breakthrough

[No. 16/17]

Retrospect Journal.

[HCARS]

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PROFESSOR IAN RALSTON

Head of School

It is my great pleasure to welcome you to this new issue – the sixteenth - of Retrospect, the student magazine of the School of History, Classics and Archaeology, which in its writing and production brings together students from the three subject areas housed in the William Robertson Wing. This is the first issue under the general editorship of Ellie Byrne – last session's Deputy Editor – and her team – all of whose names you will find listed on the previous page; and they have done sterling work in writing and assembling a very varied and interesting package.

This issue, on the theme of discovery, is intercontinental in scope and its contents range widely in time over the last two millennia. East and South Asia are represented by, on the one hand, a consideration of the role of women in Hindu nationalism and, on the other, by an exploration of Nanjing, then the capital of China, and its significant place in the early stages of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), which culminated in a notorious massacre conducted there by the Japanese Imperial army. Another great Asian city is also considered - Angkor Wat in Cambodia - in a review of a BBC documentary series on the half-millennium Khmer Empire.

The New World is represented by two contributions on the twentieth century. One examines that great Dupont Company discovery of the 1930s, the polymer nylon, soon commercialised to provide a synthetic but glamorous substitute for silk stockings, and thereafter pressed into war service for the manufacture of parachute canopies and the like. The other investigates the life of the eccentric Texan billionaire, Howard Hughes (1905-76), director of Scarface, aviator extraordinaire, aircraft manufacturer, and later-life recluse.

Three pieces transport us back through time, to the Ancient World, or to more recent ramifications of it. There is a consideration of the first-century-BC writer, Lucretius' attitude to death, and another contribution examines the history of the elite Roman corps that was the Praetorian Guard, in part special forces, in part secret police. The third piece discusses the reception of the ancient Greek legend of Orpheus in more recent times, with particular reference to operatic performances in works about Orpheus which range from Monteverdi to Birtwhistle.

Closer to home, other kinds of detective work characterised the rediscovery through cartographic analysis of a nineteenth century crossing point of the Clyde. Tudor History, and more particularly Thomas Cromwell, comes under the microscope in an essay which examines some of the recent television adaptations of that time, notably Hilary Mantel's Wolf Hall, about to be transmitted as these words are penned. There are two pieces focused on aspects of Britain a generation ago. They comprise a review of a powerful film which examines strife-torn Belfast c. 1970; and another piece tackles the controversial career and perspectives of Enoch Powell, the Conservative politician sacked by Edward Heath from his post as Shadow Defence Secretary in 1968 as a result of the so-called 'Rivers of Blood' speech (Powell was a classicist and the literary allusion is to Virgil), made at the time of the passing of the Race Relations Act when annual immigration to Britain from the Commonwealth primarily was of the order of 50,000 a year.

All this then, plus a review of Danny Boyle's 2011 play based on Frankenstein, a consideration of Hogarth's 1755 depiction of one event in the progress of a corrupt election taking place in a tavern, and a study of the extraordinary fourteenth century travelogue, with its admixture of fact and fantasy notably about the Orient, and attributed to Sir John Mandeville, who may or may not have been an actual person. In sum, a feast with something for everyone to enjoy!

IR

It is a great pleasure to be able to contribute a foreword to this new issue of Retrospect, with its focus on 'Milestones'. Retrospect is now well-established as an outlet for the best of student writing across the three disciplines represented within the School, and provides an excellent and informative complement to the programmes and activities of our three subject-specific societies.

As ever, the editorial team has assembled an interesting admixture of contributions , both academic and of more general interest, as well as presenting notes about our student societies, not least Retrospect itself, which has further diversified – indeed, with a Canadian contribution - internationalised its interests. All this – and reviews too!

Retrospect is a wonderful outlet for showcasing some of the best of our student output. I am sure you will find much to enjoy in the pages that follow. Congratulations are due to Ellie Byrne and her colleagues who put together this issue – and simultaneously we should welcome new Editor, Kerry Gilsenan, and wish her well as she starts preparations for another year of the journal.

IR

ELLIE BRYNE

Editor

As September rolled around again from that long University summer, so began another term at the University of Edinburgh. For me however, this one would be slightly different. Not only is this my fourth and final year at the University, but I also be stepping ever so carefully in the role as Editor of Retrospect. I started writing for Retrospect in my second year after being told about it after an American History 2 lecture in Appleton Tower. Then in my third year, I was fortunate enough to learn the editing ropes under the guidance of our former Editor, and now successful writer for the Daily Mail online, Lydia Willgress as her deputy. Now, it is my turn.

Putting together the 'Discovery' issue has not been without its trials, but I would like to sincerely thank the whole editing team for their excellent ideas and constant support. I would particularly like to mention my Deputy Editor, Kerry Gilsenan, who has become my right hand for all things Retrospect.

I would like to thank everybody who came and supported Retrospect's 24-hour magazine project, 'Collaborate', and especially Kerry for coordinating the event. Her amazing dedication to the project, and the help of the rest of the team made this Innovative Learning Week project a huge success. Secondly, I would like to thank the School of History, Classics and Archaeology and the Career Service for all their support, without which the project would not have been possible.

With the beginning of March came Retrospect's AGM. I am delighted to announce that the new Editor for the next academic year will be Kerry Gilsenan. Joining Kerry, Retrospect has decided to take on two very ambitious and keen Deputy Editors this year - such strong candidates that we just had to have them both - Katherine Dixon and Nicol Ogston. Media Officer, Maddy Pribanova, will become our next Secretary, and will undoubtedly continue to be a brilliant asset to the team.

Thanks also goes to the writers and editors who have helped make the 'Milestones' issue happen. I am always thrilled to see the interesting and well written submissions Retrospect receives time and time again.

I would also like to mention the societies of the HCA School as a whole - History Society, Classics Society, and Archaeology Society - who we have worked closely with this year to create some well attended socials and great ideas for next term.

I would also like to thank our fantastic Design Editor who is new to the team this year, Lucas Clauser, who has done an unimaginably fantastic job at turning plain word documents into the journal that you see before you.

The diversity of articles we have received for both 'Discovery and 'Milestones' in this compilation issue, 'Breakthrough', has shown me that we are able to push the boundaries with HCA subjects, and bring our readers some very interesting pieces.

Overcoming difficulties in funding the printing of Retrospect this year would not have been possible without the generosity of the HCA school, in particular, Head of School, Ian Ralston and Student Experience Officer, Anne Brockington. Their continual support is much appreciated by myself and the Retrospect team.

I believe that we have assembled an extremely capable team for the next academic year, who will undoubtedly keep up the Retrospect standard. Good luck guys! As always, thank you for reading and we hope you enjoy.

EB

KATHERINE DIXON

Article Exchange Coordinator

Retrospect has made real strides in broadening its reach over the past few years. A new initiative this year, made possible through the University's programme of international change, has been a partnership between Retrospect and Historical Discourses, the prestigious undergraduate journal that serves the History faculty of McGill University, Montreal.

McGill was founded in 1821 by its namesake, a Scotsman, James McGill. This makes our partnership all the more fitting and as a result of this connection, we have organised an article exchange between the two journals. We have sent a University of Edinburgh 'Milestones' submission, by Charlotte Lauder, second year History student, and in return, we welcome McGillian Rachael Ripley, who has written on nineteenth-century nursing in Montreal.

I am very pleased to see that what started as nothing more than a nice idea has come to fruition, and am grateful to the editorial boards on both sides of the Atlantic for helping to facilitate this exchange. I know that I have been taught a lot during my time with Historical Discourses, and look forward to sharing what I have learned with the Retrospect's team when I return home as a Deputy Editor for the next academic year.

KD

societies

HISTORY SEMESTER ONE

TOM NASH
President

When we began to plan this year's events over the summer, we faced an immediate problem. How could we improve on the great work of Ellie our previous President? It seemed an impossible challenge.

We kicked off with a society makeover. Our logo got an upgrade, we ordered society hoodies and invested in an events pop-up banner. All of this was down to our fantastic designer, Rebecca Archer, who has been working with us for over two years now. Our preparation over the summer paid off in dividends when we returned for Freshers' Week. All of our events saw a record turnout, 'Edinburgh by Night' in particular had a massive crowd of over 200, and meant we had to split the group in two! It was great to see so many new faces, and welcome them to the society and to Edinburgh.

Once Freshers' Week was out of the way we began to throw on a huge schedule of events. We kept our members busy with regular socials and lectures, as well as a massive joint party with Classics, Archaeology, and, of course - Retrospect. For our more athletic members, our football, rugby and netball teams have provided regular opportunities to play on a competitive level. So far they have been doing exceptionally well, so fingers crossed for the remainder of the season! But we cannot forget our main event: the annual Winter Ball, which took place at the Balmoral Hotel! The entire committee worked on making this possible, but I would particularly like to thank our Social Secretaries, Lucy and Alannah. We hope that if you came along you had a truly special night.

Amidst all the frivolities, this semester has also been a time to reflect upon several important landmarks, for both the society and the discipline. We signed up over 500 members (an all-time record for the society), and got over 1000 likes on our Facebook page. These were significant achievements. On a more sombre note, 2014 also marked the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War. We held a 'World War One Week' of commemoratory events allowing us to reflect on one of the deadliest conflicts in human history, and discuss its importance for historians today.

So, one semester in, have we been able to improve on last year's performance? I would certainly say so. And we are not stopping there. We have got even more lectures and socials planned for the future, as well as trying out some new things we've not done before. We are even heading to Poland in February for our first ever international trip! None of this would have been possible without the fantastic work of the History Society committee. I have been so impressed with everyone. The contributions they have all made to our meetings and events have been superb. As long as they are present, I know that I can keep on being proud of the society.

CLASSICS SEMESTER ONE

MIA ALLEN
Play Co-Ordinator

After last year's action-packed semester Classics Society is back, and growing in size too! And we are not just talking numbers. Whether you are interested in classical theatre; fancy making a few new friends; think ITV's new programme Plebs is absolutely hilarious, or just enjoy a bit of classical banter - "How was the Roman Empire cut in half? With a pair of Caesars!" - there is always something for you. Arranging a 2015 society trip to Athens has been a major source of interest so far. Taking place during Innovative Learning Week, the trip is looking to be extremely exciting packed with a mixed itinerary of studious and extremely fun activities!

The theatrical side of the society has taken off in the past few years, with the Classics Theatre being one of the seven theatre societies of Edinburgh. A wide array of comedies and tragedies have been performed including Lysistrata, Electra, The Birds and Medea. Whether you have acted previously or not, the society is a great place to get into the theatrical side of the University. And it is not just for thespians: there are always plenty of opportunities to get involved with directing, producing and backstage, so do get in touch if you are interested. This semester the comical Women at the Thesmophoria will be put on at the St Augustine's theatre space (George IV Bridge) on the 14th and 15th of November.

Recently, the society occupied the Teviot Loft Bar for the first official social. In pub quiz extravaganza teams tackled a series of classical questions, the majority proving their immense knowledge of Russell Crowe and the cast of 'Gladiator' – a set of truly modern day classicists. The society is running far more socials this year than last, with the latest being a classical movie night at the Banshee Labyrinth. We also hosted a joint social with the History society, Retrospect and the Archaeology society at Vodka Revs, an event which is fast growing to be a yearly tradition. Innovative Learning Week plans include not only the Athens trip, but the Dionysia festival held at Bedlam theatre as well. At the festival last year, four theatre societies battled it out for the title of best overall production, which ended with a Classics Society victory with their version of Aeschylus' Eumenidies. The festival is a great, fun event and was a massive success thanks to all of the societies involved, hopefully involving even more this year! There is also talk of Classics Society sports teams being formed. Rounders beat the last consensus, what do you think? Salvete!

ARCHAEOLOGY SEMESTER ONE

ZACK HIGHAM
President

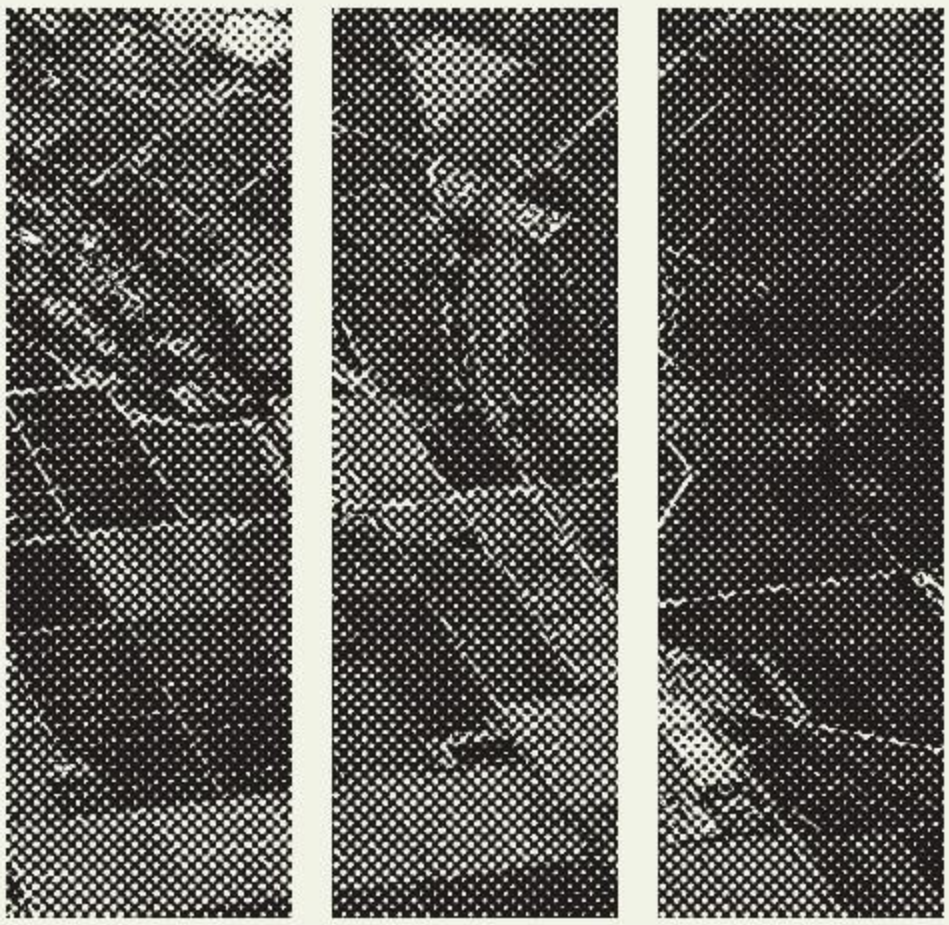
Hi everyone! As always Retrospect has given Archsoc the great opportunity of telling you all about the exciting things we've been doing, and a taste of what is to come! Our first pub crawl of the year was 'druid' themed, and resulted in plenty of drunken hijinks. Then, in September we teamed up with FilmSoc for an Indiana Jones themed film night. We also had a fantastic evening with our friends at the HCAR joint party in October. On top of our weekly pub nights, which have unabashedly revealed the hidden karaoke talents of many of our members.

On the academic side of things, ArchSoc put on an abundant series of lectures last semester. Topics have been extremely varied, including the paleolithic in Uzbekistan, Hadrian's Wall, forensic archaeology, and a special Remembrance Day lecture on the archaeology of the First World War. Our dig chief also organised hands-on workshops in aerial kite photography and lab skills. In October, we teamed up with Professor Jim Crowe to take students on a trip to three archaeological sites in central Scotland. Students were given a taste of the Roman frontier at the fort site of Ardoch, explored the remarkably well-preserved Iron Age 'Tapoch Broch', and enjoyed stunning vistas and gale force winds at Cairnpapple. Many of our members have also been getting involved in the volunteering opportunities afforded by EAOP - the Edinburgh Archaeological Outreach Project.

November saw our final lecture of the semester, featuring Sue Hampstead, on the Wemyss Caves in Scotland. Our penultimate social event of the year, a pub quiz at Frankenstein's, attracted members and non-members alike. Our final academic event of the year was a workshop on creating archaeological matrices by Gary Milward of the York Archaeological Trust. We happily announced the return of the 'Childe Collective', the archaeology students' discussion group. This is a great group for anyone interested in debating archaeological questions, and like all great archaeological discussions, takes place in the pub. Finally, the Archsoc Christmas meal provided a night of merriment, knit jumpers and drunken debauchery to celebrate the end of the semester at the Beehive Inn on the Grassmarket.

This semester we've got a bunch of great events in the works: a new lecture series; our annual fieldwork fair; house parties; and the 'World's End Pub Crawl' - a day-long pub extravaganza that will pit teams of drinkers against each other for the coveted T.E. Lawrence award for excellence in drinking.

As a final note, we're very excited to say that thanks to the work of Rachel Faulkner-Jones, Tom Gardner, Marta Lorenzon, Cindy Nelson, and Ulle Aguraiuja, the University of Edinburgh will be hosting the third Annual Student Archaeology Conference this June. The ASA is a student led initiative which gives archaeology students from all across the UK at any level of study the chance to participate in an academic conference. Archsoc is thrilled to congratulate them on their success thus far, and we wish them luck and support as this amazing new opportunity develops.



RETROSPECT SEMESTER ONE

KERRY GILSENAN
Deputy Editor

It has been a fantastic semester for Retrospect, from a bustling two days at the Societies Fair in September to the pre-printing rush. The journal enjoyed great popularity among the fresh faces of the university, as well as a sustained interest from returning members eager to write for our 'Discovery' issue! Our 'Meet the Team' session was bursting with ideas from writers from all academic disciplines - some have come to life in the pages that follow.

Continuing our close ties with the History, Classics and Archaeology societies, Retrospect collaborated in the HCAR party in October, enjoying a merry night of drinks in the company of our HCA school friends. As well as promoting HCA society events to our members, we look forward to continuing our relations and planning even more joint events to get the HCAR team out in full force!

With some incredibly kind and much appreciated support from the History society, the semester's 'Retrospectacular Pub Quiz' at Tron was a remarkable success with a packed-out bar full of keen quizzers. From historical myths to flags of the world, the quiz offered something for everyone to bring in their expertise, however the 'Sons of Caledonia' gleefully stole the title of champions of the quiz. Look out for more quizzing next semester to challenge their reigning glory.

Our 'Discovery' theme attracted a vast array of topics as our writers rediscovered the lives of John Enoch Powell and Howard Hughes, explored Lucetius and Orpheus, and mapped their way to success in archaeological write-ups. This new semester offers great potential for Retrospect as we embark on our spring issue, providing a new theme for members to consider as they delve in to History, Classics and Archaeology.

We will also be reviving the 24 Hour Magazine - last seen in 2012 - for our Innovative Learning Week Project Collaborate. With input from students, staff, alumni and local schools, the project promises to be our biggest and most exciting yet, inviting articles of all shapes and sizes to be included as we attempt to write, edit and design over a 24-hour period.

Whether you would like to spend your 24 hours catching films and exhibitions in the city and reflecting on your experiences, or tackling a ground-breaking research piece in the office, we cannot wait to fill your time - and your coffee cup! In partnership with the Careers Service, we will also have an excellent programme of speakers to keep up morale, and the HCA Careers Consultant, Craig Phillips, on hand to help individuals answer their many questions about what they can do with their degree, and how they can get there.

The event will provide invaluable experience for those interested in working in the fast-paced world of media, as well as giving members a new opportunity to keep up their great work. Our well-versed team of editors and designers will be on hand to help shape your ideas, and we invite absolutely anyone from any department to attend with no previous experience required.

So keep us in mind as semester two kicks off! Get planning your contribution to the COLLABORATE project, keep an idea aside for the spring issue, dance the night away with your HCAR friends and stay up to speed with your knowledge in preparation for another Retrospectacular evening of quizzing.

HISTORY SEMESTER TWO

TOM NASH
President

Perhaps it was the imminent stress of dissertation hand-in - the fact that I only had a few months before I graduate and have to accept the real world - but I was fairly emotional when I began writing this piece. The History Society has been a big part of my life since coming to university. Writing my final piece for Retrospect just highlights to me what a blow leaving it will be. Looking back, however, there is a lot to cheer me up!

The society has grown from strength to strength this year. We have hit an all-time record of 550 members, which officially makes us one of the biggest societies on campus. We have had some fantastic socials this year, such as our 'Medieval Madness' social - which involved us dressing up in fairly ridiculous costumes - and our flat crawl, which was also great fun.

However, the highlight of the second semester has to have been our Poland Trip. During Innovative Learning Week, thirty of us travelled to Kraków to commemorate the seventieth Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz. While we were there, we talked to a Holocaust survivor, and visited Auschwitz-Birkenau. Words really cannot do justice for this experience. It was incredibly moving and something I am grateful to have visited.

We also had a lot of fun in Kraków. This included watching a Visla Kraków football game - who are clearly the best team in Poland - and dining at a local restaurant on the final night, complete with traditional Polish dancing. It was a brilliant trip. The fact that it was the society's first international trip was a huge achievement. I believe that we have set a strong precedent for the future and I am looking forward to seeing where in the world the society will head to next!

Everything that happened this year would not have been possible without the help of my committee. I would like to thank all of them for their hard work and their patience in dealing with me. It was a pleasure working with them, and I hope that they all enjoyed it. The fact that so many stood for nomination again makes me very happy.

We have also now elected our new committee, and I am very confident that the society is in good hands. We have got a great balance of current committee members, who can use their previous experience, and new members, who will provide a fresh outlook for the society. I wish them, and particularly our new President, Lucy, all the best for the future.

For a final, personal point, I have been a member of the History Society since Freshers' Week in 2011. I have been on the committee since 2012 in various roles, before finally becoming President in my final year. In many ways, the History Society has come to define my time at university. Of all the things I have done at Edinburgh, being a part of the History Society is the thing I am proudest of. I will miss it more than anything else.

CLASSICS SEMESTER TWO

EMILY RUSHTON
President

This year, the Classics society has gone above and beyond to run lots of fun, new events that have brought more members than ever before! We started the year with an incredibly popular 'Meet and Greet' which brought lots of new freshers and new blood to our society, and members that have proved to be an integral part of the group.

We have held a number of socials, including a pub and film night, the infamous 'Olympic Flat Crawl', a 'Classics Convivium' and 'Classics Karaoke'. Also, also ran our first ever trip in recent memory to Athens in Innovative Learning Week, in which twenty-five students took to Greece for five days to visit ancient sites, and become well acquainted with the local wine. It proved to be an exceptionally enjoyable experience for all involved.

The chance to see first-hand and experience ancient sites, such as the Acropolis and the Agora, alongside world famous institutes, such as the National Archaeological Museum, helped students to better visualise the places that they were so familiar through their studies. The success of the trip was such that the society plans to try and make this an annual feature of its event calendar, with the provision of the committee position of Trip Organiser pending addition to the constitution.

Our semesterly plays this year have been as popular as ever. In the first semester, the society hosted a gender-swapped version of Aristophanes' farcical comedy, Women at the Thesmophoria: The women of Athens are plotting the murder of the famous playwright, Euripides for his misogynous plays. With the help of his trusty but incompetent friend, Mnesilochus, Euripides tries to trick his way out of death, with hilarious results.

In our second semester play, Sophocles' Antigone was a big hit: order and law decay in Ancient Thebes. The brothers Polyneices and Eteocles have fallen, warring over the throne, and the new King Creon has decreed that Polyneices is the traitor, to be left unburied that his soul may find no peace. Antigone sets out her quest to bury her brother – at any cost.

ARCHAEOLOGY SEMESTER TWO

ZACK HIGHAM
President

Dear Retrospect readers,

I am back again to give you a quick update on all the exciting things ArchSoc has been up to this semester. Semester two has gone by incredibly quickly. Our social calendar has been packed with pub nights, pub quizzes and a Viking themed flat party - complete with some very potent grog.

Our academic calendar has been just as busy with another great series of lectures. Once again, we have covered a wide range of topics including Hadrian's Wall, Neolithic Cyprus, community outreach in archaeology, systemic collapse in Sri Lanka, and Pictish kingdoms. Another academic highlight was our annual Field Work Fair organised by our dig chief Lisa. Lisa did an amazing job. The fair included booths from nearly all of the major commercial and public sector archaeology units from Scotland, and beyond. Moreover, many of our members continued to be involved in the great outreach work being done by EAOP (the Edinburgh Archaeological Outreach Project).

