the African Middle Ages.* Translated by Troy Tice. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Gunn, Geoffrey C., ed. *Imagined Geographies: The Maritime Silk Roads in World History, 100–1800.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2021.

Haour, Anne and Annalisa Christie, ed.

Archaeological Investigations of the Maldives in the Medieval Islamic Period. New York: Routledge, 2022.

Ibn Battuta. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, AD 1325–1354, Vol. IV.* Translated by H. A. R. Gibb & C. F. Beckingham. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1994.

Kooria, Mahmood. "Matrilineal Negotiations with Islam." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 23, no. 2 (2021): 192–197.

Kooria, Mahmood. "When Men Get No Share: Matrilineal Muslims and Their Laws of Succession." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 43, no. 2 (2023): 163–175.

Lambourn, Elizabeth A. *Abraham's Luggage: A Social Life of Things in the Medieval Indian Ocean World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Sebastian, Aleena. "Matrilineal Practices along the Coasts of Malabar." *Sociological Bulletin* 65, no. 1 (2016): 89–106.

Image credit: *Maqamat 5847, f.119v-maqama 39 Abu Zayd and al-Harith sailing.* Wikimedia Commons. Public Domain. https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maqamat_5847,_f.119v-_maqama_39_Abu_Zayd_and_al-Harith_sailing.jpg

RITUALS TO RENAISSANCE: A TALE OF TOBACCO | Oscar Virdee

CNN (2019). *CNN Interactive - Tobacco under attack.* [online] Cnn.com. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/US/9705/tobacco/history/.

Evans, R. (2016). *A (brief) history of vice : how bad behavior built civilization.* New York, New York: A Plume Book.

Iain Gately (2002). *Tobacco : a cultural history of how an exotic plant seduced civilization.* New York: Grove Press.

Mishra, S. and Mishra, M.B. (2013). Tobacco: Its historical, cultural, oral, and periodontal health association. J*ournal of International Society of Preventive and Community Dentistry*, [online] 3(1), p.12. doi:https://doi.org/10.4103/2231-0762.115708.

Image credit: *Tobacco*. Wikimedia Commons. Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tobacco_BHL17949761.jpg

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE: A SITE OF POWER, POLITICS, AND POSSESSION | Olivia Norbury

Beckles, Hilary McD. and Shepherd, Verene. *Slave Voices: The Sounds of Freedom.* Kingston: University of the West Indies, 1999.

Mustakeen, Sowande M. *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016.

Olaudah Equiano. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself.* Edited by Shelly Eversley. New York: Modern Library, 2004.

Rediker, Marcus. *The Slave Ship: A Human History.* New York: Viking, 2007.

Taylor, Eric. *If We Must Die: Shipboard Insurrections in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.

FROM ARISTOCRATIC TRADITION TO GLOBAL PHENOMENON: THE GRAND TOUR'S EVOLUTION INTO MODERN-DAY TOURISM | Francesca Newson

Black, Jeremy. "Italy and the Grand Tour: The British Experience in the Eighteenth Century." *Annali d'Italianistica* 14 (1996): 532–41.

Colletta, Lisa, ed. *The Legacy of the Grand Tour New Essays on Travel, Literature, and Culture.* Madison, [New Jersey]; Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015.

Darley, Gillian. "Wonderful Things: The Experience of the Grand Tour." *Perspecta* 41 (2008): 17–29.

Kriz, Kay Dian. "Introduction: The Grand Tour." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 1 (1997): 87–89.

FROM COTTAGE TO FACTORY: URBAN MIGRATION IN EARLY INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN | Nathan Anton

Clark, Gregory and Neil Cummins. "Urbanisation, Mortality, and Fertility in Malthusian England." *The American Economic Review* 99, no. 2 (2009): 242-247.

Cole, G. D. H. "A Study in British Trade Union History. Attempts at 'General Union' 1829-1834." *International Review for Social History* 4 (1938): 359-462.

Hopkins, Eric. *Industrialisation and Society: A Social History, 1830-1951.* London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2000.

Newman, Richard. "The Changing Countryside: The Impact of Industrialisation on Rural Settlement in the 18th and 19th Centuries." In *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks? Future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland,* edited by Audrey Horning and Marilyn Palmer, 221-232. Society for Post Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series: Boydell & Brewer, 2009.