Although the semester and academic year were winding down we still had several events to come. The last guest lecture of the semester featured Dan Atkinson from Wessex Archaeology, lecturing on underwater archaeology. We also held our AGM in Malones to pick a new committee, and discuss some possible changes to our constitution.

The last Archsoc event this was the World's End Pub Crawl; a day-long pub extravaganza tha pit teams of drinkers against each other for the coveted 'T.E Lawrence Award for Excellence in Drinking'. The revelries began at 12:00pm in Teviot Sports bar and concluded at midnight at the World's End pub. It was twelve pubs in twelve hours - an archaeological test of endurance drinking. It was also a great way to relieve some stress after hand-ins. Finally, ArchSoc is very excited to be helping plan the HCA Graduation Ball. This final joint HCA event of the year will take place on the 27 May, and is on track to be an amazing night. Keep an eye out for more information and opportunities to buy tickets.

Finally, ArchSoc is proud to be a sponsor of the third Annual Student Archaeology Conference, which will be hosted at the University this year on 11-12 June. The ASAC is a student-led initiative, which gives archaeology students from all across the UK, at any level of study, the chance to participate in an academic conference. They've had amazing success so far, and ArchSoc is glad to be part of such a great program.

On a personal note, I would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone in ArchSoc for a great year. In particular, I owe a debt of gratitude to the amazing committee that made this year possible. Becky Wilson, Ruairdh Dalglish, Iona Diver, Kristie Yorkston, Lisa Bird, and Victoria Huggett have been an incredible committee, and the heart and soul of Archsoc this year. Thanks to them, and to everybody, for a wonderful year. I've enjoyed my tenure as President immensely, and I certainly could not have done it without you all. May you all find treasure in your trenches and sand in your boots: Fortune and Glory!

RETROSPECT SEMESTER TWO

KERRY GILSENAN
Deputy Editor

For Retrospect, our second semester of the year has been the start of something new, and as the newly elected Editor of the journal, I can assure you that we are full to the brim with ideas about how to maintain, and greatly add to, our successes as a society in the next academic year.

In particular, our twenty-four-hour magazine event as part of the Innovative Learning Week programme has increased our momentum. Bringing together the work of students across a variety of schools - from Edinburgh College of Art to the School of GeoSciences - the project was a milestone for us all. As we wrote, edited and designed our 'Collaborate' issue in twenty-four hours, the sentiment of the theme echoed throughout the Basement Computer Lab of the Hugh Robson Building - our home for the project. Among the crowd were those who had never written before, and regular faces at Retrospect committee meetings. Postgraduate designers assisted undergraduates, and the magazine was given a fresh face as the profoundly talented Lucas Clauser made his mark on the issue.

A highlight of our work has this semester has been our engagement with local schools, running a competition for 'Collaborate' submissions that saw a local student win £50 for his efforts - something that we hope to offer again in future. We have also incorporated the work of alumni in our 'Collaborate' issue, allowing Retrospect to reflect the wider History, Classics and Archaeology community of the University. Both of these initiatives shall be carried through to the new academic year to diversify our content and readership.

We have also enjoyed a lively workshop and talks programme during Innovative Learning Week, sharing our team's knowledge of the production process with media enthusiasts, and developing our own skills. Input from local Design and Publishing agency, White Light Media, university academics, Edinburgh University Press and Edinburgh Evening News, allowed experts - some of which were University alumni - to show us the ropes of a variety of media pathways. Notably, former Editor Lydia Willgress checked in with us at her Daily Mail Online graduate scheme, and reminded us of the value of student media, such as the work of Retrospect, for future career prospects.

Our role at the Student Staff Liaison Committee meetings and within the School of History, Classics and Archaeology has enhanced our relationship with the School, granting us a platform to represent student views, celebrating achievements and promoting positive change. Running competitions for National Student Survey participants and promoting the Edinburgh Student Experience Survey has hopefully allowed students to engage with the School personally, and influence the future of the University.

'Milestones' neatly wraps up an exciting time for Retrospect, allowing us to boast our achievements while looking forward to creating more highlights across the next academic year.

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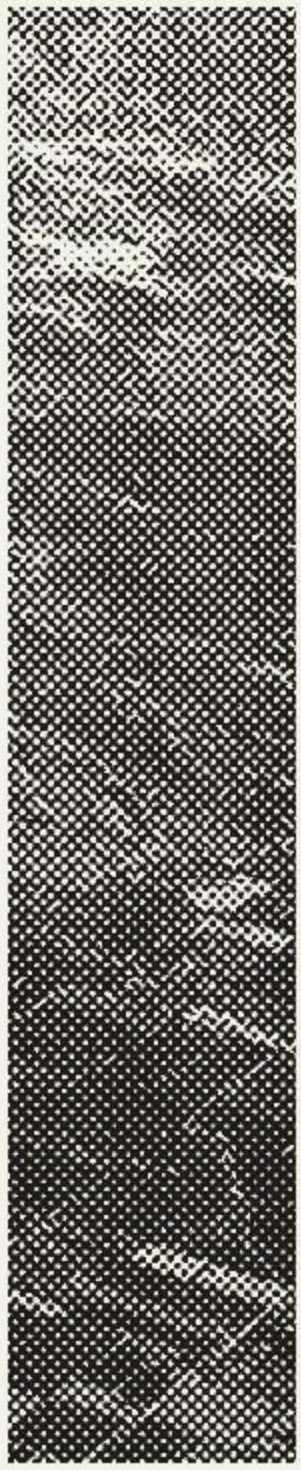
Alternatively you can email – **claire.daverin@bailliegifford.com** with any questions. Applications for our 2016 intake will open in September 2015.



« I appreciate the straightforward approach to selection: right from my first interview, it was apparent that this was a different kind of company. I was pleasantly surprised that there isn't the standard assessment centre or tests like many other graduate recruitment processes. »

~ Michael Pye, *Investment Analyst, Classics graduate*

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~ Lucy Isles, *Investment Analyst, History and International Relations graduate*

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Howard Hughes: An American Hero

Superfamous

Jessica L. Leeper

In a dark hotel room in Acapulco, Mexico in April of 1976, a man lay slowly dying alone in bed. His hair was long and unkempt, and the same film played over and over from a projector behind him. Only a few men, his most trusted aides, were allowed inside the room. He began to talk quietly in a sort of reverie about his life. He recalled his mother, silent films of the 1920s, airplane crashes, and innumerable Hollywood women. At last he said to one of the aides, "Jack, you have got to help me. When I'm gone the biographers are going to flock around, and I don't want them to dwell on the girls and the movies. I want to be remembered for one thing, and one thing only – my contribution to aviation".

The Great Depression years of the 1930s were famously known for high unemployment rates, extreme poverty, and a contagious feeling of despair. What is further unfortunate is that the great accomplishments made within those years have sadly fallen into obscurity. The Golden Age of Aviation was the short period strictly between the two World Wars, was reaching its peak during this time in the 1930s. During these years Americans were wild about the relatively new field of air transportation, and they found great pleasure in air races and record breaking. It was a rapidly growing industry as people wanted to go higher, further, and faster, and Howard Robard Hughes Jr. was one of aviation's most enthusiastic fans.

If a person in today's society was asked what they knew of Howard Hughes, they would probably respond with something about his mental decline, or perhaps they would recall a gigantic flying boat. In a life so colored by extraordinary events, it is often difficult to recall the smaller achievements. Many people would probably say that his great flying boat, the Hercules (better known as the Spruce Goose after a derogatory remark from Senator Owen Brewster) was Hughes' greatest achievement, but it can easily be argued that the H-1 Racer of the mid 1930s had even the famed WWII plane beat. The Hercules was designed to carry troops overseas during the war, but it was never used for its intended purpose. By the time the HK-1 flying boat was officially completed in 1947 the war was already well over. The Hercules flew only once in history on November 4th 1947, with Hughes at the controls, and it stayed airborne for less than one minute. It was a flight merely for spectacle, and although it was arguably his most famous moment, the H-1 Racer saw far greater success.

Howard Hughes was born on Christmas Eve in 1905 to Allene and Howard Hughes Sr., who owned an extremely prosperous drill bit company called Hughes Tool Co. in Houston, Texas. Young Howard first became obsessed with aviation when he was fifteen years old. He had become a famous Hollywood movie director and producer for his WWI flying epic, *Hell's Angels*, by 1930, and had become even more obsessed with flying after Lindbergh's historical flight across the Atlantic in 1927. Hughes was rising to his own fame by the early 1930s, but he was seen then only as a young and handsome playboy millionaire after inheriting 75% of his father's fortune and his tool company when Hughes Sr. died in 1924.

After the success of his greatest film, *Hell's Angels*, Howard Hughes began craving something more praiseworthy than Hollywood fame, and he organized a team comprised of eighteen mechanics to begin constructing what was to be his very first original-made plane at the Glendale Airfield in Los Angeles. His directions sounded simple enough, "I want you to build me the fastest airplane in the world". This revolutionary plane was also the first project in which Hughes worked alongside engineers Richard W. Palmer, a graduate of Cal Tech, and Glenn B. Odekirk, who became a lifelong friend and employee. The sleek monoplane that was produced in the collaboration was itself a milestone creation in the history of aviation; "The H-1 incorporated many advanced design features to minimize drag, including a close-fitting engine cowling; a streamlined, enclosed cockpit; ultra smooth skin with flush rivets; and retractable landing gear so perfectly fitted that it virtually disappeared into the undersides of the wings". The H-1 Racer would also prove to be the very last airplane crafted by a private individual for the purpose of record breaking; all such planes after Hughes were of military design.

The H-1 Racer, or Silver Bullet, took eighteen months to build and was first tested at the California Institute of Technology, clocking in "at 365 miles per hour, surpassing any speed ever recorded at Cal Tech". After several years of designing and redesigning, the plane was finally revealed in August 1935. Hughes' goal was to "set a new record for land planes by shattering the existing mark of 314 miles per hour set by French pilot Raymond Delmotte".

Hughes' first official flight in the H-1 Racer was on Friday the 13th September 1935. His aim was to fly out over the Pacific and then back towards Eddie Martin Field in Orange County, where the records were being clocked by a specialized device designed by Western Union. Amelia Earhart, Lawrence Therkelsen, and Paul Mantz (a movie stunt flier) took off behind him to commemorate the occasion. Hughes flew out over the Santa Monica Mountains to gain speed at 12,000 ft., but he was only supposed to make four passes for the judging. Instead he made seven, and he dived too late. The first gas tank had gone dry at 1,800 ft. No matter how hard he struggled with the controls, the small plane dived down at 180 miles an hour. Luckily, Hughes barely missed crashing into a fence as he neared the earth, and he managed to roughly land the plane in a beet field in Santa Anna. His ground crew worriedly scrambled towards him, but Hughes emerged from the plane miraculously uninjured and covered in beet juice as he leaned against the plane.

His ground crew informed him then that he had indeed broken the land speed record, which made him instantly the fastest flyer in the world at 352 miles an hour, despite the messy landing. Hughes grinned as he responded to Odekirk, "she'll do better than this, Ode. She'll do three-sixty five; I just know it". Hughes had beaten the new land speed record at 352.39 miles per hour, nearly 40 marks better than the previous record, and he nicknamed the H-1 the Flying Bullet. News reporters and spectators gathered around, eager to see the young, dashing aviator. To them "he was an emerging hero in a depression-racked country hungry for

heroes".

But nothing was ever enough for Howard Hughes. He had surpassed the world speed record, but "now he wanted speed and distance. He set his sights on the transcontinental record then held by Colonel Roscoe Turner and his mascot (lion cub) Gilmore". Hughes sought more success in a contest on January 13th 1936. This time he was flying as a contestant in a Northrop Gamma plane (owned by aviatrix Jacqueline Cochran) in a race that spanned from Burbank, California to Newark, New Jersey. However, the race did not go as he had expected. Shortly after takeoff, he lost all radio ground control, and then his compass was knocked off course. Hughes, alone in the cockpit and without any ground guidance, took out a map and observed the cities below for reference points. When he finally reached Newark, it was after twelve in the morning, and only one timekeeper was there to greet him. His flight had taken nine hours, twenty-seven minutes, and ten seconds. Although he had come in comparatively slow to what he had hoped for, he still somehow managed to beat the transcontinental speed record.

After the brief interlude with the Northrop Gamma, Hughes now turned his attention to beating his own transcontinental United States speed record. But this time he wanted to fly his own plane, the H-1 Racer, instead of the Northrop Gamma, and he eventually sold the Northrop back to Jacqueline Cochran. The H-1 had to be reformatted for the more strenuous flight ahead; "new and longer wings were designed, an increased capacity fuel was installed, a transparent cockpit enclosure was fabricated, and new instrumentation was developed".

The improved racer plane with its navy blue wings was ready for its next big flight after about a year of being remodeled. Hughes took off from Union Airfield in Burbank at 2:14 am on January 19th, 1937, and headed for Newark as his ground crew cheered below him on the runway. By the time he reached the clouds above the Grand Canyon at above 20,000 feet, he began to feel dizzy due to the elevation (which was the highest he had ever flown). He had discovered that the air was thinner at the higher elevations, which would allow for faster speeds. Unfortunately, although he was correct about the correlation between altitude and speed, his plan was also a major health risk. His arms soon became so heavy from hypoxia that he could barely keep at the controls. Within minutes he was gasping for air and falling in and out of consciousness. The low oxygen supply was quickly suffocating him. He struggled to get his oxygen mask open, taking his hands off the controls with no luck. Finally he became desperate to get the tube open, and bit the line until the oxygen was at last available. He later said he had just barely missed death. He continued to suck on the oxygen mask all the way to the East Coast. To ease the pressure in his head he screamed for five minutes until he could finally focus again on the lights of his controls. Somewhere over Arizona and after his frightening brush with death, another misfortune came along: his radio signal was lost once again. Hughes guided the remainder of the flight by sight, "aided by brief breaks in the cloud cover over Arizona, St. Louis, and Indianapolis".

Because of the cloud coverage, and lack of radio contact, Hughes was officially reported missing by the National Aeronautical Association at dawn. No one had seen the plane or heard from Hughes for over five hours. Katharine Hepburn, who was at the time romantically involved with Hughes, frantically called his headquarters in Los Angeles to no response. Absolutely no one knew where he was. The Chicago Tribune newspaper even printed as their head story that morning that Hughes was lost.

Finally the H-1 Racer was spotted over Middleton, Pennsylvania, and Hughes began preparing for descent into New Jersey. Not long after the sleek plane dived down onto a runway in Newark, the stopwatch stopped. Hughes officially finished his flight in a perfect landing at 12:42 pm, seven hours and twenty-eight minutes after leaving Burbank, at a speed of 332 miles per hour. As soon as he landed in Newark, he sent a telegraph to Katharine Hepburn, who was in Chicago, that read, "safe and down in Newark. Love, Howard".

For all of Howard Hughes' many remarkable achievements in the 1930s, he was awarded the highly prestigious Harmon International Trophy as Outstanding Aviator of 1936, "in a ceremony held in the Oval Office of the White House, where President Franklin Roosevelt presented Hughes with the 30-inch high bronze trophy...the only other Americans to win the award were Charles Lindbergh and Wiley Post".

« safe and down in Newark.

Love, Howard »

Despite all of the misfortunes of the 1937 flight, Hughes still somehow managed to break his own record from the previous year, eliminating about 119 minutes from the 1936 flight. His newest record would stand unbroken for the next seven years. The discoveries Hughes made on his various flights with the H-1 Racer also greatly influenced his later aviation accomplishments and designs. "He had also proved that high-altitude flying, an airship free of rivets, and retractable landing gear could pave the way for commercial aviation". The commercial line Hughes would one day own, TWA, displayed many results of his revolutionary discoveries in engineering from the 1930s. And, indeed, many of those commercial ideas and discoveries still influence aviation today.

Although the H-1 Racer's fame has fallen in recent history, there is no denying that it was one of the many remarkable turning points in the colorful and ambitious life of Howard Hughes. Before his record breaking flights with the Silver Bullet, he was only an aspiring young Hollywood director and producer with an enormous cash supply inherited from his father's drill bit fortunes. But the H-1 Racer raised him to higher fame. His achievements of the 1930s brought him instant glorification in the history of aviation, influenced many great innovations in aircraft, and for a time made him an American hero.

The Golden Age of Aviation ended the minute it was known that Germany had invaded Poland, thus starting WWII, but Hughes would go on to engage himself in several commissions for the United States Air Force, including both the doomed XF-11 and the famous flying boat. The H-1 Racer's specifications somehow ended up in the hands of Japanese aeronautical engineers, and the Zeros they used in the attack of Pearl Harbor in 1941 were loosely based on the H-1's designs. The H-1 Racer itself ended up in the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum in Washington, D.C.

For a brief and exciting moment in American history there was not a single man, woman, or child in America who did not know the name Howard Hughes. It is strange to believe that there was ever a time when his courageous and revolutionary accomplishments greatly eclipsed his eccentricities, or that his name brought to mind first a dashing aviator before a reclusive madman. But at the remarkable end of the Golden Age of Aviation, it was Howard Hughes who ruled the sky, and that was what people knew.

Discover Peace of Mind: An Examination of Lucretius' Argument That "Death is Nothing to us"

William Kloverod Griffiths

The Epicurean Lucretius argued that in order to discover peace of mind, we must rid ourselves of fear of the gods and fear of death. In this article I will consider the latter of these two therapeutic aims; helping us discover that "death is nothing to us". I will draw on the arguments used in Book 3 of *On the Nature of Things* by Lucretius. I will first briefly explain Lucretius' argument about the body-soul relationship and why he reaches the conclusion he does. Secondly, although there are many possible objections to Lucretius' argument, this article will focus on one central objection, namely that death leads to loss of potential in the person that has died. Thirdly, I will defend Lucretius' position, by raising problems with the view that loss of potential means death is something to us. Fourthly, I will respond to these issues and sum up. I will conclude that unfortunately Lucretius' arguments do not, by themselves, provide grounds to make us conclude that death is nothing to us. For this reason we must persevere in our search for a source of peace of mind.

«peace of mind is the highest form of pleasure »

Central to Lucretius' Epicurean thought is the notion that peace of mind is the highest form of pleasure. Therefore, Lucretius' main aim in Book 3 of *On the Nature of Things* is therapeutic; he aims to free our mind from anxiety about death. He does this by showing that our soul is mortal and dies at the same time as our body. Lucretius uses a series of proofs to show that the soul is born, lives and dies with the body. For instance, his proofs showing that the soul can be harmed and must therefore be able to die and that the body and soul can be seen to grow old and die together. These arguments are intended to show that the soul is mortal. Essentially his argument is that something is harmful to a person if, and only if, that person is there to experience the harm. Seeing as the soul and the body die together, the person will not be able to experience anything after death. Because of this, being dead cannot be harmful to that person, and therefore death is nothing to us. Things people do in this world, for instance pursue wealth and status are all covers of their fear of death, sometimes people do not know of this fear they have of death, but it is then up to the Epicurean "doctor" to show us that we need not fear death. Lucretius claims that knowing the mortal nature of the soul will lead us to the conclusion that "death is nothing to us", thus freeing us from our fear of death and helping us discover peace of mind.

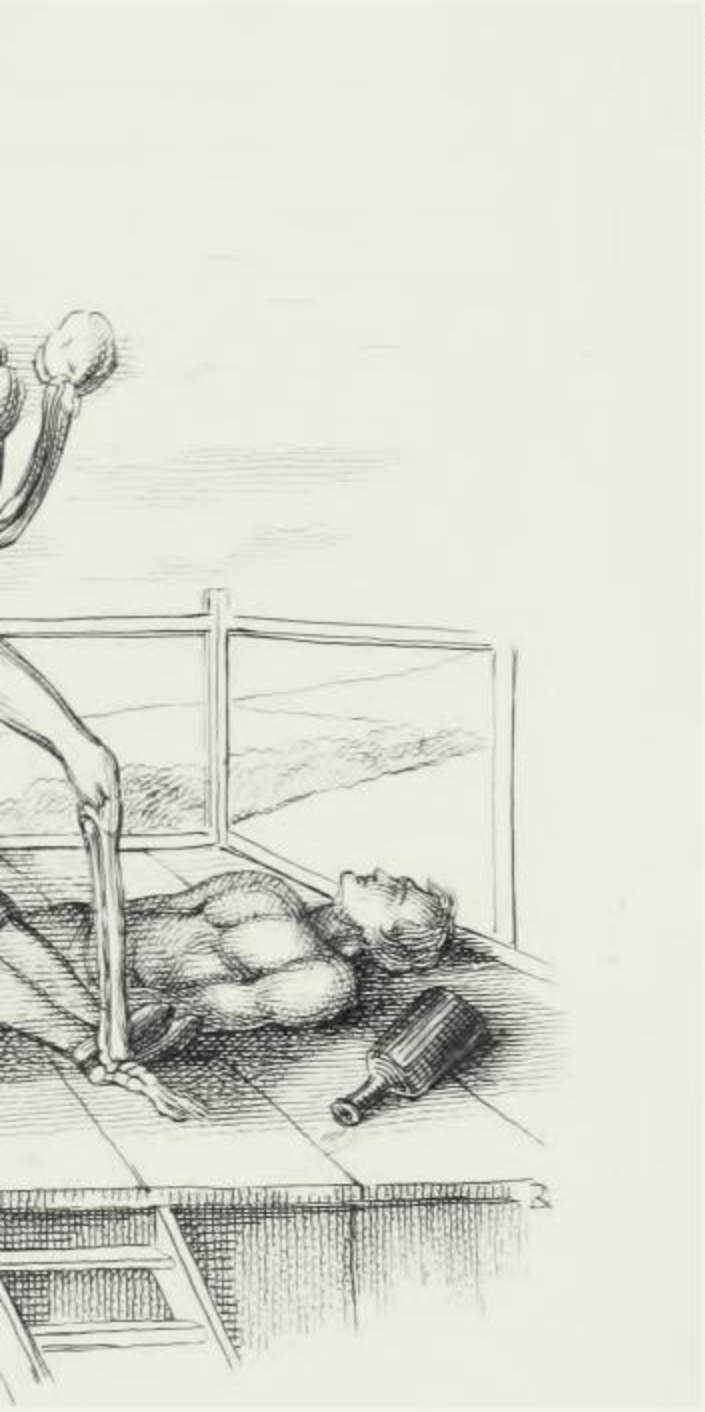
However, I will resist the conclusion Lucretius draws that this makes "death nothing to us", even though I accept the basic premise that the soul is mortal. Despite having accepted his arguments that the soul is mortal, it is not immediately apparent that this would lead us to not fearing death. One criticism raised is that death deprives a person of future pleasures. Had the person not died, he would have experienced several pleasurable moments in this "alternative life". Death having prevented this alternative life, means that death causes harm. Nagel points to the possibilities and history that make up a person; death deprives the future fulfilment of these possibilities. Williams has a similar criticism in that most people make plans for the future, this is because they are anticipating future pleasures. For Williams people have "categorical desires" that propel life forward and the future hopes and dreams of people mean that death, when it comes, is harmful to us. Therefore, death is something to us because it means that our future hopes and plans will go unfulfilled, also death cuts short an individual's potential and possibilities.

On the other hand, Lucretius' position can be defended on a number of grounds. I will present three possible defences of Lucretius' claim that "death is nothing to us". Firstly, it is hard to see how these supposed goods that could have been experienced count as goods at all. It is not clear why something that has not occurred within a person's life diminishes the life of that person. The article has accepted that there is no perception after death, and if there is no perception, how can the loss of these supposed goods be harmful? These supposed goods will never be beneficial to us; therefore it is foolish to worry about them. When something is out of our perception it is irrational to worry about it harming us, because we will not be there to experience it.

Secondly, the argument about being robbed of our possibilities seems to suggest that death must be an evil and something to fear. But for Lucretius life should not be made worse by knowing you will die. If we are robbed of future pleasure through dying, are we to assume that there is no "natural limit" to our lives? Where would be the natural limit to life be if we always fear death depriving us of future potential? This position will surely lead to an unwelcome desire for immortality, which will be unachievable. Therefore, the rational thing to do is to accept Lucretius' arguments and live with tranquillity of mind knowing that "death is nothing to us".

Thirdly, the criticism that people will be deprived of future pleasures by dying has misunderstood the nature of true pleasures. Perfect Epicurean pleasures do not have duration; they are complete in the moment. Also only living for a future good is undesirable; pleasures in the Epicurean sense should be complete independent of time and not geared towards benefits in the future. For instance Williams' criticism of Lucretius does not show why these desires to continue living for our hopes and desires are good or rational. People who constantly strive for this kind of future happiness bring to mind the people Lucretius' describes as always dashing about never reaching peace of mind, due to their fear of death. If they were to free themselves from the fear of death they would discover peace of mind, which is so central to Epicurean philosophy.

However, there are several problems with these arguments to defend Lucretius' position. Firstly, something can be harmful to us even



The British Library

though we are not there to experience it. For instance, Nagel uses the example of something malicious said behind our back, which will cause us harm, even though we are not there to experience it. The harm in this case is the harm of unfulfilled desires and hopes of which death robs us. Premature death is always terrible as it deprives that person of a host of possibilities, but elderly people also make plans and therefore their loss of potential must not be underestimated. The fact that our potential, hopes and desires have been cut short leads us to conclude that death cannot be nothing to us.

Secondly, the claim that this position only leads to a desire for immorality is false, because, as Williams points out the very purpose of our "categorical desires" is to help us keep living. Were we immortal there would be no need for these desires that death cuts short, therefore immortality would lead to an inevitable tedium. The "categorical desires" to keep living are what gives a person the reason to live, with immortality there would be no such desires to keep living, because survival would be assured. Therefore, again Lucretius' account is seen to fail to take into account a potential future for the person who dies. The person's "categorical desires" have been cut short and death is therefore something to him.

Thirdly, there can be real loss of potential by dying, for instance, in future hopes and plans which were to be shared with others. The true pleasures of Epicureanism seem to be intrinsically self-centred, with regard only to the fact that the dead person cannot perceive and therefore need not worry about death. However, this view ignores pleasures which may be shared in the future and which death frustrates. Some pleasures only make sense when viewed over a longer period of time. For instance the pleasure of love, although pleasurable in the here and now, is also a long term emotion. Death is something to us because it would mean that we cannot experience things in the future. People make plans with the people they love and therefore any death will mean that these plans go unfulfilled. Lucretius points out that the mourners around the deathbed would not mourn if they knew the true nature of death. I find this argument fundamentally unconvincing, this is because the mourners are sorrowful not because they do not believe the soul is mortal, but because of the loss of potential for that person. The shared plans and ambitions they had are cut short by death.

Therefore, even if we were to accept that death is nothing to the deceased person, death cannot be nothing to the people left behind. For these reasons I do not find Lucretius' arguments convincing.

Regrettably, Lucretius' arguments that "death is nothing to us" are not convincing, and do not help us discover peace of mind, as he had hoped. This is because his notion of death does not take into account that everyone has possibilities, hopes and desires that they wish to have fulfilled in the future. Even though supporters of his argument have claimed that by wishing for future pleasures we misunderstand the true nature of Epicurean pleasures, I believe that there are true pleasures in the future which we will be deprived of by death. Despite the soul being mortal, death is something to us. The main reason I find Lucretius' arguments unconvincing is because death is harmful to the deceased person, because in the "alternative life" he would have been able to experience the fulfilment of his hopes and desires. Even if we were to accept that death is nothing to the deceased person, the main problem with the conclusion Lucretius draws is that is that it is an intrinsically selfish view of death. The people left behind would mourn for the unfulfilled plans and thwarted hopes of the person who had died. For these reasons Lucretius has not helped us overcome the fear of death. This is a shame for those of us trying to discover peace of mind, for the time being, we must look elsewhere to achieve to peace of mind.

Re-Discovering the European Left

Petra Balazic

The 21st century has so far been a turbulent era for Europe, in economic, political, and social aspects. When the growth of the EU reached its most rapid proportions, the faith in the project began to steadily decline, and with each election right-wing anti-EU parties have gained firmer ground. Economic recession and the austerity measures enforced this trend, while leaving thousands unemployed and an unprecedented number on the brink of poverty. Responding to these challenges, Europe has witnessed a number of mass protests as a part of the global Occupy! movement as well as more general anti-austerity demonstrations, calling on national governments to address the downward spiralling social conditions. Yet until recently, the biggest losers of this era have ironically been the European left-wing parties: that is, actors for whom these conditions could have been the promised land of opportunity.

Left-wing politics is inherently one of criticism. From its very beginnings, when the right-left divide was created in the wake of French First Republic, the "left" –the fraction seated on the left side in the National Assembly – sought to change the system, abolish the monarchy, embrace political and economic innovations. Revolution became the word of the day, and even more so after it was given a scientific standing in Marxist work in the 19th century from which communism was born. Even at the more centre-left spectre, social democratic ideas, effectively born in 19th century Germany with Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiter-Verein (General German Workers' Association, or ADAV, later to become SPD) and best represented by its founder Ferdinand Lassalle, looked into the future for its ideals. Although they abandoned revolution for the sake of reform, the aim was the same: change. European left parties cannot be considered without the notion of critical thinking as their key characteristic. A comment was once made that the left-wing parties by their definition belong in the opposition. Historically this claim is difficult to repeal, looking at both the structure and the methods of left-wing politics. They are almost infamously fragmented, with both inter- and intra-party conflicts and constant flying of accusation of abandoning principles or selling out. These differences have gone so far as to influence significant historical developments – it is enough to remember the implications of the disorganized Republicans in the Spanish Civil War or arguably even Hitler's rise to power, as German SPD, Communist Party and other left-wing parties failed to find common ground against the enemy. And when one left fraction is in power, the other is quick to reject it, usually for making too many compromises with right-wingers or simply not doing enough for the perceived common cause. Perhaps the most dramatic expression of this in European history was, in fact, the October Revolution in 1917 in Russia. After all, the head of the Provisional Government at the time was Alexander Kerensky, himself identifying as socialist-revolutionary. While such fragmentations are not difficult to understand as left ideologies tend to strive for idealistic notions of the future and are, as such, prone to theoretical debates and divisions, they carry with it a tough burden. Without continual self-re-invention, re-definition and keeping the eyes firmly on the horizon, they face the threat of being torn apart by those that do not forgive stagnation.

« So what about when the opposition becomes the leadership? »

So what about when the opposition becomes the leadership? Russia became the first socialist state, and very soon the first communist one too, as Stalin set out on a mission to nationalize all private property in 1930s. He abandoned the notion of Marxist "permanent revolution" in a symbolic manner of expelling its main advocate Leon Trotsky – and effectively killed it much earlier than Trotsky was found and murdered by NKVD. All opposition to the Communist Party leadership was dealt with in a similar manner. Stalin looked into the future, but he looked into the future of threats and betrayals, not ideology, to such an extent that his own successor accused him of "Stalinism", which is precisely what the Soviet Union is best remembered for. Marxism, communism, socialism and anything in between have since become almost inseparably linked to dictatorship, uncontrolled bureaucracy, gulags and secret police (interestingly, except for the extreme right, stigma of Nazi and Fascist crimes never stained the right-wing politics in such a way). What is more, in 1991 Soviet Union collapsed for good. Not only did slowly opening archives reveal all horrors of life managed by the secret police, the left now faced an even deadlier charge: that it had failed.

Meanwhile social democratic parties across Europe held a rather mixed record of success in the post-war 20th century Europe. The most impressive achievement of European social democrats must have been in Scandinavia. Given the almost non-stop support of Swedish social democrats, and to a lesser extent in other Scandinavian countries, they were able to implement significant social reforms which, although

they were based on the support of the middle classes and were as such going against the traditional leftist loyalty to the working class, created what social policy researcher Esping-Andersen would call an ideal-type Nordic welfare state. Social security and equality were high and rising, helped by progressive taxation. Meanwhile in West Germany SPD managed to retain an almost constant vote of over 40%, with only rare exceptions. In France and the UK, on the other hand, the support had serious variations over time, linked most specifically to economic trends. Sometimes it would seem that in these two countries social democratic principles have lost the final battle, as for example when, in 1969, French social democratic candidate Defferre reached only 5% in presidential elections, or during the UK Labour Party's dark thirteen years out of Office. Eventually they resurfaced, but for Labour's leader in the second half of the 1990s, Tony Blair, keeping the head barely out of the water was not good enough. To him, only a total emancipation from traditional, economic form of socialism would do to embark on the Third Way seeking to reconcile the right and the left, or capitalism with social rights. He was enthusiastically followed in Germany by SPD's Gerhard Schröder, and so the grand transformation of European social democracy began, sparing no victims with the coming of crisis.

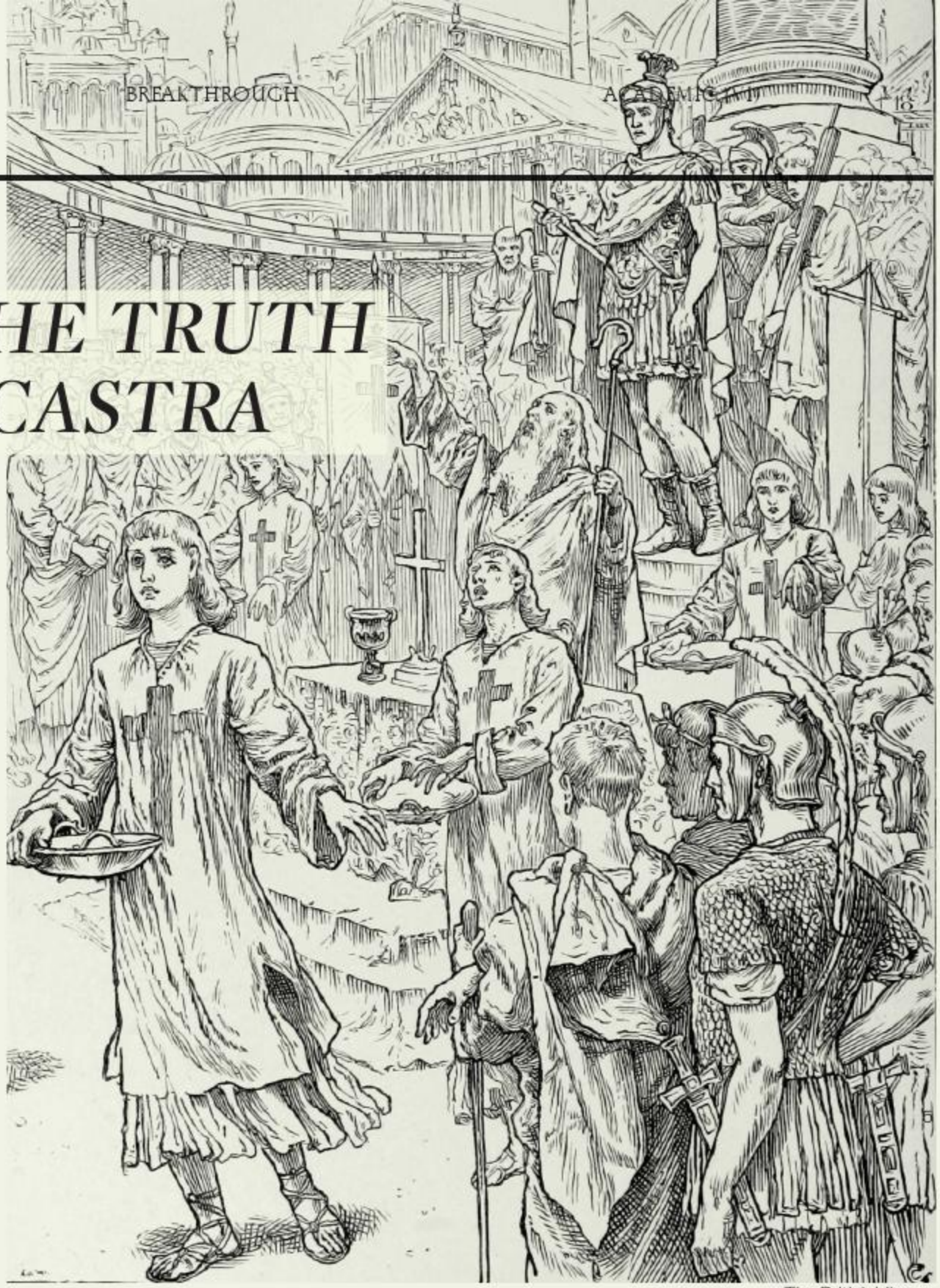
At the turn of the century there was thus a double identity crisis of the left, reaching from the centre to the end of left spectrum. The latter was shaken by the Third Way and apparent abandonment of the majority of 20th century principles it had stood for, while the former found itself grasping to comprehend post-Soviet Union Europe. Both hold fundamental implications for the future of European left politics. The Third Way seemed to have been faring rather well, probably as it gave people the option of social capitalism. In the UK, Labour served for three consecutive terms, the longest time since the 1905-1915 Labour Government, and in Germany SPD led the government from 1998 to 2005, breaking the trend of consecutive losses since 1982. But theory is one thing and practice another. As the economic recession rolled around, those social democratic parties who were in power in Europe almost without exception introduced Third Way policies into their agenda and showed their populations what adherence to capitalism means in times of crisis: austerity, tightening of belts, and fiscal reforms in favour of big businesses. Under the ideology of the Third Way and the pressures from European and global fiscal and monetary institutions, "social" in social democracy all but disappeared. The voters stood in front of a new choice: one between the right and the little less right. This was reflected in both low voter turn-outs and a severely declining social democratic electorate. In 2009, SPD received a historically bad result. In 2011 Spanish social democratic party PSOE suffered the same fate, falling from power much harder than ever before. Even in the almighty Sweden, the land of social democracy, the social democrats in 2010 hit their lowest mark of 30.7% since the establishment of a unicameral parliament in 1970. When populations were asked in voting polls to evaluate their social democratic governments in times of the crisis, Third Way obviously lost to No Way.

But to say that people have abandoned leftist ideas would go against what we have seen on our television screens as the crisis deepened. Anti-austerity protests – especially dramatic in the peripheral states of the EU, notably Greece and Spain, but also present throughout other EU countries –, the Occupy! movement and other calls for governments and the EU to bail out people before bailing out banks were hardly expressions of a warm embrace of neoliberal policies. The more probable explanation is that they failed to find an organised political representation of their wants and needs. There seemed to be an unfilled gap between two options, both unlikely viable: the Third Way social democrats on one hand, and the old communist parties on the other. The problem with the latter was exactly the sentiment the failed USSR had left behind. In Greece, for example, the Communist Party refused to acknowledge the valid criticism of the Soviet communist project and its methods. There was a similar trend in Eastern and Central Europe, where certain communist parties failed to emancipate themselves from the past. Such stances can never incorporate the new and growing public opinion, even when it does lean to the left. The emerging civil society has no place in its heart for personal dictatorships or even class warfare – the question has lately become one of people versus the capital, rather than some people versus the others. Finally, such communist parties have lost sight of the key principles behind the leftist thinking: the critical approach to the past and present and a program based on future ideals, not on the previous practices.

What could, therefore, fill the gap in a manner that would reflect the sentiment of the protests – or, to put it differently, what kind of a party could constitute the "New Left" in Europe? The answer lies within programs of young but determined parties sprouting throughout the Union states. They are calling for a democratic socialism, a social European Union, eradication of poverty and inequality and aim to include all people into their vision of a better future. The one party which has perhaps had the most influence and resonance in contemporary European left politics is the Greek Syriza. It is the party which, for its development, membership and program, embodies the left alternative in the context of the 21st century: it stems from the 2010-12 popular uprisings in Greece, consists of various theoretical currents, recognizes the significance of globalisation and European political integration, and remains loyal to the principle of democracy as the only legitimizing tool. Therefore it offers a blend of fundamental leftist values with modernization in the face of new realities and its challenges. The almost overnight success of Syriza – emerging as the second party in the 2012 national elections, and the first in 2014 Greek EP elections – demonstrated the positive response of the people to a viable alternative, and motivated organisation of similar parties in other parts of Europe as well. Examples include Podemos in Spain and the United Left Coalition in Slovenia. The latter followed the similar path as Syriza: it raised from anti-austerity protests, giving them a strong theoretical base, and within less than half a year entered parliament, catching up with the Social Democrats and being proclaimed "the greatest surprise of the general elections". Meanwhile, Die Linke, a German party with similar structure and sympathies albeit older (established in 2007), has had less luck in the elections – which is hardly surprising given the favourable economic conditions of Germany. A better telling story, however, is its nevertheless rapidly growing membership which will soon reach 70.000.

It is undeniable that external factors influence the course of events, but society is not forgiving of those who fail to hijack that course and turn it into their favour. The future of the New Left parties will thus depend on their own abilities and actions. Time is any subject's toughest test: let us see how they do.

DISCOVER THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CASTRA PRAETORIA



The British Library

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Absolute monarchs – self-appointed gods, emperors, dictators and despots – have, throughout history, often assembled a trusted coterie to afford them physical protection and maintain their absolute power by being able to identify their enemies from within. As Lord Acton famously wrote to Bishop Mandell Creighton in 1887, 'Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men.'

The Praetorian Guard is no exception. It is often portrayed as Imperial Rome's version of today's Special Forces. In this context, it is seen as an elite troop, similar to the SAS, Navy Seals, or Spetsnaz. Yet they have also been described as debauched assassins, spies and usurpers. This reading renders them more akin to the Gestapo or the Cheka, the forerunner to the Joint State Political Directorate (OGPU), then the Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (KGB). Less insecure authorities have more benign spying agencies. However, it is not hard to imagine how one could metamorphose into the other.

If this is a slightly confused view, it may stem from more recent popular culture. The guard features in Hollywood movies and video games, but this is a simplistic world of heroes and villains that owes more to mythology than historical fact. The Praetorians rarely are the heroes.

« increasingly apparent that the guard's loyalty was dependent upon who was paying for their protection »

In fact, the guard was one of the most distinctive features of Roman Imperial rule. Originally brought into Rome by Augustus as his bodyguard, they were rewarded for their loyalty and the elite status that they were ascribed was more a method through which to induce loyalty, and not so much to denote a specialised fighting unit. They were the most privileged group in the Imperial Roman military. Under Tiberius, this included being housed in Rome, the centre of their universe. Until Augustus' reign, soldiers were not allowed into Rome and he had his guard billeted in various camps outside the city. However, the Praetorians were an arresting manifestation of the new Imperium. While the guard was primarily in the city for the safety of the Imperial family it became increasingly central to the capital's administrative needs.

With these additional duties it became imperative that the guard be moved into Rome. The people had become accustomed to seeing the guard in the city. Tiberius was thereby able to build the Castra Praetoria without it being viewed as a coup d'état. The fact that the barracks was not constructed under Augustus is a testament to his political cunning. It must have been feared that bringing the guard into the city would have constituted a threat to the emperor or provided others with the temptation to attempt and subvert their loyalty. It becomes increasingly apparent that the guard's loyalty was dependent upon who was paying for their protection.

Building the camp is one of the most important dates in the guard's history. It was a symbol of the total authority of the Emperor, sitting high above the city on the Viminal Hill. It must have looked like Edinburgh Castle, especially as over the years the castra was subsumed into the city as Rome expanded. It was simultaneously clandestine and recognisable, like the Lubyanka. Tacitus believed that Sejanus, the lone praetorian prefect, who implemented the building of the camp had ulterior motives for the guard's colonisation of the capital. Tacitus may have seen it as a maleficent act but it is more likely that the camp was built out of necessity. It provided a centralised administration and the ability to rapidly respond to any action at the palace that required their support.

There is a recurring issue with the scholarship surrounding the Castra Praetoria. It is constantly identified as a suburban fortress, yet archaeological discoveries prove this to be inaccurate. It was a building as unique as the unit it obscured.

Little was left of the camp after its destruction in AD 312. The guard chose to support Maxentius in AD 306 and remained loyal until the end, standing with him at Milvian Bridge. Constantine disbanded the guard and destroyed their camp which had become a symbol of oppression and contempt. Enough is left to establish that this was not a fortress but a barracks. First, it was not entirely rectangular. Second, it covered a mere 16.72 hectares, two-thirds of legionary camp. Third, the defences were paradoxically not designed to defend. There was no surrounding ditch and the walls were a meagre three and a half metres tall, suggesting that this was not a barracks expecting to repel a vicious enemy.

The Castra Praetoria has been suggested to be a torture chamber, barbarous prison, and a den of depravity. As exciting as this would be

its real purpose was elementary; it was built to hold as many men as possible. In order to do this revolutionary techniques were utilised to allow over fifteen thousand men to live in a relatively small area.

There was no need for many of the buildings typically associated with a military unit, due to the camp's proximity to Rome. Archaeologists have not found a hospital, baths, or the enormous workshops which customarily were attached to the legions. One of the buildings that is identified in ancient literature is the armoury. This would have been crucial to an armed guard, especially when the guard returned to the battle field in the Dacian Wars at the beginning of the second century AD. It is possible that this is the semi-subterranean building commonly identified in the granary in the south-eastern corner of the camp.

Nor is there a praetorium, the living quarters of the commander. This is unsurprising. With the attraction of Rome, a thriving, bustling capital on his doorstep, it is unlikely the prefect would have wanted to live in a busy and noisy barracks. This was a position of high status and he more than likely had a nice house in the city. There was no need for a headquarters, which would usually be found in the centre of the camp. This is due to the unique command structure of the guard. They took their orders from the Emperor and the palace.

The living quarters of the camp saved further space. The camp was divided into five distinct zones by four access ways alone the north-south axis. The camp is dominated by two barrack blocks which ran the length of the camp. These are separated by one thinned ribbon of buildings, separated into courtyards. It is most likely that these were the officers' accommodation or offices. Men were crammed into every nook and cranny. There were cell-like rooms supporting the wall walk, a new method of providing extra housing. These may have housed a squad of eight guardsmen, known as a contubernia. The billets themselves were also revolutionary. Not only were they two-tiered but the shared a back wall. This saved precious space.

The inside of the camp has received little archaeological attention. The excavations over the last two centuries have not been published as a collection. Urban development has obscured the interior of the camp and today the site of the Castra Praetoria is used by various Italian Army units, barring access to scholars. As a result the walls of the barracks have received rather more attention.

Today only the north and east walls remain intact along with their gates. This has led most scholars to believe there must have been a gate in each of the walls. These walls were incorporated into the Aurelian defences of Rome sometime between AD 271- 275. It is for this reason they survived the demolition of AD 312.

The walls evolved through the years. Originally no taller than three and a half metres they were built from brick-faced concrete. This may seem disinteresting but in the day this would have been state of the art and incredibly impressive. It would have been a bright pink and red citadel high above the city, a symbol of the emperor's appreciation for the unit. This also clearly established it as a building project of Tiberius. The wall had a walk wall allowing the guard to patrol the perimeter of the camp. There were sixteen non-protruding towers, serving as watch towers and buttressing the wall. This would provide ample security until AD 69 when the forces of Vitellius and Vespasian clashed at the camp. The Castra Praetoria saw some of the worst fighting of the civil war and had to be repaired. For some unknown reason these repairs were completed using yellow brick. The walls were not heightened until the sole reign of Caracalla (AD 211-217). Then in AD 238 Gordianus III repaired the work of Caracalla and raised the height of the towers. This was clearly a move to use the camp as a defensive position, should the need arise. However, its primary purpose had not changed.

Under Aurelian and Probus the need had arisen for Rome's defences to be rebuilt. Not only had the city greatly expanded, outgrowing the Servian Wall but barbarians had started flooding through the Germanic frontier and into Italy. It was essential that the city of Rome could be defended and Aurelian instigated the building of new fortifications. These incorporated the north and east walls of the Castra Praetoria. To provide sufficient protection to the city Aurelian raised the height of the walls to match the height of the towers and had battlements mounted, which can still be seen today. The final development the walls went through was under Maxentius, who was clearly aware of the threat of Constantine and looked to the praetorians and their camp for safety.