O'Donnell, Ronan. *Assembling Enclosure: Transformations in the Rural Landscape of Post-Medieval North-East England.* Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2015.

BOARDING THE ORIENT EXPRESS: THE EMERGENCE OF WOMEN JOURNEY-CHRONICLERS IN THE BALKANS, 1860-1920 | Kat Jivkova

Arapoglou, Eleftheria. "Demetra Vaka Brown and the Modern Greek State: The Heart of the Balkans and In the Heart of German Intrigue." In *A Bridge Over the Balkans*, 135–168. Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2019.

Davidova, Evguenia. "Women Travellers as Consumers: Adoption of Modern Ideas and Practices in 19th-Century Southeast Europe." In *Women, Consumption, and the Circulation of Ideas in South-Eastern Europe, 17th - 19th Centuries,* 200–225. United States: BRILL, 2017.

Hawkesworth, Celia. "A Serbian Woman in a Turkish Harem: The Work of Jelena Dimitrijević (1862-1945)." *The Slavonic and East European Review* (1928) 77, no. 1 (1999): 56-73.

Jelena, Dimitrijevic. *Pisma iz Nisa o haremima,* (fototipsko izdanje), Belgrad.

Kostentseva, Raina. *Moiat roden grad Sofiia v kraia na XIX-nachalo na XX vek i sled tova (My native city Sofia in the end of the nineteenth-beginning of the twentieth century and after that)* Sofia: "Riva," 2008.

Neuburger, Mary. "The Kruchma, the Kafene, and the Orient Express: Tobacco, Alcohol, and the Gender of Sacred and Secular Restraint in Bulgaria, 1856-1939." *Aspasia* 5 (2011): 70-91.

Robinson, Jane. *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Robinson-Tomsett, Emma. *Women, Travel and Identity: Journeys by Rail and Sea, 1870-1940. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.*

Sanz Cabrerizo, Amelia, Francesca Scott, and Suzanna van Dijk, eds. *Women Telling Nations.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014.

Vaka, Demetra. *The Heart of the Balkans.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1917.

THE FIRST MONARCH TO CIRCUMNAVIGATE THE GLOBA: HAWAIIAN KING KALĀKAUA'S 1881 WORLD TOUR | Sam Marks

Allen, Helena G. *Kalakaua: Renaissance King.* Mutual Pub., 1995.

Armstrong, William N. *Around the World with a King.* New York: F. A. Stokes Company, 1904. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008585037.

Foster, Jeanette. *Volcanoes National Park.* Arcadia

Publishing, 2014.

Kuykendall, Ralph Simpson. *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1874–1893, The Kalakaua Dynasty.* Vol. 3. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967. https://ulukau.org/ulukau-books/?a=d&d=EBOOK-KS6.1.126&l=en.

LaDuke, Winona. *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life.* United States: Haymarket Books : Made available through hoopla, 2017.

Liliuokalani. *Hawaii's Story.* Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001268108.

Montagne, Renee. "Israel Kamakawiwo'ole: The Voice Of Hawaii." *NPR*, March 9, 2011. https://www.npr.org/2010/12/06/131812500/israel-kamakawiwo-ole-the-voice-of-hawaii.

Srjskam. *English: The Route of King Kalākaua's World Tour.* June 24, 2017. Own work. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kalakaua_journey_around_the_world.svg.

Image credits:
Jeff Kern from Orlando, *English: King Kalakaua and His Aides Charles H. Judd and George W. MacFarlane and His Cook Robert von Oelhoffen, during the King's Trip around the World.*, https://www.geni.com/photo/view/6000000001590954720?album_type=photos_of_me&photo_id=6000000001848488856 1881,

Jeff Kern from Orlando, *English: King Kalakaua and His Aides Charles H. Judd and George W. MacFarlane and His Cook Robert von Oelhoffen, during the King's Trip around the World.* https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kalakaua,_his_aides_and_cook_during_trip_around_the_world_(restored).jpg.