The Castra Praetoria is readily forgotten but it was manifestation of the power of the Praetorian Guard for almost three hundred years. Originally a symbol of the new Imperium it adapted as the need arose. It provided rapid response to crises at the palace or in the city. It was the scene for many famous events throughout the Roman Imperial era. It saw Claudius come to the praetorians for support after the death of Caligula. It watched Nero's carnation by Burrhus in AD 54. In AD 69, it observed the incongruous ceremony of Otho acclaiming himself emperor after the assassination of Galba. It also suffered the fiercest fighting of that year, as Vitellius' and Vespasian's struggled to become the next Praetorian Guard. In AD 193, the camp was the location where the auctioning of the empire took place. Following the murder of Pertinax, stemming from an unwillingness to pay his praetorians, Julianus and Sulpicianus bid to win favour of the guard and thereby control of empire. Gallicanus led a siege against the Castra Praetoria but it stood unperturbed, which led to troops being called in from all over Italy. With their water cut off the praetorians launched attacks as a mob and pillaged and plundered the city. In the face of a devastating fire, the people surrendered.

The Castra Praetoria is crucial to understanding the Praetorian Guard for three reasons. First, like the guard the building adapted to survive. Secondly, it was designed to house as many men as possible. Equipping the emperor and Rome with a new force, the likes of which had never been seen before. Thirdly, the camp demonstrates that this was not another military unit or extra legion. This was a unique entity the likes of which had never been seen before in Rome. Their elitism was activated by their military prowess but was continued through their loyalty. This was inverted as time went on and the praetorians became king-makers. This gave them incredible power but, ironically, led to their demise. Constantine was aware of the power of the guard and the symbol that the Castra Praetoria had become and had no problem casting both to the wind.

The Avenging Angel and the Nurturing Mother: Uncovering the role of women in Hindu nationalism

Geetikia Raman

The ideological base of identity politics and exclusivism in India is not new; it goes back a century or so to a period of nationalist upsurge against both British rule and Christianity. During colonial rule, religious revivalism became a powerful opposition movement, involving an assertion of a national identity, and a cultural, linguistic consciousness in opposition to the identity and culture of the European rulers. This revivalism of the majority communities had adverse effects on minorities and women. As many feminists argue, women were constructed as 'Mothers of the Nation' to carry out the revivalist project, and their biological role as reproducers of the nation was highlighted, employing women's reproductive functions and their bodies in the interests of the State. The nationalist project drew women out of the home into the anti-imperialist struggle - addressing public meetings, running schools for girls, fighting for the right to vote - while simultaneously imposing a new agenda for women as carriers of tradition.

Manisha Sethi argues that in the twentieth century, women were seen as 'breeders', and their bodies as vessels of future Hindu warriors. The theme of Hindu impotence was beginning to be employed not as defeatist resignation, but as a clarion call for action. The Orientalist charge of Hindu effeminacy was countered by rhetoric of decline, and degeneration from an Aryan past, inhabited by fierce and vigorous men, and spiritual and learned women. Groups such as the Marathas, Sikhs and Rajputs, with their recent history of combat with the Muslim rulers, were extolled for their valour, and worked into a single collective Hindu identity. If centuries of 'Muslim oppression' and British rule had emasculated Hindus, their virility would be retrieved now by fighting and defeating the British, and, most importantly, the Muslim. Women were not to appear merely as 'tropes' - symbols of collective honour and shame. They were to be empowered for self-defence (atmaraksha) by manifesting valour (virya). A new image of woman, embellished by arms and preying on the 'predatory Muslims' began to be cultivated.

A significant feature of Hindu nationalism and inter-religious violence in India is communalism. In the Indian context, this refers to an exclusive attachment to one's own community, and active hostility towards other communities that co-exist in the same geographical region. Hindu communalism in India - in both the twentieth and twenty-first centuries - is primarily organised through Hindu nationalism (Hindutva), embodied within various political and cultural organisations.

Particular stereotypical representations of Muslims in Hindu nationalist rhetoric help foster an identity based on the intersecting ideas of masculinity, nationalism, violence, and sexuality. Hindutva narratives often start out with pious views of 'tolerant Hindus', peaceful and peace-loving, killed and persecuted by Muslims throughout history. There is also a notable discourse of defilement, linked to the defilement of the mother - in the sense of 'Mother India' - which suggests that Muslims have 'raped' or are intent on 'raping' India. In short, an 'anxious masculinity' lies at the heart of right-wing nationalism in India.

The perceived fertility and virility of Hindus and Muslims also plays out in right-wing nationalism in India. Islam is viewed as backward in its attitudes towards reproduction: the Koran exhorts adherents to produce more children; there is a prohibition on contraceptives; Muslim men are allowed to have up to four wives. Muslim reproduction is also seen as a calculated move to exert demographic dominance over Hindus. In this narrative, the virility of the Muslim male is assumed, as is the fertility of the passive Muslim female. Moreover, there is a perpetual fear of a more virile male Muslim body 'luring' away Hindu girls. The docile and virtuous Hindu male - exemplified by the Buddha and by Gandhi - is contrasted with a 'dangerously virile' Muslim masculinity. Hindutva thus calls for the Hindu body to be 're-masculinised', jointly and severally.

Conservative politics sanctify the family and sexuality, and seclude women from the public sphere; yet, it uses women's bodies as a battlefield in the struggle to appropriate institutional power. Seema Hakim's experience of the Mumbai - formerly known as Bombay - riots of 1993, recounted in Kishwar's 1995 article, is typical of the experience of women who fall into the hands of right-wing mobs. Seema saw her husband beaten to death in front of her eyes, and her house was looted and destroyed. She herself was gang-raped after being stripped and paraded in front of her entire neighbourhood. Sexual assaults against Muslim women serve two purposes: first, brutalising Muslim women and, second, denigrating Muslim men for failing to protect their women.

As early liberal nationalists understood the importance of drawing women into the anti-imperialist struggle and the modernising process, so postcolonial nationalists are trying to incorporate women into their movements, based on mythic religious and ethnic identity. There is a phenomenon of right wing 'fanaticism' highlighting women 'leaders', and giving them roles to propagate certain religious and social messages. Nationalist movements have used women as cultural representatives and carriers of 'authenticity'.

Manisha Sethi confronts the issue of women's militancy in the Hindu Right. She contends

that gender identity does not exist as primordially ordained but is invented, resisted and subverted at the junction of multiple identities. The entire practice, both discursive and material, allows women to become avenging angels in moments of crisis. When these moments ebb away, they return to the mode of nurturing mothers and obedient wives.

No society constructs a single, monolithic gender system. Gender discourses are internally differentiated, such that different gender positions are available to individuals in the multiple practices that they inform. All the major axes of difference intersect with gender in ways that suggest a multiplicity of subject positions within any discourse. So, while we can speak of a variety of ways of being a man, and equally rich ways of being a woman, we can also speak of gender enmeshed in other differences - one form of difference can be invoked for another. For instance, nation and community may be symbolised in the sexual honour of the figure of the mother.

The sexualisation of race and caste more than anything emphasises that identities are about questions of power, and gender exists as a signifier in these power relations. Like most other concepts, agency is also a gendered concept. Discourses about sexuality and gender frequently construct men and women - the gendered persons - as inhabiting different domains of 'agential capacities'. There can be explicit associations between men, virility, activity and aggressiveness on the one hand, and identification of women with utter passivity, servility and receptivity on the other. Sherry Ortner attributes women's supposed lack of agency to the prevalence of the notion widespread across several cultures: that women are closer to nature, while men reside in the realm of culture. Women are thus associated with the 'private' rather than the 'public' domain of social, political and economic life, which only men animate and transform.


New Old Stock

To consider the public role of women in the Hindu Right, we may look at the Mumbai Riots of 1993, which followed the demolition of the Babri Masjid. Madhu Kishwar suggests that one of the most disturbing features of this riot was the large-scale, enthusiastic participation of women and young girls in the acts of violence. She argues that the fascination of women for Hindutva politics is especially noteworthy, considering that their politics are 'brazenly macho'. Women in India have mostly entered politics as the wives, mothers and daughters of powerful male politicians. During the riots, many Hindu women in Mumbai were openly justifying the rape of Muslim women, arguing, 'Why not? What is wrong with it? For hundreds and thousands of years, Muslims have done the same to Hindus. We are settling...old scores because now we are powerful and united. They have invited it on themselves'.

Sikata Banerjee points out that violent feminine action, although not unheard of, is not common in India. Indian feminists have sought to highlight female strength and assertiveness by embracing the warlike goddess Kali as a model of womanhood - rather than the passive and obedient Sita, wife of Lord Ram. In the past, reports of female violence in India have tended to emphasise the peace-making role of women, linking the nurturing aspect of the wife and mother role with the 'natural' feminine predilection for peace.

Concentrating on Hindu, Maharashtrian, lower class, and lower caste women, the Shiv Sena - the right wing party in Mumbai that led the 1993 riots - is able to focus on a community with shared norms and values, and can maximise the appeal of its vision of woman, minimising the possibility of dissent. In contrast, feminists have found that their respect for diversity, and the presence of diverse voices, make consent on an efficient strategy difficult to obtain. The Shiv Sena leaders live and work in the slums of the city, interacting daily with the women of their area. In contrast, feminist leaders in Mumbai are mostly middle class, do not live in the slums, and have not cultivated the same trust with these women. Thus, the Shiv Sena succeeds by fostering an identity that brings Hindu women together. There are no women in the upper echelons of the Shiv Sena, and women city council members from the party are elected from female-designated municipal wards, and firmly follow male advisors. It is true that the male and female leaders share offices, and seem to be equal, but the male leaders are in a dominant position. Therefore, the entry of women into the public arena under the banner of Hindu nationalism has not resulted in an actual female voice in politics. It can be argued from a feminist perspective that the Sena's strategy is dangerous because it creates an illusion of emancipatory change, while keeping patriarchal institutions in place.

Madhu Kishwar also claims that many Hindu women mobilised by the Shiv Sena joined out of fear rather than conviction. Some women were told that if they did not join the riots, the police would begin to arrest Hindu men, and their families would be at risk. She says that a few courageous women, some from women's organisations, and some grassroots level political workers of other political parties, dared to go against the tide, and intervened openly and sometimes effectively in saving precious lives. These efforts were sporadic, but did sometimes succeed. On the whole, women's enthusiastic endorsement of - and participation in - the riots shattered the popular stereotype of women being innately more peace-loving and compassionate.

Hindutva politics attempt to marry two visions of the woman: one as a nurturing mother, the other a warrior goddess. Women's empowerment in this framework is limited to roles that conservative leaders link to 'tradition' and purity. The image of the woman as mother sanctifies her, secluding her from the public sphere, excluding her from politics. Hindu nationalism provides opportunities for women only in the sphere of the home, or, rarely, in the streets as an 'avenging angel', and even in these cases, some women are coerced into joining its activities out of fear of harm to their male family members, or due to a lack of any other form of liberation from the domestic sphere. The Hindu Right also creates numerous challenges for non-Hindu minority women. As seen in the Mumbai Riots, the bodies of women become a battleground for a patriarchal war, and violating the body of a woman of the 'other' community becomes a way to humiliate and denigrate the 'other' male. Justification for these activities is drawn from discourses on male sexuality and virility, and the female voices of both majority and minority communities remain unheard.

West Ferry: The Discovery of a Maritime site on the River Clyde using non-invasive archaeology techniques

A
Lisa Bird

Using the historic ordnance survey maps (OS maps) provided in open source by NLS, and aerial photography accessed by Google Maps presented in ArchGIS, marginal, maritime sites can be identified and added to the list of known archaeological sites in Scotland without the need for expensive and layout intensive excavation. The use of non-invasive, multi-disciplinary archaeological techniques is helping to locate marginal and maritime sites along the River Clyde as part of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) Source to the Sea Project. Using aerial photography, GIS software, and historical maps and documents, a method is explored in how to locate and research these sites from a desk-based assessment.

Maritime archaeology is simply no longer limited to the study of underwater archaeology and shipwrecks. The sub-discipline deals with the interactions between people and water bodies throughout time, including rivers, lakes, and submerged landscapes, as well as the earlier definitions of the field. Conducting maritime archaeology can be an incredibly expensive undertaking due to the costs involved in diving, preservation and specialist equipment. Non- invasive techniques can therefore help enormously in the identification of maritime sites, as they are low cost, easily accessible, and allow archaeologists to assess the level of preservation and destruction risk.

One such technique is becoming increasingly useful due to its availability. Google maps aerial photographic data is an open source and readily accessible for all. Vertical photography of landscapes can reveal archaeological sites, such as earthworks and submerged sites, which cannot be seen obliquely or from the ground. Differences in depth and colour can discover submerged features, such as those along coastlines or rivers. In this way, aerial photography is an extremely useful tool in marine site identification.

Historic photographs are also becoming more readily available. These are necessary as aerial photography relies upon various factors, including light, season and land use. The National Library of Scotland (NLS) now publish the 1944-50 images on their website for public use. This allows for the assessment of sites over time, meaning sites at risk can be seen, and actions taken when necessary to preserve them by record only - or by excavation.

« West Ferry was noticed on Google Maps as a curved projection from the shore out into the River Clyde »

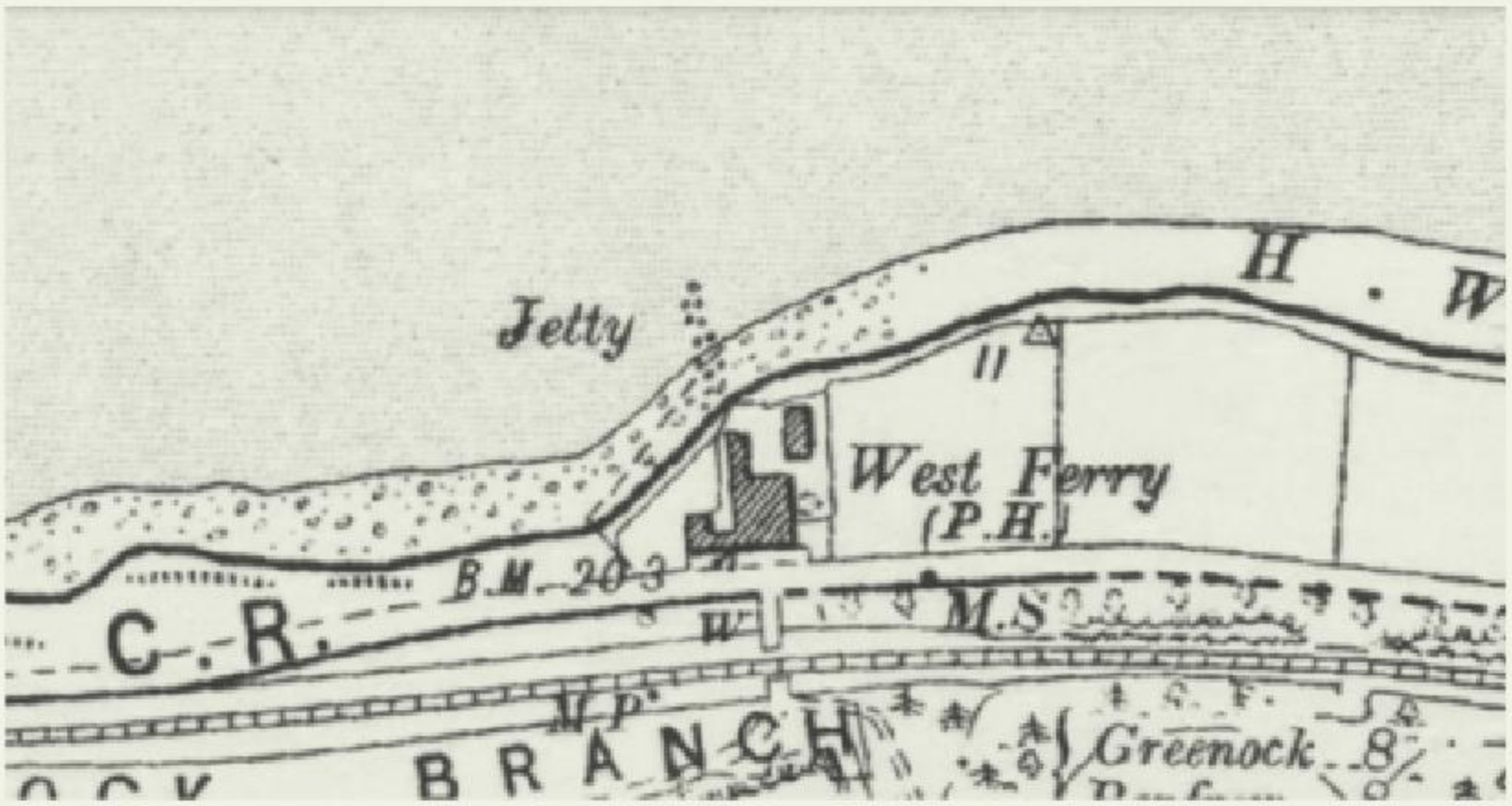
Moreover, historic maps are vital to non-invasive techniques. The documents though bias by their creator and publisher, can show the development of landscapes and environments. They can also be overlain with current aerial photography to help in the identification of sites. The NMS Map Images section allows anyone to attempt this.

As part of the Royal Commission's Source to the Sea Project, the River Clyde and its associated archaeological sites are being evaluated. This has included full digitization of the River. The second phase is to locate any archaeological sites along the course of the river which are not yet found in the CANMORE database, nor known via any other archaeological record. This has led to the discovery of sites, including that of West Ferry.

The River Clyde runs 100 miles from its source to the Firth of the Clyde. The River has been a draw for human activity and settlement for thousands for years. Thereby, it is not surprising to find traces of the human usage of the river, or riverside sites. Many such uses of the floodplain and terraces along the Clyde are well known. However, heavy urban development has obscured sites along the river's length. Aerial photography is helping us to identify sites in marginal locations along the Clyde, and understand how people have crossed and interacted with the river itself in the past.

The site of West Ferry was noticed on Google Maps as a curved projection from the shore out into the River Clyde, east of Langbank. The feature cuts diagonally into the alluvial build-up along the river edge, and extends to the deep water channel - its straight shape marking it out as man-made. The end point is significant, as this would also be the terminal point for a natural feature due to the depth of the deep water channel, which aerial photography would not show. However, the terminus can be identified by exploring the evidence of human usage. It marks the end of the marginal zone, which is at some times submerged, and at others open. In order to maintain use on this area, a raised feature would be necessary to reach the deep water channel.

GIS is a computer software programme which has been used to present spatial data and enable the overlay of historic maps over current ones for comparison. It has also been used to overlay the historic OS maps with the current aerial views available. GIS is extremely useful, allowing OS maps to be geo-referenced on its system, thereby facilitating a speedy recognition, and overlay of the historic mapped landscape. This technique can be problematic with earlier maps due to the lack of scale and spatial awareness of the mapper, however, the OS maps are readily geo-referenced as they used the ongoing OS survey framework for Great



OS Six Inch, 1892-1960. Dumbartonshire Sheet XXII.SW. Surveyed 1896. Published 1899.

Britain.

Furthermore, historic maps are a valuable resource. Showing more than just the presence of features that are now invisible or destroyed, they can explain past land usage in the surrounding area. Therefore, we can look at the wider relations this feature may have had in the environment.

The geo-referencing of the Roy Military map of Scotland (1747-55) is problematic due to a haphazard scale. However, it remains the most reliable pre-OS map for lowland Scotland. The area where the feature has been seen on the aerial photograph is noted as "West Ferry", but there is no feature extending into the water. However, the presence of an area, named on the map suggests that there may have been a small settlement existing during this period.

Scotland's first Statistical Account (1791-99) notes the presence of West Ferry as a location for ferrying foot passengers and communication to Dumbarton Castle and town. The First Edition OS Maps reveals a jetty, extending at the point of the located feature. The River Clyde has few bridges along its wider lower section today, and in the past was crossed using a series of jetties - evidenced along its lower length to the Firth of the Clyde by documents and archaeological remains. West Ferry is noted as a crossing point for foot passengers to Dumbarton in 1842.

Another feature which is found on this map is a series of buildings connected to the jetty. These structures probably relate to the running of the crossing point, ticket office and workshops which maintained the jetty and associated watercraft. The Statistical Accounts of Scotland (1842) note the presence of West Ferry and its belonging to Lord Blantyre, although at the time it was being bought by the Glasgow and Greenock railway as an area for quays.

By the second edition (1892-1905), the jetty looks abandoned or in decay, shown only by circular stones. This may indicate that it had gone out of use, and was no longer being maintained. In turn, this adds to the possibility that Lord Blantyre won his way, and could have his land free of Clyde channel developments. It could also be suggested that the buildings were then in use by the railways, therefore the jetty was no longer required. Riddell notes that the location was bought in the 1890's by the Clyde Trust, and therefore, its use may have changed during the period the map was made.

Moreover, the structures associated with the jetty seem to have grown in the intermittent period between the OS surveys. The largest is labelled P.H., or public house. The eastern wall of the main structure also has a circular feature marked on its side. This is most likely a horse engine, which suggests that the buildings also had an industrial usage, possibly connected to the Railways or Clyde Trust.

«the use of non-invasive surveying has led to the discovery of a crossing point »

Railway growth can be perceived in the landscape, and suggests a reason for the abandonment of the jetties and river ports. The two OS maps show the rise of this method of transport along the Clyde, and a growth in the trace can been seen between the first and second edition, demonstrating its increasing importance. The track would connect places' ports along the Clyde, such as Greenock, and transport people and goods to and from Glasgow.

Moreover, the effects of dredging down the centre of the Clyde via the Lang Dyke to maintain the deep water channel to Glasgow can be seen when comparing the two OS maps. Increased shoreline sedimentation can be discerned, it being double in size by the second edition. This is most likely due to West Ferries duty as one of the dredging jetties for the Lang Dyke. The area of "mud", or the wetland area most often waterlogged depending on tide and precipitation, became more incised between the OS surveys. This explains the relationship between the natural river processes as the water attempts to find the easiest course, and the deposition of river sediment, as well as the human need to maintain a deep water channel, and have constant access to the shoreline for crossing and shipping.

The jetty has been abandoned, and the buildings area has shrunk by the OS 1:2500 third edition (1900-1949). The jetty is unmarked, though the pub survives, suggesting its local economic importance and peoples use of the site.

By the OS One Inch Map, 1921-30, the jetty and the West Ferry buildings are no longer present. This suggests that the jetty is out of use, and most probably memory, as archaeological or remembered sites are usually included on maps, such as roman roads. The economic downturn from the loss of the crossing point most likely caused the abandonment of the associated services. The name still exists as junction name, thereby recalling the areas transport connection.

The use of non-invasive surveying has led to the discovery of a crossing point over the River Clyde during the Industrial Revolution, which was in use from at least the 1800s to the 1890s. The historic maps and documentary evidence for the area, which exists, has led to a story being created for the use, and subsequent abandonment, of the jetty and the local environment. This holistic, multi-disciplinary method allows maritime archaeology to locate and assess sites adding to our understanding of human interaction with waterways, enabling risk and preservation assessment as well as keeping the cost of archaeology to a minimum.

"That Magic Strain" The Problem of Orpheus

The British Library

Christabel Barrowman

Of all the stories from classical antiquity that have been told and re-told through the centuries, the tales surrounding the legendary musician Orpheus have proven particularly fertile ground for musical adaptation. Popular as the myth may be, however, it presents would-be adapters with an intractable problem – how can a voice that "charmed the stubborn rocks upon the mountain" and brought the Furies to tears be portrayed by an ordinary singer? Opera, a popular format for Orpheus stories, is especially problematic in this regard: when the entire cast of characters can only communicate in song, how can Orpheus' inhuman talent be distinguished from the rest within the limits of the human voice? I believe that in order to set the semi-divine Orpheus apart from the other characters on the operatic stage, composers have sought out the most 'inhuman' voices available to them, adapting as new techniques and technologies have been discovered. We see them employing vocal exceptionality in the form of the castrato and the heroic tenor; and moving into more recent times, technology has been used to augment these voices in search of further 'inhumanity'.

The exceptional nature of Orpheus' musical talent is well-attested; he is usually described as being the son of the muse of music, Kalliope, and sometimes also of Apollo, the god of music. His music has an uncanny power over the natural world: it enchants birds and wild animals and moves the rocks and trees in the ground. When he performs for Hades in the Metamorphoses, his music halts even the divinely-ordained and eternal punishments being inflicted on the souls of the dead: "Ixion's wheel was stilled: the vultures did not pluck at Tityus's liver: the Belides, the daughters of Danaüs, left their water jars: and you, Sisyphus, perched there, on your rock." Its power is not limited to the natural world, then, but extends into the realm of the gods and the dead. Notably, even when he is described by Pausanias and Strabo as a historical, non-divine figure, he is still described as a "wizard" or a "clever magician", placing him firmly in the supernatural realm. That his talent is exceptional and inhuman in character is clear; what is less clear is how this can be conveyed to an audience through singers who, regardless of talent, are still decidedly human.

The initial solution to this problem lay in a discovery made years before by the musicians of the Catholic church in Italy: that the castration of prepubescent boys, combined with many years of rigorous musical training, could in some cases produce a voice with extraordinary power, a range physically unattainable by ordinary singers and most importantly, an "unearthly timbre" that could not be achieved by a tenor singing in falsetto. These 'castrati', during the time in which they were available to be cast, were the most vocally 'inhuman' singers available to contemporary composers, and "normally played gods or women" – two types of character that required a performance audibly outside of the norm.

Once the practice spread beyond the walls of the church and onto the stage, composers were quick to take advantage of it: two of the earliest operas in existence, Peri's Euridice (1600) and Monteverdi's L'Orfeo (1607), featured several castrato singers, albeit not in the role of Orpheus. Forty years later, though, Rossi's Orfeo premiered with a castrato in the title role, closely followed by Sartorio's Orfeo in 1672. The most famous castrato Orpheus, however, is undoubtedly Gluck's Orfeo ed Euridice, which premiered in 1762 with the castrato Gaetano Guadagni as Orfeo. (In a second version composed in 1774, the part is taken by a haute-contre, a very high tenor not unlike a modern counter-tenor; a haute-contre Orpheus can also be seen in Charpentier's La descente d'Orphée aux enfers, which premiered in 1686.) The original vocal parts of many early operas have been lost, but it is clear that castrati and other high voices were a popular choice for the role of Orpheus – a popularity no doubt partly driven by the exceptional nature of the castrato singer.

In a medium as physical as opera, it is important to note too that the castrati were as physically exceptional as they were vocally; although medical documentation of the exact method of castration and its effects is scarce, it is known from later accounts that the procedure not only prevented the growth of the vocal cords - the main cause of the castrati voice's unusual quality – but also resulted in hairlessness, breast-like fat deposits, wide barrel-chests and disproportionately long arms and legs. Their overall appearance has been described by modern

commentators as "grotesque and freakish", but from all accounts it did not prevent many castrati from being unusually sexually successful, with numerous accounts of their romantic exploits and of audiences driven into a frenzy by their performances: "men and women," Barbier recounts, "fainted with pleasure at the disturbing beauty not only of their voices but their entire being." Not only the castrato voice, then, but the castrato body was uniquely appropriate to play the part of Orpheus – unique in appearance, unique in sound, and unique in its ability to enthral the listener, just as Orpheus enthralled the spirits of the underworld.

Of course, the use of castrati was not the only solution to the problem of Orpheus. The castrati may have been the superstars of their time, but thanks to the brutality of the operation they were limited in number and eventually began to fall out of fashion, vanishing altogether from the operatic stage by the 1830s. In the meantime, composers were beginning to discover that the more accessible heroic tenor could bring its own unique qualities to the role. Indeed, in Peri's Euridice, the earliest opera still in existence, a tenor – the composer himself, in fact – appears to have played the part. (Of course, it should not be forgotten that the tenor was not the only high-pitched voice available; women, too, often took the part of Orpheus. Later productions of Gluck's Orfeo, for example, often approached it as a 'breeches role' after castrati had become widely unavailable.)

Although tenors are far less visibly and audibly exceptional than their castrati predecessors, true tenors are nonetheless quite rare and have commonly been used to represent characters somehow outside of the norm. 'Everyman' characters tend to be represented by baritone singers, the middle male voice, whereas the "powerful and thrilling" quality of the higher tenor voice, as composers were beginning to realise, is particularly suitable for heroic roles. It also often represented a degree of frivolity and high-mindedness: Mitchell writes that "through its greater lightness and brilliance, [the tenor voice] is particularly qualified to mirror the lover's emotional elevation and the high flight of dreamy imagination," a description that could not be more appropriate to the character of Orpheus, whose myth centres almost entirely around his love for his wife.

The use of the tenor to represent Orpheus can in part be explained by this longstanding association of high voices with otherworldliness and divinity – indeed, every version of Orpheus that I have referred to so far has been depicted by some type of high-pitched voice, whether tenor, haute-contre, castrato, or soprano-in-trousers. (Lower voices, in contrast, have been similarly associated with authority and darkness - the only bass parts in Euridice, for example, are Caronte and Plutone, Charon and Hades, gatekeepers of the world of the dead. It is worth noting that among the huge number of Orphic operas in existence, I have identified none which feature a bass Orpheus.) Although it may not seem particularly unusual to the modern ear, the tenor voice nevertheless signified exceptionality. Michael Lieberman's "Opera" provides a description of the effect a heldentenor – a specific type of tenor particularly popular with Wagner - had on his audience that could be taken straight from Virgil or Ovid:

« Wait, now he is singing,

yes, singing -

a heldentenor! Oh, a heldentenor,

a marvel of feeling and control,

a song snatched from the throat

of an ordinary angel,

a gloria beyond imagination,

an event beyond reckoning. »

Throughout this article, I have referred mainly to Orpheus operas of the 17th and 18th centuries; no wonder, given that no less than 54 had been composed on the topic by 1900. Opera, however, is an evolving art-form, and the nature of the role of Orpheus has evolved with it. Here, I turn to a work that reflects that evolution: Anais Mitchell's Hadestown, which takes an entirely new approach to Orpheus' orchestration. The "folk opera" tells the story of Orpheus and Eurydice through twenty songs in an American folk style, relocating the myth to a Depression-era 'Hadestown'; Ovid meets Of Mice and Men. Although Hadestown was originally performed as a live piece with a cast of 22, it has been primarily sold and promoted as an album; that is, a set of songs with no accompanying visual element. Arguably, therefore, it is even more important in this entirely aural context to set Orpheus apart from the other singers through his musical style, since there are no other markers such as costume, physicality or even any large amount of dialogue that can be used to this effect, as is possible in traditional opera.

Mitchell takes advantage of modern technological innovations to address the problem in an entirely new way. Throughout the album, Orpheus' voice (provided by Bon Iver's Justin Vernon) is multi-tracked, layered over itself to produce the effect of one man singing in three-part harmony with himself. Although this is not an unusual technique in modern music, within the context of the album it is totally unique; no other character in Hadestown, even the divine Hades or Hermes, is capable of singing more than one musical line at once. This quite literally inhuman ability of Orpheus' sets him firmly apart from the other singers, his mastery of music allowing him to do something impossible for any other character: create harmony.

The closest that any other characters come to this is the Fates, voiced by the Haden Triplets, who sing in close three-part harmony reminiscent of the Andrews Sisters; however, even they must produce this effect by singing as a trio, rather than being able to sing in harmony with themselves. This ability to create music that defies the limits of the human body can also be seen as a foreshadowing of Orpheus' eventual fate; Ovid recounts that even after his dismemberment by the Maenads, Orpheus' lifeless head continued to sing as it drifted down the river: "…floating in midstream, the lyre lamented mournfully; mournfully the lifeless tongue murmured; mournfully the banks echoed in reply." Mitchell's interpretation of Orpheus' talent as an ability to transcend the boundaries of the body, although it employs modern technology, is thoroughly in keeping with the ancient myth.

"Lover, when I sing my song," Mitchell's Orpheus boasts in the album's opening track, "All the rivers sing along; And they're gonna break their banks for me, To lay their gold around my feet…" In this interpretation his arrogance leads to the loss of Eurydice, but he isn't wrong: his voice, like the voices of the many operatic Orpheus' before him, is marked out as exceptional. From the heroic tenor to the breeches role to the castrato, from the earliest occurrences of Orpheus in opera the part has been taken by some type of singer – usually one capable of exceptionally high pitch – that can be considered unique; and, fittingly, modern technological discoveries have allowed this tradition to itself transcend the boundaries of the human voice – a modern evolution of a tradition stretching back as far as the history of opera itself.

William Hogarth's 'An Election Entertainment': An Illustration of Eighteenth-Century England's Public Drinking Culture

Hogarth, William. 'An Election Entertainment.' 1754-1755. Sir John S

Charlotte Bassett

The late seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries are characterised as the period of Enlightenment: an age in which intellectual discourse and discovery played key roles in the development of Western societies and cultures. Within the context of English culture, members of the educated gentility were greatly influenced by Enlightenment ideals, and found common spaces in which to exchange and debate their ideas and opinions. Taverns functioned as spaces of intellectual and genteel sociability, where consuming alcohol in an Anacreontic spirit became the essence of fashion and wit during this epoch. With that being said, the consumption of alcohol was part of everyday life in eighteenth-century England, as it served as food, a quencher of thirst, and a means of entertainment—particularly within the tavern setting. However, it was not seen in an entirely positive light. For example, William Hogarth illustrated the moral anxieties surrounding the drinking culture of mid-eighteenth century England in his painting, 'An Election Entertainment.' Hogarth also offers important visual evidence as to how public houses, taverns, and other drinking institutions functioned as public spaces, as well as the ways in which social customs affected the material culture and architecture of these institutions. While it is important to keep the artist's political biases in mind, this visual satire is nonetheless essential to the comprehension of the contemporary world of socialising. Needless to say, Hogarth's depiction of one of the key settings of England's eighteenth-century political and intellectual climates is neither elegant nor poetic. The ultimate goal of this article will be to contextualise Hogarth's painting within the complex layers of eighteenth-century English drinking cultures.

William Hogarth painted the series, entitled 'An Election,' in 1754 in response to the Whigs' two-year campaign to steal the Oxfordshire Parliamentary seats from the Tories, who had held them uncontested since 1710. The 1754 General Election consequently came to be renowned for its high levels of corruption. Indeed, the first painting of the 'Election' cycle, 'An Election Entertainment,' captures the fraudulent means by which the Whigs gained Oxfordshire's support (figure 1). Situated in a public house, the two Whig candidates seated at the head of the two tables on the left side of the canvas attempt to put on an aura of republican virtue through the orange banner, bearing the slogan of 'Liberty and Loyalty' and a laurel wreath. However, their powdered wigs, silk shirts, and velvet, teal coats—one of which is embroidered with gold thread and buttons—indicates their preference for the cosmopolitan, courtly lifestyle of the English elite over any sort of political and intellectual ideology. Even a portly, richly dressed Quaker sourly examines an I.O.U. (most likely a political payoff) alongside the Whigs, thereby falling prey to the very customs railed against by his religion. In other words, Hogarth points to a disregard of moral integrity amongst these supposed symbols of political and religious purity. More important, however, is the fact that Hogarth utilised the contemporary drinking culture to portray his disdain for the contemporary political agenda. The surrounding scene of drunken revelry and debauchery points to the reality of the image: the cunning politicians had bribed a group of potential voters with food, drink, and money. In order to better understand the tavern scene depicted by Hogarth, it is first imperative to establish the world of drinking in which Hogarth lived himself.

During this period, and throughout the preceding centuries, alcohol consumption had a dual function. It was, as it is today, used in social settings such as the one depicted by Hogarth. At the same time, it was also an integral part of daily life for eighteenth-century Englishmen and women, from the common small farmer to members of the nobility. First and foremost, alcoholic beverages were sanitary and safe for human consumption. Not only were water supplies often contaminated with human and animal waste (even in the New England frontiers), milk also carried 'the dread "milk sickness" (tuberculosis).' In fact, 'by the fifteenth century, water-drinking had acquired the stigma of poverty.' Meanwhile, alternative beverages, such as coffee or tea, could only be consumed by the wealthiest sorts until the mid-eighteenth century. With no alternatives, alcoholic beverages—particularly beer, ale, or cider—became the commoner's chief means of hydration, and was drunk in great quantities. Benjamin Franklin, for example, noted that the Englishmen 'drank every day a pint [of beer] before breakfast, a pint at breakfast with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner, a pint at dinner, a pint in the afternoon about six o'clock, and another when he had done his day's work.' Such levels of alcohol consumption carried over to England's American colonies, as well. Apparently, the average Chesapeake planter household consumed approximately ninety gallons of cider, as well as twenty-one gallons of distilled liquor, annually. By 1767, colonists of Massachusetts were also estimated to have consumed five gallons of cider per day. Such high levels of consumption indicate that alcoholic beverages did not merely function to quench thirst.

In fact, beverages with lower alcohol contents were essential to the diet of the common farmer or labourer. Consequently, England was primarily an ale- and beer-drinking country at the time of Hogarth's painting. Beverages such as 'young beer' were 'considered not an intoxicant but a food.' Ale behaved as 'as an early morning pick-me-up' for the average man. It was a substance drunk publically and domestically. With that being said, throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, brewing was a largely domestic activity, where small batches of ale were made on a weekly or bi-weekly basis by women in order to maintain the necessary supply for their households. It should also be noted that ale and beer were two different substances. Ale, which was easier and cheaper to brew on a small scale and budget, was considered to be an integral part of the English identity and 'the poor men's friend' well


Soane's Museum, London, UK.

into the seventeenth century. It was made by boiling and steeping ground barley malt in boiling water, straining the resulting "wort," and waiting for the concoction to ferment with the addition of yeast. This substance had long been an integral part of English daily life, and should not be confused with beer.

Beer was introduced to England by the Dutch in the fifteenth century, and was fermented in the same way with the addition of hops, a preservative flower. It was also approached with xenophobic anxiety towards the Dutch, who were associated with Protestant heresy. By the seventeenth century, however, beer overtook the market because it had the advantage of keeping longer than ale. Furthermore, the Brewer's Guild enabled it to be produced on a larger, more standardised scale by professional brew-masters who could afford the expense of imported hops. This commercialised shift, consequently, largely replaced women's aforementioned roles in the brewing industry. Both the production and the public consumption of alcohol were thus explicitly male activities at the time of Hogarth's painting. Those of lower and middling status frequented alehouses, which served nothing stronger than ale or cider; these were heavily regulated because they were 'perceived to be a threat to public order and a source of social ills.' These establishments were also situated in converted private houses rather than independent, public buildings. This gender divided, yeoman world of ale- and beer-drinkers is the one in which Hogarth painted 'An Election.' However, this is certainly not the world depicted in the image itself.

There was a hierarchical distinction between this setting of Hogarth's painting and the common alehouse, and the former certainly belongs to the world of the wealthy gentry and nobility. The room—cramped with people, furniture, and other objects—in which the Whig candidates hold their drunken "bribery party" is nonetheless large and open, with high ceilings and wooden floors. Moreover, the two windows in the left and right corners are of diamond-paned glass. Elegant paintings—a portrait and what appears to be a sort of city-scape—hang on the walls, and the window in the right-hand corner is adorned with rich, green drapes. Based on the cluster of brick buildings beyond the same open window, this tavern is situated in a bustling and prosperous part of town. This is not a space meant for the impoverished; it is designed to attract the town's well-to-do gentlemen. Though thrown into the room in a helter-skelter manner, the tables are nevertheless covered with sparkling white table cloths, and the guests sit upon Chippendale-style chairs rather than simple benches. Finally, the gentlemen themselves are dressed in the shirts, waistcoats, coats, and powdered wigs that were fashionable amongst the elite. In short, Hogarth depicts the space and décor of the average eighteenth-century gentleman's tavern. However, this simply adds to the significance of Hogarth's satire.

Despite the rich décor and the apparent status of the candidates' guests, the entire room is in the throes of drunken chaos. One candidate has been cornered by a supporter drunkenly whispering in his ear while another man in a red coat (holding a delicate glass) looks on in amusement; an old hag has cornered the other candidate. An obese cleric, whose wig has slipped off, sits to their left; after already having completed an indecipherable meat joint, he is preparing to tuck into another plate sitting atop a miniature burner. The elegant portrait behind him has been ripped either in this chaos, or during another party. After a string of sloppily drunk men in jovial conversation, another man has passed out from the over-consumption of oysters at the other end of the table. The remains (including a whole lobster) of the guests' dinners have been tossed into the corner of the room in the bottom, right-hand section of the painting. This was Hogarth's method of visually depicting the waste made by those who possessed a great deal materially, yet who simultaneously lacked the moral ability to see the extent of their excess.

Indeed, these foods—even the oysters and lobster—were inaccessible in this vast quantity to the common man due to their expense. Hogarth implies that it is their inebriation that has led to the guests' undignified behaviour. This scene is partially the result of gin, which the little boy is in the process of pouring into the vat of punch. Although doctors recommended 'distilled spirits as everyday drinks,' Hogarth illustrates his apprehension towards the regular ingestion of such strong liquor. Conceptually, gin blatantly contradicted the Enlightenment ideal of temperance. Conversely, the drink of choice amongst the elite had long been wine, due to its status as an imported product and its symbolism as the beverage of poets and intellectuals; it was also viewed as far superior to ale and beer. Empty bottles of wine are strewn across the tables in Hogarth's image, as well. Hogarth's satirical image reveals a world of elite sociability beyond mere intellectual ideology.

The English tavern, a key social site for the wealthy social echelons, was a complex space that captured the socio-economic and cultural stratifications in the eighteenth century. Due to the precarious sanitation of water and milk, alcohol consumption had long been a vital component to the diet of Englishmen and women of all ranks and ages. It was in the types of public drinking spaces and the beverages consumed that members of the upper social strata distinguished themselves from those of the lower tiers. The latter group drank mainly ale, which was cheap and easy to make domestically. Beer also played an increasingly common role in the lives of commoners during the seventeenth century as it came to be produced commercially and sold inexpensively. Alehouses, public drinking spaces which catered to the poorer sorts, possessed the infamous reputation for sin and excess; they instilled anxiety in English society. Meanwhile, taverns catered to a different clientele than that of simple alehouses. They were social spaces in which, ideally, the newest political and intellectual ideas were discussed by an educated, fashionable clientele. This sort of sociability leads to the discovery of ways in which to solve commonplace and grave problems.

However, Hogarth literally paints a different picture of his view of the public drinking habits of the English in his depiction of the tavern: he reveals that the tavern environment did not possess the conservative austere atmosphere appropriate for intellectual progression. The raucous debauchery that occurs in 'An Election Entertainment' not only imitates the sort of behaviour associated with the alehouse, but ran counter to social ideals, such as temperance. Furthermore, intellectual gentlemen also may not have necessarily adhered to the sort of morals they discussed in their philosophical debates. It is these concepts that reveal the Enlightenment for the very human, rather than mechanic, movement that it was.

Notes on Nursing: Women's Empowerment as Home Health Care Providers in Nineteenth-Century Montreal

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Pervasive concern about epidemic illness in the nineteenth century galvanised the public health and sanitation movements in urban North America. Both movements sought to enlist regular citizens in the war against contagious disease, whose front was as much in the home as the public arena. The chosen point of entry into the private lives of city-dwellers was women who, through education outreach, were vested with responsibility and capability as agents of disease prevention. Leaders of the public health and sanitation movements were affected by Victorian understandings of women's social role and abilities. They considered women to be brokers of economic and managerial power in the domestic realm, and thus most capable of affecting new regimes of disease prevention in the home. This understanding informed outreach efforts, including public demonstrations and popular health literature, which sought to convince primarily middle-class women of the scientific evidence that supported changing customary household practices.

Following a smallpox epidemic during the 1880s in Montreal, a Mrs Daniel Macpherson published Notes on Nursing: How to Treat Smallpox – Guaranteed to Prevent Disfiguration and Lessen Suffering in 1890. This text illustrates how women were empowered, through their perceived relationship to the domestic sphere, to be guardians against disease in the home, which involved the valuation of their knowledge and experiences as effective methods for treating illness. It is also a guide to how public health and sanitation movements played out in a particular, local context. Notes on Nursing provides a glimpse into how middle-class, Anglophone women conceived of their role as purveyors and executors of evidence-based knowledge. A close analysis of Macpherson's text demonstrates how women in a particular geographical and historical context responded to public health outreach efforts.

The nineteenth century was a period of intense social anxiety concerning the rising disease rates in North America's cities. Mortality statistics collected in urban centres, including Montreal, confirmed what most people's personal experience indicated: that cities were unhealthy places to live. Professional and lay communities were interested in the nature and prevention of illness, and during the nineteenth century, two models of disease aetiology competed for dominance. The zymotic theory was based on the notion that disease agents were, notes Nancy Tomes, 'chemical ferments produced by decaying filth [also known as miasmas], and that they could generate spontaneously given the right atmospheric circumstances.' Pervasive awareness of the dangers of epidemic disease motivated the development of the sanitation movement in the 1830s, which was initially formulated as a strategy for fighting miasmatic causes of illness in public spaces. The persistence of epidemic illness, despite sanitarian efforts in public spaces, created a widespread sense of vulnerability, and encouraged further research into the causes of disease.

The germ theory emerged in the sixteenth century, but received substantial support through laboratory-based research in the nineteenth century. It was, argues Tomes, based on two propositions: 'that human and animal disease were caused by distinctive species of microorganisms, which were widely present in the air and water; and that these germs could not generate spontaneously, but rather always came from a previous case of exactly the same disease.' However, many physicians were reluctant to abandon the zymotic theory, which was supported by decades of clinical and epidemiological research by the mid-nineteenth century.

Beginning in the 1870s, proponents of sanitation were developing new strategies based on the germ theory of disease, including advocating for quarantine, and vaccination as effective preventive tools. The notion that unseen microbial germs caused sickness authoritatively justified their projects to eliminate dirt in the public and private spheres. Critics and champions of the germ theory of disease used public forums to disseminate their arguments, following a long tradition of scientists seeking legitimacy for their theories by delivering public demonstrations. Their audiences were comprised primarily of middle-class, city-dwelling men and women. These middle-class audiences were also targeted by popular health literature, which communicated the evidence for germ theory in lay terminology.

Proponents of the germ theory of disease focused their outreach efforts intensively on women, and considered them the best situated individuals to enact and enforce new household sanitation practices. During the Victorian era, women were defined as innately intuitive, passive, and tender, which equipped their sex for sick nursing. Women were spatially associated with the domestic sphere, wherein their sex-based differences rendered them best suited to its management. The late-nineteenth century sanitation movement was premised on the study and use of practical measures for the preservation of public health. By focusing outreach efforts on women, this movement reinforced the cultural association of the domestic sphere with female leadership. The discourse of home sanitation conceptually linked the private and public arenas through rendering home management integral to the management of public health.

Annmarie Adams writes that women were charged with 'maintaining the sanitary aspects of the house, by caring for the sick according to modern scientific principles, and by keeping the house clean, especially free of dust.' Thus, maintaining a healthy home became a meaningful expression of women's role as public citizens. However, this responsibility meant that subsequent illness was attributed to a woman's failure to follow the well-advertised rules for sanitary upkeep. According to one prolific doctor, 'slovenly women... are factors of disease and cleanly housewives acting forces against the possibility for the suppression of sickness.' The enforcement of this responsibility was achieved through emphasizing the importance of women's gendered responsibilities in the home in maintaining public health, and through legitimating these responsibilities by connecting them with scientific principles.

In Montreal, the prevention of epidemic illness was a serious concern for all classes. Up until the 1870s, public health initiatives in the city were primarily restricted to the control of miasmatic nuisances, including human, animal, and vegetable waste. However, during the 1870s a new guard informed by germ theory emerged in the form of two elected officials: Dr William Hingston, mayor from 1875 to 1876, and Dr Alphonse-Barnabé Larocque, health officer from 1870 to 1884. Both men favoured the empowerment of municipal authorities to execute public health initiatives, and worked to convince the public of the effectiveness of preventive measures supported by germ theory, such as vaccination and quarantine.

When smallpox hit the city in the summer of 1885, local concern was initially directed toward the elimination of waste in public spaces, indicating that the war between the zymotic and germ theories of disease was ongoing. Widely publicised instances of ineffective vaccination and cases of erysipelitous infections resulting from vaccination divided the public on the effectiveness of germ-theory based initiatives against smallpox. Without a permanent Board of Health, and without a united public front concerning the cause and cure for the epidemic, mandatory vaccination and quarantine were not implemented until autumn. These measures were received differently by different ethnic groups in the city.