The Flag of Hawaii Was Originally Used for the Kingdom of Hawaii Beginning in 1816 until 1945. Today, the Current State of Hawaii Flag (with Variations) Was Adopted in 1896 and Officially Adopted in 1945. September 16, 2005. File:Flag_of_Hawaii.svg. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_Hawaii_Hawaiian_sovereignty.svg.

ROGER CASEMENT'S JOURNEY OF JUSTICE | Louisa Steijger

Grant, Kevin. 'Roger Casement: gay Irish martyr or victim of British Forgery', *The Guardian*. (28th September 2016) [online] https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/sep/28/roger-casement-gay-irish-martyr-or-victim-of-a-british-forgery [accessed 10.04.24]

Harris, Peter James. 'From Putumayo to Connemara: Roger Casement's Amazon Voyage of Discovery.' *ABEI Journal - The Brazilian Journal of Irish Studies,* vol. 4, 2002, pp. 131-8.

Kiernan, Ben. 'From Irish Famine to Congo Reform: Nineteenth Century Roots of International Human Rights Law and Activism,' *Confronting Genocide,* ed. René Provost & Payam Akhavan (2011), pp.13-43.

Laffan, Micheal. 'Casement, Sir Roger David', *Dictionary of Irish Biography.* (2015) [online] https://www.dib.ie/biography/casement-sir-roger-david-a1532 [accessed: 11.04.24]

Mariana Bolfarine. 'Roger Casement in the Belgian Congo: Translation, Travel Writing and Fiction.' *ABEI journal* 19 (2017): pp.29–34.

Nunez, Domingos, and Peter James Harris. 'Roger Casement in the Twenty-First Century: The Public and Private Faces of a Multi-Media Irish Hero.' *Ilha do Desterro* 73, no. 2 (2020): pp.17–35.

Schapp, Rosie. 'In Ireland, Chasing the Ghost of the Rebel Roger Casement', *The New York Times*, 3rd August 2016. [online] https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/07/travel/ireland-roger-casement.html [accessed 5/04.24]

"ADDING TO THE COSMOPOLITAN FLAVOR" OR NOT: LACKING STRENGTH AND PERSISTENT TENSION WITHIN NEW YORK'S DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES | Harry Fry

Primary Sources
Dos Passos. John, *Manhattan Transfer*, January 1, 1953, International Collector's Library.

The Sun, March 22, 1888, The Sun (New York) 1833 to 1916, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation.

Yezierska. Anzia, *How I Found America*, October 1, 1991, Persea Books.

Secondary Sources
Hirota. Hidetaka, *Immigration to American Cities, 1800-1924*, American History, Oxford Research Encyclopaedias, 2018, https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-577.

King. Samuel, *Exclusive Dining: Immigration and Restaurants in Chicago during the Era of Chinese Exclusion, 1893-1933,* 2019, University of South Carolina.

Kolb. Eva, *The Evolution of New York City's Multiculturalism: Melting Pot or Salad Bowl: Immigrants in New York from the 19th Century until the End of the Gilded Age,* 2009, Books on Demand.

Model. Suzanne, A Comparative Perspective on the Ethnic Enclave: Blacks, Italians, and Jews in New York City, *International Migration Review,* Volume 19, Issue 1, 1985, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/019791838501900103.

Rosenwaike. Ira, *Population History of New York City*, 1972, Syracuse University Press.

SenGupta. Gunja, *From Slavery to Poverty: The Racial Origins of Welfare in New York, 1840-1918*, 2009, New York University.

Stewart. Lloyd, *The Mysterious Black Migration 1800-1820: The Van Vranken Family and Other "Free" Families of African Descent In Washington County, New York*, 2013, Xlibris US, Illustrated Edition.

Zhou. Min, In and Out of Chinatown: Residential Mobility and Segregation of New York City's Chinese, *Social Forces*, Volume 70, Issue 2, 1991, https://academic.oup.com/sf/article-abstract/70/2/387/2232626?login=true.

Image credit: https://unsplash.com/photos/statue-of-liberty-UGi_Ng56FRI

RUSSIANS IN EGYPT: FAMILY LEGACY IN GLOBAL CONTEXT | Sommer Bianchi

Kent, Neil. *A Concise History of the Russian Orthodox Church.* United States: Academia Press, 2022.