Anglophone and Francophone communities were divided in Montreal by ethnic practices and spatial segregation throughout at least fifty relatively homogenous districts in the city. Sherry Olson and Patricia Thornton argue that surges of in-migration to Montreal throughout the nineteenth century strongly contributed to the 'firmness of cultural identities and low rates of intermarriage [among these communities].' Anglophone communities clustered in the high-rent housing stock. These had more rooms and better access to fresh water and sewerage than the crowded, low-rent stock that was dominated by Francophone communities. Differential notions of disease contributed significantly to the impact of the smallpox epidemic on these communities.

The rate of smallpox among French Canadians was three times that of English Protestants. The latter group generally had their children vaccinated by their own physicians, in tune with British practice and United States law. Conversely, Francophone communities considered smallpox an inevitable childhood hazard, and viewed the public outreach efforts at vaccination by primarily Anglophone doctors suspect and risky. French lay and church leaders suspected vaccination was an English plot to harm French Canadian communities. The execution of Louis Riel in 1885, for example, exacerbated local tensions and resistance was community-wide. By 1890, Montreal had experienced a series of devastating epidemic illnesses that had promoted public health intervention and effectively exacerbated ethnic differences.

Macpherson's Notes on Nursing provides a window into how middle-class, Anglophone women in Montreal conceived of their role in disease prevention. The city was home to Canada's leading publishers of English-language medical titles, and boasted more than 165 English libraries and bookstores. Notes on Nursing was published as an individual pamphlet, and as part of a larger text by Macpherson entitled Reminiscences of Old Quebec: Subterranean Passages under the Citadel; Account of the Old Convent of the Congregation of Notre Dame That Does Not Now Exist; Prominent Old Quebecers, &c., &c. in 1890 by John Lovell & Son. This was one of Montreal's two leading publishing houses, indicating that it was expected to generate significant interest. The author's stated purpose was to help others by communicating her advice and her experience; those best positioned to benefit from her knowledge were women in social positions similar to the author's.

Macpherson's pamphlet describes how both of her sons fell ill with smallpox during the epidemic, and how she was able to nurse them back to spotless health in her home. Home nursing was considered ideal in cases of epidemic illness by authorities including Kingston and Larocque, as they claimed it could help prevent the transmission of disease. A chapter on the Montreal General Hospital in Macpherson's Reminiscences of Old Quebec lauded the ability of the doctors and nurses there employed. However it stated that the single recovery ward, which forced mixing between different classes, made it inappropriate for middle-class convalescence. Furthermore, in 1885, germ theory proponent Dr Louis Laberge was appointed the medical officer of health, and retained the position for twenty-eight years, during which time his efforts were directed toward the improvement of sanitary conditions - especially in the home. A combination of official understandings about disease communication and class considerations influenced middle-class women, such as Macpherson, to choose home nursing for contagious illness.

While the prevention of scarring was not critical to preventing the spread of illness, or healing Macpherson's sons, it was of the upmost importance in her text. The significance accorded to this topic can be attributed to local understandings of gender, class, and ethnicity. As women were considered responsible for maintaining the health of those under their roofs, facial scarring from smallpox could be understood as a permanent indication of a negligent or uneducated woman's ministrations. The differential impact of the smallpox epidemic on Anglophone and Francophone communities in Montreal affected local understandings of community responsibility and ethnic differences. Macpherson argues that, 'the great disfigurement amongst the French Canadians, particularly of the lower class (intelligent people know better), [is due] to the great quantity of whiskey and gin given at that time.'

The failure of public health efforts in Francophone communities was portrayed in the English press as the result of superstition, ignorance, and a criminal disregard for matters of public health. Vaccination had never been standard in the Francophone community before the epidemic, and thus smallpox scarring could be taken as indicating French ethnicity, which carried a host of unsavoury stereotypes along with it. Furthermore, popular volumes of advice for mothers, published by physicians in nineteenth-century Montreal, spoke strongly against the use of alcohol as a treatment for the ill. French Canadians were stereotypically perceived as heavy drinkers who used alcohol freely in their daily lives, and during illness for its assumed curative properties. Macpherson's text relied on a common, negative understanding of smallpox scarring to motivate her intended audience – middle-class, Anglophone mothers – to take responsibility for fighting illness in their homes, by purchasing her text and following her physician-informed advice.

Macpherson attributes successfully nursing her charges back to spotless health to her personal efforts in employing the advice of respected physicians. In their work pertaining to the smallpox epidemic of Montreal, Olson and Thornton state that doctors were reticent 'to attend small-pox cases on account of their fears for their other patients.' This was the case for the two doctors, LaFleur and Laberge, who advised Macpherson in caring for her ill sons, who would only interact with her from a distance, and look in at her son through a window. As germ theory became dominant amongst medical professionals, the role of primary caregiver to individuals with contagious illnesses was delegated to others.

When the patient could be quarantined at home, this responsibility fell to the woman of the house. LaFleur and Laberge were credited with imparting invaluable advice to Macpherson. Her advice and experience were portrayed as able to stand in for that of a physician, if her readers, like her, were forced through 'stern necessity' to care for a family member with a contagious illness. The author repeatedly emphasized that she pretended 'to no medical knowledge,' and that her efforts were preventive rather than curative or therapeutic. In popular and professional health literature, it was frequently stated that woman's maternal nature and experience in raising a family made her especially adept at preventive medicine, which comprised the alleviation of suffering and the prevention of the spread of disease once it had entered the home.

Macpherson's stated imperatives were to preserve the life and prevent the disfigurement of her patients, as well as to destroy all danger of infection to others. By describing the role of women as enacting preventive measures within the home, she reflected and reinforced this particular understanding of women's abilities in health care. LaFleur and Laberge provided information about how to prevent scarring through creating a mixture of specific over the counter medicines, and a regime of application. Macpherson describes these in detail for her readers, as well as how to prevent infecting others through isolation and disinfection. Macpherson minutely articulated her implementation of sanitary measures, including isolating the patient, disinfecting furniture and carpeting through isolation in an outbuilding for three months, burning the remains of food and small pieces of cloth, and using disinfectants on the bed linens and plates. Macpherson's pamphlet was a convincing argument on behalf of implementing new treatment and sanitation measures in the home, whose authority was bolstered by the advice of physicians.

In the late nineteenth century, the laboratory-based evidence supporting the germ theory of disease was increasingly winning over professional, and consequently lay, populations. During the smallpox epidemic of 1885 in Montreal, doctors who were convinced by the germ theory intensified public health outreach. Women were the target audience of the proponents of new, evidence-based regimes for maintaining household sanitation. This was described as a gendered civic duty since prevention of illness in the home helped to prevent illness in the public sphere. Macpherson's Notes on Nursing from 1890 provides a window into how Anglophone, middle-class women in late nineteenth century Montreal thought about their role as sick nurses. Through innately possessing feminine qualities, they were best suited to delivering preventive medicine. During the course of the sanitation and public health movements, nineteenth-century women were empowered by their possession of legitimate knowledge concerning health, and their privileged relationships with physicians, whose advice legitimated their caregiving activities, and their role as performers of civic duty in matters of public health.

What was the importance of maps and prints to Renaissance Venice?

Helena McNish

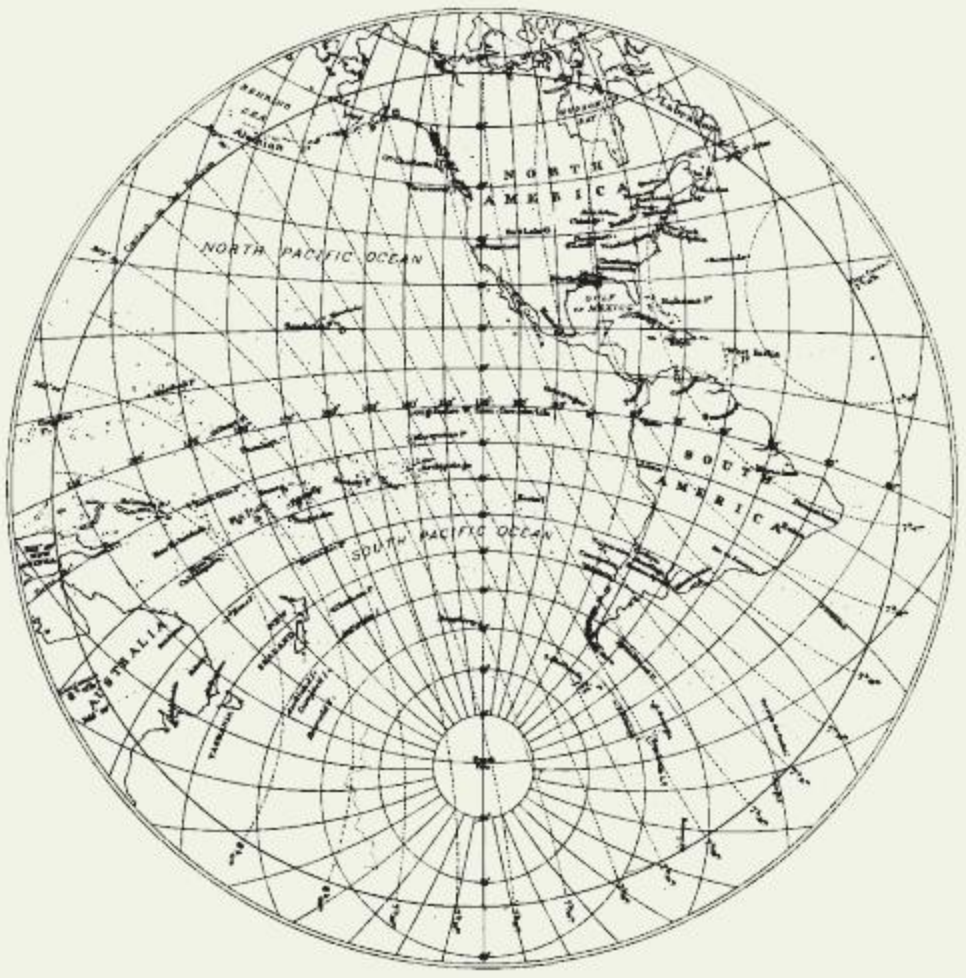
After the invention of the European Printing Press by Johannes Gutenberg in 1450, the new visual media of maps and prints became integral to the creation of a more centralised and communalised European identity. This was particularly the case for Venice, as a concerted republic with a civil society, and civic image. Often to their own advantage, the Venetian government sponsored and regulated printing. Interacting both as consumers and producers, the Venetian people were highly literate in a city that was filled to the brim with printed material. The importance of maps and prints in creating an image of Venice can be understood by considering: the nature of Venice in the context of trends in the European printing industry, the effect of printed images, how they interacted with ideas of civic identity, and how these patterns fit into contemporary experiences.

Firstly, the printed image transformed the way Europeans interacted, both with each other and with the world that they knew. This world had been expanded beyond the visible horizon, especially by the spread of geographically accurate maps. As John Hale comments, new prints such as maps 'enabled Europeans to imagine…the geographical space in which they lived.' Moreover, these printed images were becoming available to a widening range of people, making their effects equally wide-ranging. John Jeffries Martin characterises this as a key part of what the term 'Renaissance' itself represents: a link between ancient and modern times, and an opportunity for local polities to see themselves in a more global context than before. Bronwen Wilson argues, in relation to this, that 'the new media of woodcuts and engravings…came to mediate between the state and the community, public and private and the collective and the individual.'

Modern Venice is a "created" city, of landmarks, of sight and seeing, and this first came out of the mass printed maps and images of Venice enabled by the printing press. Alberto Tenenti points out the importance of such iconography to Venice: 'The first characteristic of Venetian space…is that of not having had any natural geographic or geopolitical coherence.' Jacopo de'Barbari's 1500 bird's-eye view of Venice is a clear example of such a conception. The map puts Venice together as a combination of its islands and landmarks, as well as its creation myths - Poseidon can be seen rising out of the waves of the lagoon. This illustrated the link between Venice and its people with the Roman gods, a civilisation that state myths claimed provided the ancestry of Venetians themselves. The rising importance of landmarks is evidenced again in Bernardo Salvioni's 1597 map Venetia – the Rialto Bridge and Piazza San Marco, amongst others, are pointed out as important areas of Venice, and as a result gained further prevalence as Venetian symbols.

To Venice, maps and prints aided in the creation of a physical image of the city. They were also used to consolidate a "Venetian" identity, both felt by those who lived there, and perceived by observers and visitors. The first facet of such identity is Venetian civic identity. Venice was unique in this period for its republicanism and the close relationship between the popolo (people) and their government. Indeed, they were unique for the fact that a true civic identity can even be said to exist. Firstly, maps and prints acted as newspapers for a generally very politically aware populace. Secondly, they acted as propaganda and a way for the Senate to direct the relationship between themselves and the popolo. Thirdly, they reflected how the government understood itself and its position, both within Venice and within the wider world.

These three facets of the importance of maps and printing in this context can be



understood in discussing the Venetian government's role and influence in printing. Whilst there was little censorship until the later 1500s, there is still evidence of the Senate directing what was printed for political means. For example, the privilegio – a right to print a certain work that only the government could grant – to print a representation of a stage of the Venetian wars with the Turks would be granted with the curiosity of the Venetian public in mind. Indeed, Wilson suggests that the de'Barbari map itself was granted printing rights with the stipulation that it was to be exported beyond Venice. In terms of civic identity, the printed image and maps played a role in strengthening and defining it further. In other words, world maps printed on the walls of the Palazzo Ducale (Doge's Palace) could be used to remind visitors of the scope of Venice's reach, and costume books to remind both Venetians and visitors of how indissolubly their personal image was linked to their position within the Venetian social order. In addition, the swift dissemination of information that the printing press enabled made Venice, as Mario Infelise notes, 'a focal point for the collection, production and diffusion of political and military news.' This could strengthen the people's link with their government. Maps gave Venetians a new sense of their place within the world and woodcuts of contemporary events.

A further point to consider in the question of the importance of maps and prints to Venetian identity is the experience of Venetians themselves. The Venetian population was generally literate as well as politically active. Even after the final arengo and the establishment of the elector system, it was common in Venice for crowds to rise around the Palazzo Ducale whenever the political situation was unstable - for example during the wars with the Turks in the late 1400s. In addition, Venetians were involved in the printing industry, both as consumers, and as businessmen. They therefore would have been overwhelmingly exposed to the masses of printed images that were circulating through it. Indeed, one of the printer Aldus Manutius' innovations was the creation of the octavo volume, which catered for a larger audience of all genders and classes that were forming in Venice. What was printed was informed by what was popular. As Christopher Witcombe's study confirms, maps in particular were widely circulated in the early sixteenth century, as proven by the amount of privilegios given out by the government to print them. As Wilson puts it, 'perceptions of the city became filtered through the legends texts, perspective views and processions that began to surround the image.'

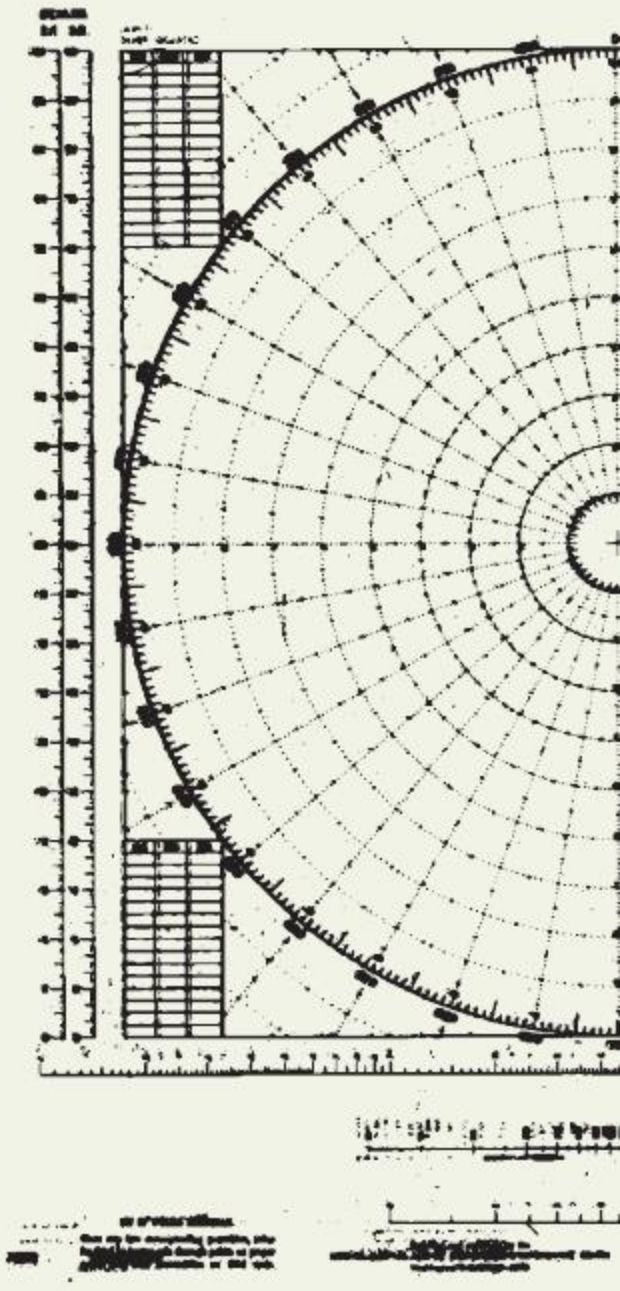
These conclusions are evidenced in what Venetians used to physically express their identity. Material culture, particularly that of the elites, was a great part of the expression of identity in relation to their status; clothing laws were increasingly strict regarding the parading of finery. In her study, Patricia Brown mentions 'wall hangings' as appearing in the inventories of many Venetian households. Such wall hangings could, and did, include printed maps and images, as she points out: 'large wall maps would have been status symbols whose purpose was more ornamental than functional.' As such, the printed image was weaved into the material culture of Venetians and became part of their social, as well as civic, expression.

However, the fact that Venetians kept wall maps in their homes as an expression of their wealth does not necessarily imply that they began to wholeheartedly understand themselves within a new sense of geographical space. As has been discussed by Woodward, in many cases it seems that Venetians, when keeping maps in their homes, tended to favour world maps over maps of the city itself. Moreover, he suggests instead that Venetians, particularly poorer ones, were more interested in using prints in their homes for expressing devotional and familial identities. Therefore, the interest of Venetians in printed maps, alongside expressing status, can perhaps be found in a more general expression of geographic identity, part of the 'magic of capturing the world in a single ordered image, the replacement of classical geography with a "modern" geography that incorporated…the secularisation of the world image.'

In addition, it is important to consider how Venetians themselves might have reacted to and understood the propaganda that the government was increasingly directing towards them, for example in the 1560 print, Procession of the Doge and the Patriarch of Venice, by Matteo Pagan. Wilson notes, 'the parade demonstrates the social structure of the republic and its political autonomy.' This can be seen in who is represented in the engraving. Both the Doge and the patriarch are key figures, representing both the political and religious autonomy that Venice held dear. In fact, by 1560 they had capitulated to the establishment of a branch of the Roman Inquisition to oversee the printing industry, but still maintained a fair level of autonomy despite this. Like costume books, this print provided an image of the key levels within the Venetian government, and the key values it stood for; whether accurate or not, this is perhaps how they wanted to be seen.

However, it is indeed hard to know what Venetians truly thought about propaganda such as this. It has been suggested by Wilson that much of the printed imagery generated by Venetian printers, and often patronised by the Venetian government, was not meant for the Venetian people at all. Rather, it was meant for outsiders, to project a certain image of Venice for all others to see. Wilson points out that Giacomo Franco's engravings, 'with their focus on their city's districts, ceremonies, and famous urban spaces... provide information deemed appropriate to outsiders.' De'Barbari's map shows Venice as a splendid grouping of islands, pointing out its maritime strength as well as links with the Roman Empire, and Pagan's woodcutting highlights the splendour of Venice's government, as well as its political and religious autonomy. For an outsider faced with images such as these, a particular image of Venice as a great, powerful and beautiful Republic is very obviously created, leading contemporary commentators, such as Francesco Sansovino, to declare Venice as the 'eye of Italy,' and the 'theatre of the world.'

Perhaps, therefore, in terms of the effects of printed images, it is more prudent to suggest that, whilst Venetians themselves made use of prints as expressions of status, and were more able to identify who they were within a more European context, the image of Venice itself was influential to those who were watching from the outside. The physical image of Venice and Venetians themselves was most important for outsiders to see, and fascinated them the most. After all, the printing industry was geared at an international market, and much of the government-granted privilegios content went out of Venice, and into foreign hands. As Wilson comments, 'an array of printed representations emerged to refurbish the city's fading prominence by projecting an image of Venice in which the extraordinary could be seen everyday.'



Marking the Milestone of the Holocaust

Maddy Pribanova

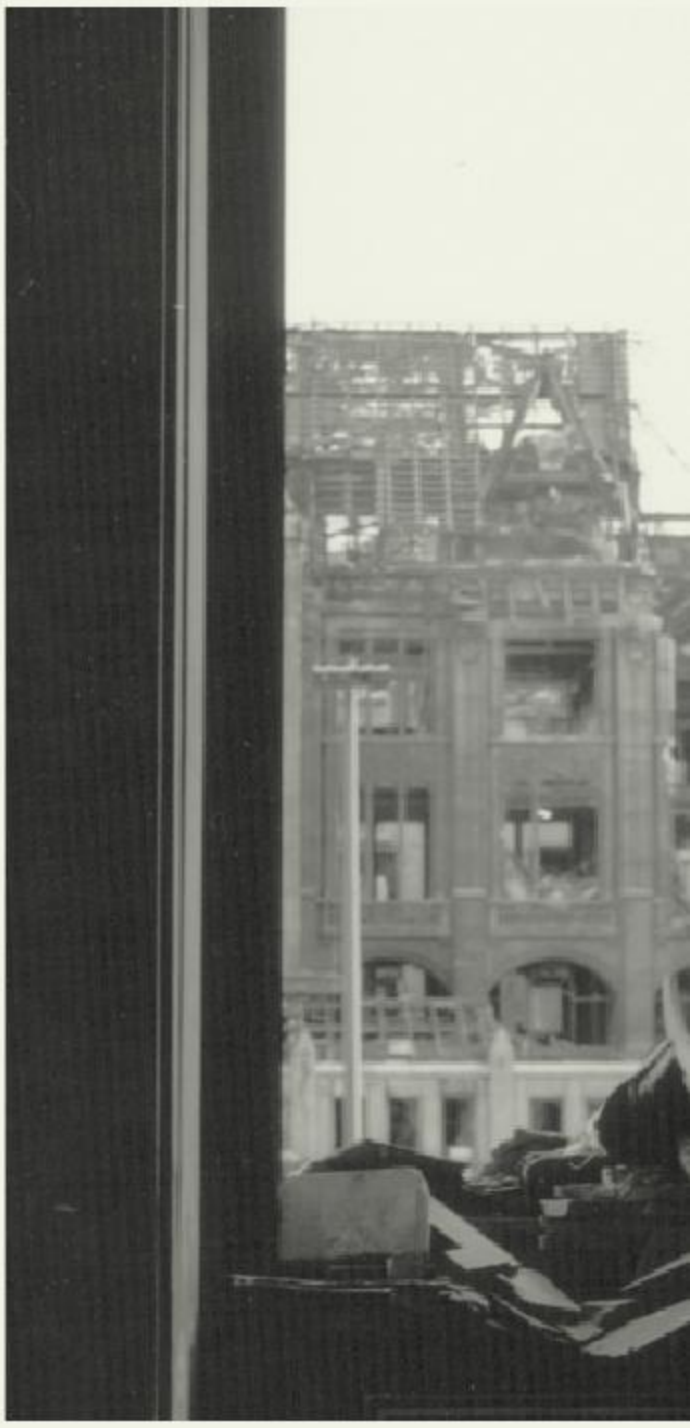
A milestone is commonly defined as 'a significant stage or event in the development of something.' 2015 marks seventy years since the ending of the Holocaust and the Second World War, yet, seventy years on, the emphasis on awareness and commemoration has been gloriously growing in strength. However, this has also repeatedly, and somewhat uncomfortably, questioned our own humanity. The Holocaust was a state orchestrated, bureaucratized systematic killing. It is harrowingly referred to as 'modern day genocide,' undermining all the promises and optimism which the Enlightenment brought to us. It is therefore this questioning of inherent humanity which has caused great debate among historians; was the genocide of World War II clearly outline and planned, or as Hans Mommsen suggests, a result of 'cumulative radicalisation'?

The concluding decision about the "Final Solution" can be pieced together through several key events, making it impossible to directly pinpoint a firm decision to annihilate all Jews of Europe. The development has caused much controversy, with different key events having varied interpretations. Functionalist historians, such as Mommsen or Broszat, believe that the rivalry within the weak Nazi power structure provided the cause of the Holocaust. They see the Holocaust as an event which happened on impulse as part of cumulative radicalization, with various Nazi leaders attempting to win Hitler's favour with their radical ideas. Overall functionalism portrays the Holocaust as a final resort which was not a Nazi aim until a few years into World War II, and, fundamentally, not a long-term intention.

On the contrary, intentionalist historians view Hitler as having plans for the Holocaust from as early as the 1920s, with the publication of Mein Kampf. Lucy Dawidowicz puts forward a Hitler-centric view, which suggests Hitler himself had a readily decided plan upon the mass murder, by pointing out numerous extreme anti-Semitic statements given by him before 1919 - suggesting a cumulative radicalization as a false belief. The reference to Hitler's Prophecy Speech of 30 January, 1939, also builds up this argument that the Nazis knew exactly what they were doing and, instead of cumulative radicalization, it was an absolute, long-term plan from the beginning. Nevertheless, overall, this article hopes to explore and debate the overwhelming evidence and several especially poignant sources which indicate the spontaneous dynamic of the Nazi regime.

The Holocaust saw the death of six million Jews and five million non-Jews, a process which was justified and explained as "cleansing the race" by the Nazi Regime. This systemic crime, however, only began to take full reign after the Wannsee Conference of 20 January, 1942. Extermination camps such as Auschwitz or Treblinka were built soon after, accepting thousands of prisoners daily. Those who arrived from Ghettoes across Europe were subject to further division: those fit for slave labour, and those who were not and immediately sent to gas chambers. It is indicative from the Wannsee Conference minutes that the Nazis did, in fact, seek to maintain the life of Europe's Jews by conscripting them for labour. This source, therefore, strongly supports Broszat's functionalist interpretation. Drawn up by Adolf Eichmann on 20th January 1942, the conference was called by Reinhard Heydrich to deal with 'the final solution of the Jewish question.' The minutes begin with the list of participants; Hitler did not attend, which in itself indicates the possibility of improvisation, as the participants could have only attempted to predict and represent the wishes of the Führer. Arguably this is apparent of Broszat's notion of Social Darwinism, whereby the Nazi figureheads fought for Hitler's favour and attention, and individuals with the most radical and effective ideas succeeded.

Therefore the most drastic idea which pleased Hitler was carried out, such as the "Final Solution", revealing the foundations of the spontaneous snowballing of radical ideas, rather than a long term plan. Furthermore, the minutes also indicate that the Nazi party lacked a clear long term plan, attempting to 'achieve clarity in basic questions.' The minutes also state that 'a large number will drop out through natural wastage', speaking of death in terms of an outcome rather than a planned mass murder. Finally and perhaps most poignantly, the Wannsee Minutes also speak of other attempts to relocate the Jews, as 'A total of around 537,000 Jews have been persuaded to emigrate.' It then progresses to describing why it failed - 'Meanwhile in view of the dangers involved in emigration during the war' - backing up David Cesarani's view is. The



Holocaust, in what is suggested by both the minutes and Cesarani, was a response to the war, and circumstance trapped the Nazis into improvising their dealings, together with the Third Reich's racial policies.

It is also key that the rise of Nazi power was not due to their policies and anti-Semitic views, but fundamentally due to the messianic promises which Hitler put forward, especially in his infamous persuasive and charismatic speeches. The promises, influenced by romanticism, to restore Germany's glory after economic hardship, and the humiliation of the Treaty of Versailles, were undeniably more powerful than the assertion of the Aryan race. Cesarani also discusses an overall Nazi aim for world command, and how it affected the actions which they undertook to finally achieve it. He outlines Hitler's overall goal as that of expansion and need for Lebensraum (living space), which would ultimately restore Germany's glory, enabling it to become a world power rivalling Britain and the United States.

Hitler's hunger for power and world domination was truly that of his core agenda and, together with the anti-Semitic ideology, desperate and tragic measures were taken in order to achieve this goal - with no long term plan for genocide. Cesarani speaks of Hitler's aims of 'pushing the Jews beyond the Nazi

New Old Stock

empire', which refers to the 1940 proposal to relocate the entire Jewish population of Madagascar. He also speaks of Hitler's 'barbaric vision for reorganising entire populations in conquered territories.' There is thus no indication of a plan for genocide. Instead, evidence suggests that total control and resettlement are on the agenda. Therefore, the origins of the Holocaust came about as a response to circumstances, rather than Nazi initiation.

Cesarani also points to the dynamics of the regime, particularly of Hitler being 'under-pressure' from the Nazi party bosses to remove 'the remaining Jews.' It is evident at the Wannsee Conference in 1942, when the state of the Ghettoes was discussed, that their apparent decay needed to be dealt with as soon as possible due to the escalating spread of disease and death. As suggested, 'Hitler was in a state of panic', and reaching for the most radical idea seemed the only solution. Once again, this reinforces the view that the decision was spontaneous, arising when the Ghettoes were becoming overcrowded, and Germany were losing their grip on the war.

Despite this evidence, however, intentionalist historians view the origins of the Holocaust as being quite the opposite: unavoidable, in the core foundations, and thus planned in the long term. Eberhard Jäckel uses several speeches from Hitler before, and after, his appointment to Chancellor in 1933. These speeches spoke of the policies and aspirations of the Nazi party. He points to the repeated notion of the Jews being "done away with," including, within the context, Hitler's mention of poisonous gas. The 'trial-and-error' argument which is put forward by functionalists is therefore countered by Jäckel, who argues that the plan for annihilation was always there, the Nazis merely had to find 'a convenient dumping ground for the Jews.' The final plan was there, though flexible and unclear, which functionalists regard as being no plan at all.

Jäckel's intentionalist opinion derived from examining many of Hitler's quotes. Mein Kampf, published in 1925, is a prime example of this, as it combines elements of autobiography and Hitler's political ideology. The statement, 'If 12,000–15,000 Jews were gassed, then the sacrifice of millions of soldiers would not have been in vain,' presents Hitler's clear aspiration and long drawn out plan of how to exterminate Jews. Nevertheless, Hitler began dictating Mein Kampf after the failure of the Munich Putsch led to his imprisonment in November 1923. This suggests that he had time to accumulate his ideas and plans in his prison cell. However, the prison governor of Landsberg noted: 'he [Hitler] hopes the book will run into many editions, thus enabling him to fulfill his financial obligations and to defray the expenses incurred at the time of his trial.' Therefore, it is highly probable that in order for it to sell well, Hitler needed a shock factor and exaggeration. This also resonates in the argument of Hitler gaining power by playing upon the anti-Semitic, anti-Versailles, and economic depression sentiments of the time, which allowed him to rise and gain power through his messianic stance, supporting what came to be known as the "Hitler Myth." This links into Lucy Dawidowicz's argument of Hitler conceiving the plan in 1918, straight after Germany had lost the war, as he believed the Jews were the cause of Germany's loss.

Intentionalist Richard Breitman discusses the evidence of the 1939 Prophecy Speech, whereby Hitler asserts that, under the circumstance that "Jewish financiers" began yet another world war, "...the result would be the annihilation of the entire Jewish race in Europe." In 1941, Goebbels wrote in his diary that 'the Führer's prophecy is coming true in a most terrible way.' It is clear that the Minister of Propaganda is rather surprised, indicating an unplanned result, rather than a long-term blueprint. Furthermore, this once again points to the disorganised dynamic and unclear policies of the regime.

It is clear that the Holocaust was, indeed, a result of cumulative radicalization and a spontaneous, reckless response to the various pressures of the people and events surrounding that time. The political system which orchestrated such a policy is the prime indication of this. Although intentionalists would argue the incomparable and omnipresent power of Hitler, the structured leadership suggests otherwise. It enabled sub-leaders such as Heyrich to derive their own policies - for example that 'the Star of David are to be displayed on pushchairs and briefcases' - suggesting disunity and lack of any policy plans, including mass murder, in regards to their ideology.

From the beginning, it was apparent Jews were reluctantly granted a place in Hitler's Germany. Parallel to the Jim Crow laws in Southern United States until 1965, whereby African Americans were segregated from white Americans, the Nuremberg Laws also aimed to maintain the superiority of the Aryan race. Therefore, they were not a stepping stone towards genocide, merely a part of the undeniably strong anti-Semitism throughout Europe, that was apparent from the Jewish massacres in 1648 Poland, to the forging of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion in the late nineteenth century.

The Madagascar Plan came about through Hitler's push for Lebensraum, relocating the Jews to make more space for the Aryan race - once again, intending to keep them alive with no plans for annihilation in 1938. World War II was waged on the further basis of Hitler's hunger for expanding Lebensraum, which had a knock-on effect, creating chaos, panic, and further placing millions of Jews in Hitler's hands. The failed plans to Madagascar and denied emigration due to the war caused the Nazis to look for the fastest, most radical way to get rid of the Jewish population. Overall, cumulative radicalization stemmed from numerous impacts, from anti-Semitic propaganda, to the sadistic Einsatzgruppen, to the impact of the war. Thus, because the decision over the annihilation cannot be pinpointed, it is clear that a radical accumulated build up caused the Holocaust.

Although there are indeed many interpretations about the origins of the Holocaust, when remembering such a milestone, it is necessary to look and remember the factors which also enabled the fall of inherent humanity. Therefore, to quote George Santayana, "the one who does not remember history is bound to live through it again." Milestones provide the perfect opportunity to remember.

The Black Death and its Consequences on Medieval Europe

Ivana Cemanova

'Where are our dear friends now? Where are the beloved faces? … There was a crowd of us, now we are almost alone. We should make new friends – but how, when the human race is almost wiped out; and why, when it looks to me as if the end of the world is at hand?' - Petrarch, Letter from Parma (1349)

With such words, the Italian poet Petrarch lamented the great losses and horrors caused by the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348, which, together with the recurrent plague epidemics in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, represents the most devastating natural disaster that ever occurred in Europe. The plague entered Europe along the silk route from Asia, and, within two years, travelled across the entire continent, accounting for a mortality rate unparalleled in European history. Due to the unprecedented scale of horrors and mortality, the Black Death is often regarded as an important milestone in the medieval history of Europe. However, even though many contemporaries saw the plague epidemic in the 1340s as the herald of the end of the world, historians have for long debated the actual scale of its impact. Nevertheless, the epidemic had dire consequences on the development of the European society and economy. It affected the demographic situation as well as the religious practices in Europe, and it also brought about many economic and cultural changes.

The most immediate and notable impact of the Black Death was a sharp decline of the population. Although detailed accounts of the exact mortalities are scarce, historians estimate that around fifty per cent of the population perished. David Herlihy even claims that the population in certain regions fell by seventy to eighty per cent, and that Europe lost two-thirds of its inhabitants in the period from the eve of the Black Death until the early fifteenth century. This high mortality was also reflected in contemporary records, which detail the horrors of mass deaths and depopulation. The English chronicler, Henry Knighton, wrote that 'many villages and hamlets were deserted, with no house remaining in them, because everyone who had lived there was dead, and indeed many of these villages were never inhabited again.' The sheer scale of the plague epidemics often led many contemporaries to greatly exaggerate their accounts, claiming mortality rates as high as ninety per cent and lamenting about the absence of survivors to perform burials: 'Towns once packed with people were emptied of their inhabitants, and the plague spread so thickly that the living were hardly able to bury the dead…It was calculated by several people that barely a tenth of mankind remained alive.'

The first wave of plague struck all people alike, without regard to age, gender or social status - although records, such as the account of Gilles Li Muisis, the French chronicler and abbot of St Martin in Tournai, or that of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells, often claimed that parish priests were particularly affected due to their increased contact with the sick to hear confessions and administer sacraments. However, contemporary accounts generally agree that the subsequent epidemics in the late fourteenth century struck mainly children and the young. These later occurrences often happened locally on a much smaller scale and reduced the population less dramatically than in the 1350s, but they still prevented it from fully recovering in the long term.

The medieval economy was immediately influenced by the striking drop in population followed by a severe shortage of workers. Chroniclers reported a serious breakdown of the rural economy, when many labourers died, fled, or refused to work and land was left uncultivated. This lack of labour led to better opportunities for women, whose work became more valued. Generally, the living conditions of the surviving labourers improved significantly, as they were able to negotiate higher wages while the costs of living tended to fall. They could then spend more on better diet and leisure, resulting in an increased demand for clothing, furnishing, or meat and ale. In addition, the plague caused a rise in demand for certain professions, such as gravediggers, priests, or physicians, while the guilds were forced to extend their membership to the wider population.

However, contemporary writers often reproached the lower classes for their insistence on better pay and shorter working hours as well as their indulgence in leisure and disobedience of their masters. For example, the English poet John Gower complained that "servants are now masters and masters are servants…the peasant pretends to imitate the ways of the freeman, and gives himself the appearance of him in his clothes." Landlords in particular were badly affected by the economic changes triggered by the Black Death. Lower population levels made it difficult for them to find tenants for their lands and therefore rents had to be reduced, leading to a decrease in the income of the lords and in the level of control they exercised over their subjects. As a result, attempts were made to stop the progress of the labour classes. The Ordinance of Labourers, issued in England in 1349, aimed to protect the interests of the employers by keeping the wages to their pre-plague levels.

However, the competition for labour force and the improvement of living standards encouraged labourers to question the authority and, as Knighton complained, "the workers were so above themselves and so bloody-minded that they took no notice of the king's command." Michael Postan argues that the law of supply and demand proved stronger than the legislation, leading to a

Michael Wolgemut

continuous rise in wages and the subsequent decline of medieval serfdom. By improving the status of the lower classes, the Black Death stimulated the elite into a reaction, which in turn caused discontent and provoked rebellion that manifested itself in England in the form of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

The arrival of plague disrupted medieval society, affecting social interaction, religious practices, as well as the artistic and cultural trends. Contemporaries were shocked by the mortality and the universality of the plague which seemed to have swept across the entire world. Traditional social bonds crumbled as people avoided social contact in fear of contagion. The Italian Renaissance author and humanist, Giovanni Boccaccio, wrote in the introduction to his famous work, Decameron, which provides a valuable account of the plague in Florence, that even close family members abandoned each other, and that funeral traditions were no longer respected:

'This scourge had implanted so great a terror in the hearts of men and women that brothers abandoned brothers, uncles their nephews, sisters their brothers, and in many cases wives deserted their husbands. But even worse, and almost incredible, was the fact that fathers and mothers refused to nurse and assist their own children, as though they did not belong to them...there were no tears or candles or mourners to honour the dead; in fact, no more respect was accorded to dead people than would have nowadays be shown towards dead goats.'

People found themselves 'waiting among the dead for death to come,' and the idea of mass burial without sacraments terrified them more than the illness itself, since it called into question the Christian reassurance of resurrection. The dreadful mortality rate, and the consequent social disorder, were seen by chroniclers like the Italian Agnolo di Tura as the indication of the end of the world. Initially, contemporaries widely agreed that the plague was the God's punishment for mankind's sinfulness, but with its later recurrences the explanation shifted to an image of the plague as a sign of God's mercy, which brought sinners to penance and subsequently to salvation. The fear of the approaching disease increased the interest in pilgrimages to holy sites, and the pope proclaimed 1350 as a Jubilee Year when all pilgrims to Rome were given plenary indulgences for their sins.

However, in the eyes of the contemporaries, the Black Death brought about the collapse of social hierarchy and order. Especially the behaviour of the lower classes was seen as a sign of greater sinfulness of the society and the source of its anxieties: 'See how England mourns, drenched in tears. The people, stained by sin, quake with grief. Plague is killing men and beasts. Why? Because vices rule unchallenged here.' Others, mainly in Germany and the Low Countries, blamed the plague on the Jews who were accused of poisoning wells, leading to extreme violence when, as described by Jean de Venette, the French friar and chronicle, 'many thousands were indiscriminately butchered, slaughtered and burnt alive by the Christians.' The religious authorities encouraged an increased interest in death. Manuals on 'the art of dying' thrived in the Late Middle Ages, and the obsession with human mortality penetrated the arts. It was expressed in tombs showing the decomposition of bodies, and in paintings representing the Dance of the Death or other popular death-related motifs.

Since the Black Death represents such a dramatic episode in European history, historians have for long debated the impact it had on human development. Some of them hold the plague fully accountable for the demographic decline and the subsequent social and economic upheaval in the later medieval period. For instance, Herlihy assigns critical importance to the Black Death in the further development of Western society, while Charles Briggs writes about the historical consensus that the situation in Western Europe would have remained undisturbed if it was not for the outbreak of the plague.

However, others maintain that significant social and economic changes had already been underway before the Black Death. Postan argues that the demographic growth of Latin Christendom reached an unsustainable level in the late thirteenth century, exceeding the limits of available resources, and thus leading, according to the Malthusian theory, to a period of crisis and population decline in the early fourteenth century. Indeed, due to weather instability Europe was severely hit by a series of harsh famines in the early fourteenth century accompanied by an outbreak of social, religious and political problems, accounting for a sense of general crisis in Europe. In this way, it is possible to see the Black Death as merely accelerating the pre-existing trends.

In addition some scholars, such as Rosemary Horrox, claim that despite the enormous mortality rates brought about by the outbreak of the Black Death, the economic and social changes did not become visible until mid-1370s. However, John Hatcher attempts to explain this by pointing out that the extreme overpopulation before 1350s could have caused that the places - left vacant by plague victims - were filled up quickly without seriously disturbing the economy. Leopold Genicot concludes that it is likely that the fall in the population was set off by the fall of birth rate, which, however, did not become serious until the plague raised the death rate. Hence, it was not until the later recurrences of the plague further worsened the demographic decline that all the effects of the Black Death were manifested in the European society.

The arrival of the Black Death caused considerable disruption to the everyday running of society. Because of the scale of horrors brought about by the plague, it is easy to exaggerate its significance for Europe. However, the plague alone did not alter the course of European history and when it struck for the first time other significant factors had already triggered change. Some historians prefer to assign only a minor role to the plague, seeing it merely as a contributor to the general crisis in the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, the Black Death left a deep mark on Europe. The outbreak of the plague and its later recurrences greatly aggravated the slump in population and caused disruption to social order, human relations, and religious traditions. Although initially the shortage of labour caused an economic turmoil, it eventually led to better living and working conditions for the lower classes, and to a change in the relationship between the lords and the peasants. Finally, just the sheer number of chroniclers dealing with the issue of plague shows that the Black Death had, indeed, a profound effect on the late medieval society.

The Early Development and Impact of the Indian Railways on the Economy of India

Geetika Ramen

Prior to the establishment of the railways in South Asia, transportation was costly and difficult. In the Indus and Ganges river valleys, and along the coast, goods could be transported by boat. Only a few roads existed, and many of these had fallen into disrepair. There were also few navigation canals. In many regions, commodities in bulk could be moved only by bullock-carts. Costs per ton or per mile were prohibitive for all goods except those which had a high value relative to their weight. Most internal transport was slow, and rates of spoilage were high. These conditions severely limited the size of markets to small regions, which were often self-sufficient for most basic items. They also restricted the size of manufacturing enterprises to small-scale, often cottage, industries.

From the 1840s onwards, European merchants in India and in Britain began to call for the introduction of a railway line in India. The railways had brought significant economic growth in Britain and in the United States of America, and it was thought that they would do the same in India. The railways in India had a twin purpose: economic and military. On average, 1,405 miles of tracks were laid every year until the end of the century, with an investment of approximately £150 million: the single largest investment in the British Empire. The government of India became the guarantor to the railway shareholders - largely British. Private companies would build and operate their respective lines in different regions of the subcontinent with a guaranteed return on their stockholders' investment, assured by Indian revenues. This meant that if companies performed poorly, Indian taxpayers would pay for the loss; by the 1870s, the outflow of interest exceeded the inflow of fresh capital into India.

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The key groups whose pressure led to the development of railways in India were the English and Scottish mercantile houses trading with India, and the smaller British merchant firms in Indian ports with which they were in correspondence. India was seen as an unlimited market for British goods, and as a source for raw materials. The economic objectives of the railway were therefore based on a model of a colonial economy: it would expedite the export of agricultural raw material - primarily cotton and jute, but also tea, coffee, wheat, oil and opium - while also making it easier for British-manufactured goods to reach the interior of the subcontinent.

In 1849 the Cabinet and the British East India Company reached an agreement for the construction for two 'experimental' railways. The original 1849 contracts relied on private enterprise: capital was to be raised by companies that undertook to manage the track for 99 years. In twenty-five years the government of India would have the option to purchase the railways from the private companies. The state would underwrite against the possibility of loss to encourage British private investors. Each railway that failed to earn 5 per cent of the capital invested would be given government funds - taken from Indian tax revenues - to enable the companies to pay a five per cent dividend to shareholders. If the company's loss was too great, its managers were given the chance to hand over the enterprise to the government of India with one year's notice, and be returned their capital in full.

The railways expanded rapidly: construction on the first line began in 1850; by 1868 more than 4000 miles of track were in operation; this went up to approximately 41,000 miles by 1929. Capital investment was by 1868, approximately £80 million and by 1902, approximately £236 million. Most of this capital was raised in the UK, as Indian investors were not guaranteed returns on their capital, unlike British investors. Less than one per cent of the capital raised for the railways came from India. The first lines were built inland from the major ports of Bombay (1853), Calcutta (1854), and Madras (1856). By 1867, nineteen of India's largest districts were on railway lines, and by 1947 all but a few districts were served by railways.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a burgeoning of commerce, as the railways gave impetus to extractive industries such as commercial agriculture. The railway lines facilitated exports: in 1871 opium was the principal item, but food grains and raw cotton came close in value, and oilseeds were not far behind. In 1901, food grains, raw cotton, jute, and hides and skins had overtaken opium, while coffee and tea were at par with opium in value. The quantity of raw cotton exported from India rose especially quickly, climbing from a little over 392 million pounds in 1861-1862, to over 893 million pounds in 1865-1866. Unfortunately, other industries did not fare as well. The old crafts industries suffered greatly from British textile imports; it has been estimated that in 1881 Britain supplied as much as 58.4 per cent of the total consumption of cloth in India. By the 1880s Britain had become the largest recipient of Indian exports and the source of three-quarters of the subcontinent's imports.

The railways were also not always a very successful business enterprise, the Indian government viewed the railway as an instrument for facilitating the movement of

troops, and for protecting the borders of their Indian territory. It authorised expensive lines along the frontier which could only support light civilian traffic. Some cotton-growing regions had lines built into them early, but many of these lines by-passed the major marketing and collection centres, while some of the richest cotton tracts lacked lines entirely until late in the nineteenth century. In 1900, over seventy percent of the total track length was unprofitable, earning less than five percent. The government subsidy given to such lines, and the subsequent drain on the Indian economy, could have been reduced had the tracks been placed in regions of higher commercial traffic. Tax revenues which went towards subsidising the construction and subsidising of unprofitable lines could have been better spent on other public projects such as roads, navigation canals, irrigation and agricultural research. However, the government was certain that the railways were necessary for political, military and economic development, and so it did not seriously encourage alternative investments.