Khalil, Mona Abdel Malik. 'Russians in Egypt: Aspects of Religious and Cultural Identification'. *Koncept: filosofiâ, religiâ, kul'tura*, Vol.2 (10), 2019, pg. 57-64.

Konn-Roberts, Tania. '"Guests of the British Crown": White Russian Refugee Camps in Egypt, 1920-1922.' *Slavonica*, vol. 26.1, 2021, pg. 37-57.

Konn-Roberts, Tania. 'From Novorossiisk to Alexandria: British Involvement in the Evacuation of White Russian Refugees, 1920'. *Slavonica*, vol. 24.1-2, 2019, pg. 89-105.

"The Convent of St. Mary Magdelene, Jerusalem." n.d. Православие.RU. Accessed April 20, 2024. https://pravoslavie.ru/63239.html.

PIONEERING ARTISTS: WAS TRAVEL NECESSARY FOR SUCCESS? | Flora Gilchrist

Abbott, Alison, 'Renaissance art: Puzzles beneath Dürer's paint' *Nature*, 487 (2012).

Christiansen, Keith, 'El Greco (1541–1614),' *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, October 2004).

Carolyn, Carty, 'Albrecht Dürer's Adoration of the Trinity: A Reinterpretation' *The Art Bulletin* 67, no. 1 (1985), 146.

Errington, Shelly, 'What Became Authentic Primitive Art?' *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 2 (1994), 201–26.

Goldwater, Robert, *Primitivism in Modern Art* (Cambridge, England: Harvard University Press 1986), xx-xxiv and 252-271.

Knox, Giles, 'El Greco: Italy, Crete, Toledo' in *Sense Knowledge and the Challenge of Italian Renaissance Art: El Greco, Velázquez, Rembrandt* (Amsterdam University Press: 2019) 25-48.

Morris, Roderick, 'Dürer and Italy: A Master's Impact on Renaissance Art' *New York Times* (May 18th, 2007).

Silver, Larry, and Smith, Jeffrey Chipps, *The Essential Dürer*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

Image credits: All from Wikimedia Commons. Public Domain.

Spirit of the Dead Watching. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spirit_of_the_Dead_Watching#/media/File:Paul_Gauguin-_Manao_tupapau_(The_Spirit_of_the_Dead_Keep_Watch).JPG

The Burial of the Count of Orgaz. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Burial_of_the_Count_of_Orgaz#/media/File:El_Greco_-_The_Burial_of_the_Count_of_Orgaz.JPG

Adoration of the Trinity. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adoration_of_the_Trinity#/media/File:Albrecht_D%C3%BCrer_-_Adoration_of_the_Trinity_(Landauer_Altar)_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg

Les Demoiselles d'Avignon. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Les_Demoiselles_d%27Avignon#/media/File:Les_Demoiselles_d'Avignon.jpg

RECLAIMING LENINGRAD: MIGRATION AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE WAKE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR | Ishaabhya Tripathi

Dale, Robert. "Rats and Resentment: The Demobilization of the Red Army in Postwar Leningrad, 1945-50." *Journal of Contemporary History* 45, no. 1 (2010): 113–33. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40542908

NAKACHI, MIE. "A POSTWAR SEXUAL LIBERATION? The Gendered Experience of the Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War." *Cahiers Du Monde Russe* 52, no. 2/3 (2011): 423–40. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41708330.

Staub, A. (2005). St. Petersburg's Double Life: The Planners' versus the People's City. *Journal of Urban History*, 31(3), 334-354. https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144204272418

TSIPURSKY, GLEB. "Jazz, Power, and Soviet Youth in the Early Cold War, 1948–1953." *The Journal of Musicology* 33, no. 3 (2016): 332–61. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26414239.

Wachter, A. (2018). 'This Did not Happen': Survivors of the Siege of Leningrad (1941–1944) and the 'Truth About the Blockade'. In: Dowdall, A., Horne, J. (eds) *Civilians Under Siege from Sarajevo to Troy.* Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-58532-5_3

White, E. (2007). After the War Was over: The Civilian Return to Leningrad. *Europe-Asia Studies,* 59(7), 1145–1161. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20451432

Image credit: *Leningradians queuing up for water.* Wikimedia Commons. Public Domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:RIAN_archive_907_Leningradians_queueing_up_for_water.jpg

MORE THAN TEMPERA ON CANVAS: THE MIGRATION SERIES | Dalma Roman

HISTORY.COM EDITORS (2010). *The Great Migration*. [online] History. Available at: https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/great-migration.

History.com Editors (2009). *Harlem Renaissance*. [online] History. Available at: https://www.history.com/topics/roaring-twenties/harlem-renaissance.

Kedmey, K. (2017). *Jacob Lawrence*. [online] The Museum of Modern Art. Available at: https://www.moma.org/artists/3418.

Lawrence, J. (1940). *The Migration Series, Panel No. 49: They Found Discrimination in the North. It Was a Different Kind.* [Casein Tempera on Hardboard] Available at: https://www.phillipscollection.org/collection/migration-series-panel-no-49-they-found-discrimination-north-it-was-different-kind [Accessed 6 Apr. 2024].

MoMA (2015). *Jacob Lawrence: The Migration Series.* [online] The Museum of Modern Art. Available at: https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/444.

National Archives (2021). *The Great Migration (1910-1970).* [online] National Archives. Available at: https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/migrations/great-migration.

Smart history (2015). *Jacob Lawrence, the Migration Series (long version).* YouTube. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t4lgvB5cV5E.

The Phillips Collection (2015). *The Migration Series | Jacob Lawrence: The Migration Series.* [online] lawrencemigration.phillipscollection.org. Available at: https://lawrencemigration.phillipscollection.org/the-migration-series.

ROADS TO DIVISION: HOW INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS AIDED URBAN SEGREGATION IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA | Jake Beecroft

Charles E. Connerly, 2002. From Racial Zoning to Community Empowerment: The Interstate Highway System and the African American Community in Birmingham, Alabama. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, volume 22, issue 2

John R. Logan, Samuel Kye, Jacob Carlson, Elisabeta Minca, Daniel Schleith, 2023.The Role of Suburbanization in Metropolitan Segregation After 1940. *Demography* volume 60, issue 1

Kevin M. Kruse, 2021. How Segregation Caused Your Traffic Jam. *The New York Times*.

Leland Ware, 2021. Plessy v. Ferguson and the Legacy of "Separate but Equal" After 125 Years. *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* volume 7, issue 1

Liam Dillon, and Ben Poston, 2021. The racist history of America's interstate highway boom. *Los Angeles Times*.

Mimi Abramovitz, & Richard J. Smith, 2021. *The Persistence of Residential Segregation by Race, 1940 to 2010: The Role of Federal Housing Policy.* Families in Society volume 102, issue 1

Nicholas Dagen Bloom, 2023. *The Great American Transit Disaster: A Century of Austerity, Auto-Centric Planning, and White Flight.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

ONE OF MANY: WHEN FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE SET FOOT ON THE MOON | Jamie MacDonald

Andrew M. Carton, "I'm Not Mopping the Floors, I'm Putting a Man on the Moon": How NASA Leaders Enhanced the Meaningfulness of Work by Changing the Meaning of Work, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 63(2), 2018.

Andrew Chaikin, *A Man on the Moon*, 1998.

Pernet-Fisher et al, '50 years on: legacies of the Apollo programme,' *Astronomy & Geophysics,* 60(4), 2019.

John Harris, *So Now Who Do We Vote For?*, 2005.

Bradley G. Shreve, The US, The USSR, And Space Exploration, 1957-1963, *International Journal on World Peace*, 20(2), 2003.

Image credit: *Apollo 11 lunar module.* Wikimedia Commons. Public Domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Apollo_11_lunar_module_%28cropped%29.jpg

Retrospect Journal.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY'S HISTORY, CLASSICS AND ARCHAEOLOGY MAGAZINE

THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH
School of History, Classics and Archaeology

Production of this journal was made possible thanks to financial support from the School of History, Classics and Archaeology's **Charles Mackie Student Initiative Fund.**

GET IN TOUCH

info@retrospectjournal.com

www.retrospectjournal.com

FOLLOW US ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Retrospect History, Classics and Archaeology Journal

@RetrospectHCA

@RetrospectJournal

Retrospect Journal HCA