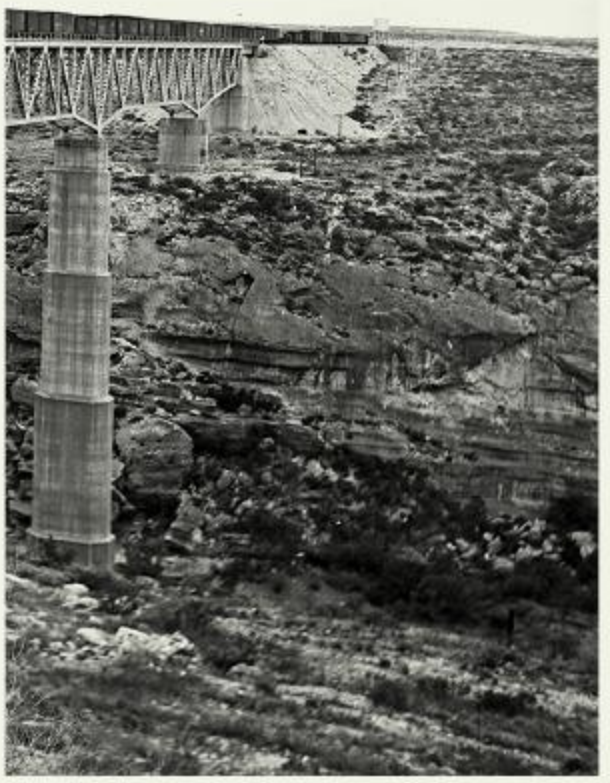
Produce from these regions could therefore not easily reach ports, and many interior towns and cities were not easily accessible by rail, even for purposes of internal trade. Indian shippers also paid high rates for freight, deterring the further growth of internal trade, and making competition with foreign industry more difficult. Especially vulnerable were those industries for which freight costs constituted a significant part of total costs. Any industry using coal as a major source of energy found itself immediately handicapped. Indian coal was very expensive, not because of the costs of coal production — Indian coal was located near the surface and could be extracted easily with inexpensive labour-intensive methods — but because of the East Indian Railway's monopoly over access to the major coalfields. The East Indian Railway made it so costly to transport coal by rail that imports from Britain could compete with Indian coal in Indian markets.

Unlike textile mills, coal mines could be run with much smaller capital, and collieries were never monopolised by Europeans. Indian interests in coal subsisted on small local markets, which the managing agencies could not reach. But in the late nineteenth century, European companies were expanding in the coal fields at the expense of smaller Indian concerns. This European intrusion led to interlocking jute and coal interests. The biggest private sector consumers of Bengali coal in and around Calcutta were jute mills. Railway transport played a large part in the success of collieries of all sizes. Railway wagons were constantly in short supply, and were supposed to be assigned on a pro rata basis. But collieries supplying coal to the railways and other industries were allowed a special supply of wagons; this special supply system always benefited European companies. Jute mills, as the biggest purchasers of coal, could make wagons available to collieries of their choice. The mills favoured European coal miners and suppliers, since they often came under the same management agencies. Thus, while coal mining was not a European monopoly, Indian colliers were disadvantaged by European interests in jute and by the European owned and managed East Indian Railway's monopoly in the main coal and jute producing regions of eastern India.

Before the construction of the railways, little to no modern industry existed in India. By transporting raw materials at lower cost and carrying finished goods to internal markets, railways played a major role in the growth of India's modern industry. That this growth was extremely limited, however, is evidenced by the fact that the percentage of the total workforce employed in industry did not increase before the Second World War. There was, nevertheless, an increase in absolute numbers. The number of workers employed in modern industry went from c. 400,000 in 1900 to c. 2 million by 1938. The absence of a basic structural change in the economy is attributable – at least in part – to the lack of linkages that resulted from the way the railways were built and operated. Not only did the financial capital used to build the railways come from Britain, but so did the management and most of the equipment and skilled labour. Rails, machinery, locomotives, even sleepers, were almost all built outside India.

The initial importation of material and manpower was dictated by the lack of heavy industry in the sub-continent and by the shortage of technical and managerial skills. But the Government of India did little to aid or to stimulate the development of heavy industry or management skills within India. Interested not in India's financial and industrial development, but in Britain's, the colonial government and the railway companies followed policies from which British industry and financial institutions were the primary beneficiaries. Locomotives are an excellent example of this. Indian railway workshops had proved capable of manufacturing competitively-priced locomotives as early as 1865 when a locomotive was made at the Byculla works in Bombay. Yet, between 1865 and 1941, Indian workshops produced only 700 locomotives, while British firms exported some 12,000 to India. The Indian market was highly important to the British locomotive industry: of the total output of a sample of British locomotive firms, as much as twenty-two per cent was shipped to India.

The development of the railways in India did much to encourage the growth of agricultural exports. The rise in commercialisation brought capital to agricultural centres that could be spent on both imported and Indian manufactured goods, thus stimulating the overall economy. Nevertheless, the railways did not encourage associated manufacturing industries, unlike in Europe and the USA. This is because, while labour was hired to construct the tracks, most of the machinery was imported from Britain. There was no attempt made to train Indian labour to take over positions of management: indeed, most management-level positions were held by Europeans. As capital was raised outside India, Indian financial institutions could not benefit from the growth of the railways. Even the Indian-owned part of the coal industry, which was a significant recipient of Indian capital, could not overtake European interests in the industry, as the railway distribution network did not favour Indian collieries. Other modes of transportation, such as roads and canals, were neglected, and bullock cart-men and boatmen lost their livelihoods. The textile mills were almost entirely in the hands of European managers, and hence did not contribute to the development of the Indian economy. In short, the railways stimulated the growth of extractive industry in India, but not of most forms of constructive industry.



New Old Stock

Why did Islam outlive the imperial power of the Caliphate?

Pablo Perez Ruiz

The linkage between Islam and imperial power may have been crucial during the early Umayyad period but, thanks to the formation of new political and religious structures upon which Islam increasingly rested, this linkage became practically non-existent by the time of the demise of the Abbasid Caliphate, ensuring the endurance of Islam. The cultural confidence boasted by the Umayyads, who made Arabic the language of the administration, and of the ruling class religion, helped to formulate an Islamic identity that eventually fell out of their control. The separation between the state and religion that had occurred intermittently since the First Fitna finally materialized in the late ninth century, when Islam effectively detached itself from a central political ideology and became increasingly local.

It is because of this religious decentralization that Islam should be seen as a fluid tradition; indeed, the decrease of imperial power during the Umayyad Caliphate first, and the Abbasid Caliphate later, fragmented Islam as much as it fragmented politics. It was the ability of the Muslim believers to repeatedly reinterpret their faith that ensured Islam's survival, as an increasing number of people from different cultural backgrounds adhered to the Muslim faith, and adapted Islam to their worldview. The formation of different sects and traditions, such as the Shi'a or the Sufis, was thus key in meeting the differing needs of the societies under Muslim rule, ensuring the long-term endurance of Islam.

The initial exclusivity and cultural confidence of Islam was key to its future development and longevity. This exclusivity and confidence was tied first and foremost to the Arabic language, in which the Qur'an had been revealed. Once the Umayyads seized power, Arabic gradually became the language of the culture and religion of the ruling class and, after the translation of the dīwān (register) into Arabic by 'Abd al-Malik, the language of bureaucracy too. The predominance of Arab elites ruling the new territories during the Umayyad period resulted in the preservation of Islamic identity and autonomy. Religious discrepancies did exist at this point, but the political centre of the caliphate still retained enough power to fulfil its view of Islam.

Non-narrative sources are the most revealing: the caliph's control over cultural-religious matters is evident in architectural landmarks such as the Dome of the Rock. Its location in Jerusalem served al-Malik to create and implicitly impose new narratives of the Islamic religion. Further, the evolution of coinage from the early years of Islam to 'Abd al-Malik's reign, and into the Abbasid caliphate, is representative of the cultural confidence with which the caliphs presented their power and their religion. The development of a unique Islamic coinage served both to assert a Muslim identity and to fight internal dissension, such as that posed by the Kharijites. Although the capability of different caliphs to confidently express their Islamic culture was unequal, and was threatened during the Abbasid revolution, it was strengthened by the early Abbasid caliphs. The creation of Baghdad as the new capital, where cultural life soon flourished, was followed by narratives of the city as the centre of the world, showing the confidence of the caliphs and their culture and religion. The compilation of the hadith and the creation of schools of law undertaken by the early Abbasids were further steps towards this goal, even though they ultimately expanded beyond their control.

The exclusive, non-proselytizing character of early Islam further ensured the survival of the religion in the long term by easing tensions with non-Muslim communities, who rarely rebelled. Paying taxes was all that was required from non-Muslim subjects, as seen in early agreements. The cultural 'self-containment' of Islam during the early caliphate was key in avoiding revolts from the largest sector of society—the non-Muslims—thanks to the religious freedom granted to most of these groups, primarily the dhimmis (protected people).

The standardisation of the status of non-Muslims, and thus their increased marginalisation and discrimination, was not seriously undertaken until the early ninth century, if we dismiss the traditional chronology of the Pact of 'Umar. Later conversion to Islam during the Abbasid period was the result of the increasingly institutionalised restrictions upon the dhimmis, rather than a consequence of intentional religious oppression. Conversion was thus an organic process occurring out of necessity rather than being imposed by force, which favoured the longevity of Islam. The cultural assuredness of the faith through the caliphate did not mean a lack of engagement with other traditions, as seen in the early debates over the isra'iliyyat narratives among Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Moreover, the adoption of principles from other religions such as Zoroastrianism increased the appeal of conversion. This cultural assimilation and confidence gave Islam the potential to become the primary religion of the different regions under Muslim rule.

The separation between state and religion, most specifically the shift in religious authority away from the caliph, was fundamental in the survival of Islam when the power of the caliphate waned. In the early language of Islam, the caliph, as Muhammad's successor and "deputy of God," was the main holder of religious authority within the Muslim community. Despite discrepancies

between proto-Sunni and proto-Shi'i over who the righteous caliph should be, both sides saw the caliph as the true imam, the "guiding star," the path to salvation. The identification between state and religion was first questioned during the first civil war, in which sects such as the Kharijites broke apart from the mainstream view of the caliph as the main source of religious authority, questioning 'Ali's actions in the battle of Siffin.

The split of Umayyad Spain from the caliphate after the Abbasid revolution furthered the state-religion divide, proving that a single religious community could exist in an environment of political fragmentation. The Abbasids, despite shaping the Islamic identity in many ways to their own religious and political interests, tried to maintain the early notion of the caliph as a source of political and religious authority. However, several circumstances stood in their way. The parallel development of an alien military elite and an urban ulama, or scholarly elite, together with the increasingly visible religious fragmentation within Islam, brought down the religious authority of the caliph, and ensured the longevity of Islam through the enlargement of its bases.

The emergence of a group of Muslims scholars to which religious authority gradually shifted was the major turning point in the process of separation between the state and religion. Initially used by the caliphs as a "unifying force within the Islamic community," the development of Islamic law eventually became a means to protect the community from the ruler. The formation of schools of law around individuals and the emergence of doctrines such as ijma (consensus) significantly contributed to the formation of a new religious authority that eventually could overrule the caliph. This was the case when al-Ma'mun, after a period of political crisis and instability, tried to impose the mihna, a policy which included the doctrine of the 'createdness' of the Qu'ran, and through which the caliph tried to assert his religious authority. Its failure underscored the unquestionable role of the ulama in defining Islam.

The process of shifting religious authority was not clear-cut but evolved progressively and was influenced by parallel historical events. The increasing importance of slave military elites in deciding policy, fostered by the change of capital from Baghdad to Samarra in 836, together with disastrous reigns as that of al-Muqtadir (908-32), fostered the success of the ulama in enforcing their views, and in becoming independent from the caliphate, as people sought new sources of guidance. A process that had been initially co-opted by the caliphs to work in their favour ultimately took a wrong turn, becoming independent from them. Avoiding Modern European notions of secularism, the shift on religious authority that accompanied the demise of the caliphate allowed for Islam to prosper independently from the caliphate. This would eventually foster the decentralization of Islam, which became increasingly widespread and localised. It is thus not surprising that the majority of conversions to Islam occurred after the demise of the Abbasids in the tenth century.

Lastly, Islam was able to outlive the power of the caliphate thanks to its adaptability. The multiple variants of Islam that appeared, starting with the Kharijites, were crucial in the endurance of Islam as different groups could identify themselves through different schools of worship within the faith. In many ways, religious fragmentation served as an escape valve for the tensions within the religious community. Opposition to the status quo was normally articulated in religious terms, as illustrated by the Abbasid revolution and the Shi'i movement itself. As such, there was an increased awareness of the effectiveness of religion for expressing discontent. The schools of law mentioned previously ultimately served the ulama to formulate an identity and effectively challenge the caliph. Although these developing identities were not always clearly defined, they were stressed whenever civil strife arose, such as at the beginning of al-Ma'mun's reign.

Islam's cultural dominance gradually made it the best option to formulate an identity, and its fluidity and engagement with other religions increased its appeal. Islam drew from many Middle Eastern religions. For instance, take Sufism, a faction of Islam, which traces back to Christian asceticism. The increased localism of Islam brought about the conversion of new subjects, who reflected their existing views of the world in Islam, creating new factions. Moreover, the political fragmentation of the caliphate gave rise to the institutionalisation of multiple sects. A good example of this institutionalisation is the fragmentation of Shi'ism into Twelver Shi'ism, followed by the Buyids, and Ismailism, supported by the Fatimids. Overall, the process of fragmentation of Islam worked together with the shift in religious authority in broadening the bases on which Islam rested, diminishing its attachment to the caliphate, and improving its ability to survive.

Islam retained its name, but the transformation and fragmentation that it experienced through the centuries that followed Muhammad's death would have made it unrecognisable to early Muslims. The confidence of the Islamic culture promoted by both Caliphates - the Umayyad and the Abbasid - gave Islam the momentum crucial to its later longevity. As the other religions in the region faded, they incorporated some of their traditions into Islam. The lack of proselytizing measures in the early caliphate avoided rebellions and favoured a more organic conversion to Islam. The separation between state and religion that followed, mainly through the shift of religious authority away from the caliph and to a new urban elite, expanded the pillars on which the faith was founded. Simultaneously, the process of decentralisation and localisation of Islam occurred, and the multiple variants and factions that appeared from the First Fitna onwards prove the widening of Islam, and the increasing rate of converts. Gradually, Islam stopped being the religion of narrow elites, and became the canvas on which the different Near Eastern societies reflected their identities. Identity could be most effectively expressed through Islam, and thus the faith endured. Far from decaying into oblivion, Islam flourished following the demise of the power of the caliphate.

features

Armchair Adventurers of the Middle Ages:

The Book of John Mandeville

Katherine Dixon

Armchair activists have long been subject to the eye rolls of a society who firmly believes in the importance of being able to say, "I was there." Yet, *The Book of John Mandeville* presents modern readers with the alien figure of the armchair adventurer. The concept of discovery seems to have been grounded by very different roots in medieval Europe.

It is hard to label *The Book of John Mandeville*. First circulated in the mid-fourteenth century, this work is a rich text; it is described equally accurately as a travel log, a guide to pilgrimage, an adventure fiction and an encyclopaedia. Certainly, the narrative voice sells his text as one that will tell of the world he has travelled, which is filled with 'diverse folk of maneris and diverse lawes and shappes.' It describes everything from female warriors of the 'Amasoyn' and the king of 'Calonoche' - to whom 'fyshes cometh theder to do worship' - to the religious sites of Jerusalem, such as the 'mortyese in the rooch' on Calvary in which Christ's cross was set. He adds that the book will be particularly useful for 'hem that wole and beth in purpose to visite the holy cité of Jerusalem.'

Pinning down a genre is made all the more difficult due to the vast number of manuscripts containing the text, translated in several languages, which survive today. While this is certainly indicative of the book's popularity, it inevitably presents scholars with a huge amount of textual variation with which to grapple. Certain scribes for example extenuated the religious aspects of the work ,while others placed focus upon its more pious elements. It is for this reason that Iain Macleod-Higgins promulgates the idea of the 'Mandeville multi-text'; here it becomes more productive to approach the various manuscripts as a dialectical, cultural phenomenon.

Through this sort of analysis it has emerged that all textual and historical evidence suggests that the proclaimed author of the text, 'John Maundevile, knyght of Ingelond', was neither the compiler of his travels, nor even a real person. More so it is highly unlikely that the author, or authors, of this text travelled beyond their library. Rather, a significant proportion of the text appears to have been lifted from an earlier German manuscript, which follows the journey of Wilhelm von Boldensele in the Holy Land. Having said this, to expect a text about direct experience is to misunderstand medieval concepts of textual authority. Being there was not the marker of authority it is today. Instead, authorship, which is to say authority, was accrued over time. Thus medieval writers consistently draw upon the writings of Augustine, Plato, Aristotle and the Bible - a far from exhausted list of examples - to give their work warrant.

None of this is to say that readers thus face a work of fanciful fiction, rather one has to come to terms with an alternative concept of reality; historical works must be seen as carrying more authoritative weight than the first-hand experience of an individual. Indeed, through analysis of its immediate reception history, C. W. R. Moseley suggests that the authority of John Mandeville's narrative was not contested for at least 200 years after it was first penned. This is far from the only text of its sort. Indeed, Petrarch's Itinerarium, a detailed guide to the Holy Land, was written by the prolific thinker from the comfort of his desk. He refused to join his friend Giovanni Mandelli on a pilgrimage in 1358 as he was deeply afraid of the possibilities of seasickness and shipwreck. Thus, although remaining stationary, the authors are able to explore the world through the textual medium. This in turn allows their readers to do the same.

The Book of John Mandeville does offer an impressively accurate representation of a lot of what it discusses, particularly in its earlier chapters. This is so much the case that Christopher Columbus is renowned for having used the book to navigate while exploring. The text, for example, has a strong geographical grounding - at least in terms of medieval geography. In keeping with the medieval 'T' map, the narrator describes Jerusalem as being positioned in the centre of the earth, using Artistolean theory to explain this. He points out that the 'vertu of thynges is in the myddel', and, of course, Christ is the most virtuous of all. Thus the writer conflates physical geography with a geography which is promulgated through other documents. His detailed descriptions of sites of pilgrimage cannot be ignored either.

« he ended up back where he started! »

Furthermore he recounts a tale of a man who travelled so far around the world that 'he was y-come into his owen marches.' That is to say, he ended up back where he started!

The narrative voice of *The Book of John Mandeville* ends the text by describing the final stop on his journey to Rome, 'to showe my book to the holy fader, the pope, and telle to hym mervayles whoch Y hadde y-seye in diverse contrees, so that he . . . wolde examine hit.' The Pope ratifies the text's contents, first because of his position of authority, but secondly and most crucially because 'he sayde he hadde a book uppon Latyn that conteyned that and moch more, after which book the mappa mundi ys y-maked.' In other words, everything that the narrator has said has been said before. All the more, it has been said before in the superior language of Latin. The author acknowledges the need to ratify text with text, but does not reference his true sources. This ensures that a real sense of first-hand exploration is conveyed to the reader, who travels through this text, as the narrator wades through his numerous textual sources.

Therefore, The Book of John Mandeville allows its reader to discover great swathes of a literarily, theoretically and theologically constructed world, guided by an equally fictitious narrator. This, however, does not detract from the text's authority as a piece of travel writing, even as a guide to travel itself. In the medieval period, to author a work was not to provide it with legitimacy, but rather a text gained acumen by drawing upon firmly established scholars, their sources and their ideas. In approaching the text, one has to contend with endless strings of intertextuality, although this is very much the point at hand. The Book of John Mandeville is in fact many books, it is absorbed experience rather than the lived experience we expect today.

Folkert Gorter

From "Coal, Air And Water": The Discovery of Nylon

Dawn-Fleur Charman

Tights. Pantyhose. Stockings. Whatever you call them, and whatever the nuances, everyone is aware of them. You might wear them, you might rip them; love them or loathe them, they are a part of modern life, and a vital element of any self-respecting woman's wardrobe. But what do we actually know about them, or about the synthetic fabric which revolutionised the hosiery industry in the 1930s? What was their international significance? Were they partly to blame for the boom in British illegitimate wartime births?

Nylon was patented at the DuPont Experimental Centre in Delaware in 1937, thanks to the genius and life work of Wallace Hume Carothers, who tragically committed suicide in the same year, never witnessing the commercial success of his discovery. DuPont's management realised nylon's potential, and worked to develop a commercially viable product, focusing their attention on the lucrative market of women's hosiery.

Newsweek stated in 1940 that the USA consumed '43,000,000 dozen pairs' of silk stockings each year. Nylon stockings as 'strong as steel' and miraculously developed from 'coal, air, and water' were first announced at the 1939 New York World Fair. The following year, in May 1940, nylons - a word which as DuPont had hoped, became synonymous with stockings - became widely available. Within two years they had captured over 30 per cent of the market, previously the undisputed territory of silk.

DuPont's timing couldn't have been better. From 1937 onwards, America encouraged a boycott on Japanese silk in the hope of crippling Japan's economy. Japan supplied 97 per cent of American silk imports, which constituted 85 per cent of Japan's global silk exports, and over half of all Japanese exports to America. Out of necessity, this campaign took on a fashion dimension - two-thirds of this silk went into stocking manufacture. The campaign Life Without Silk was launched, showcasing silk alternatives such as cotton stockings and cashmere cocktail dresses. Whereas silk - and later nylon - stockings were sheer and stretchy, cotton and wool stockings were thicker, coarser, less malleable and infinitely less elegant.

Throughout the 1930s, rocky trade relations with Japan had caused price fluctuations and supply issues for the silk stocking market in America. Nylon, the home grown alternative which did not rely on international relations, the life cycle of Bombyx Mori (the humble silkworm) or the health of mulberry trees (the silkworms' favourite food), as well as being considerably cheaper to produce, obviously had its advantages. Indeed, the boycott was so successful that in China and Japan, governments increasingly instructed farmers to dig up mulberry groves, and instead cultivate the fields for food production, indicating their expectations of a long term decline in silk demand.

In their first day of sale, 16 May 1940, referred to officially as "Nylon Day", four million pairs of nylons were put into shops across America. They sold out in two days. It is estimated that around 800,000 pairs of nylons were sold in New York on the first day alone. By 1941, yearly sales were in the region of 64 million pairs.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941, and America's declaration of war on 8 December, DuPont nylon production plants were commandeered by the war effort for the production of parachutes, mosquito nets, ropes and other vital pieces of equipment. Stockings became even more difficult to get hold of than they had been during the pre-nylon trade tensions of the 1930s. American women were even encouraged to donate their used stockings to the war effort, as they could be broken back down into their component chemicals, and reused. However, if American women thought they were suffering for lack of hosiery - without which no respectable woman could be seen in public - their European sisters across the Atlantic were suffering even greater deprivation.

Very aware that their reputation was on the line, European women developed a variety of ingenious ways of faking what they did not have. These techniques included smearing homemade fake-tan-like concoctions of gravy or cocoa powder and body cream onto their legs to darken the skin, and drawing seams up the backs of their legs in eyeliner or ink. Unsurprisingly, the arrival of GIs on British shores - their pockets stuffed full of Hershey bars and nylon tights, their income five times that of British soldiers, and their accents something women had only ever heard in films - created quite a stir.

American soldiers, with their charm, chocolate and nylons did not lack for company. In a country bled dry by several years of war, such luxuries and the entertainments to be enjoyed in the company of Americans were a welcome distraction for many women, whether young or mature, single or married. Affairs and casual liaisons were not uncommon and it is estimated that 9,000 children were born out of relationships with GIs.

Aside from the rampant spread of STDs that accompanied this trend, in spite of the US Army distributing 50 million free condoms each month and launching sex education programs, there was another, even darker side to the luxuries GIs brought with them. Readers Digest wrote in February 1945 that "our secret agents overseas discovered that a half dozen pairs of sheer nylons would buy more information from certain mysterious women in Europe and North Africa than a fistful of money." Horrifying though it may be, it is testament to the demand for nylon stockings.

After the war, DuPont returned to the production of stockings for their loyal female clientele. Renewed production could not immediately match demand and 'nylon riots' occurred throughout America during 1945, most notably that of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; 40,000 women formed a queue over a mile long, desperate to get their hands on one of the 13,000 pairs of stockings available.

Today nylon is still the primary textile for hosiery and is also used for a variety of other purposes. Although many other synthetic textiles have been discovered, nylon still commands around 12 per cent of the synthetic fibre market, with approximately 8 million pounds produced each year.

The Year of the Wolf: Discovering Cromwell

Kerry Gilsenan

It has been only too long since Jonathan Rhys Meyers brought vibrancy and intrigue to the character of Henry VIII on our screens in The Tudors. The subsequent adaptation of Philippa Gregory's *The White Queen* has left us hungry for further insight into the bloody yet beautifully adorned tapestry of Tudor life. Thus, it is with sheer delight that we will tune in to the upcoming adaptation of Dame Hilary Mantel's widely celebrated historical novel, *Wolf Hall*.

A £7 million adaption for BBC 2 will, yet again, plunge viewers into the heart of the battleground of the Tudor court, against a backdrop of revolutionary religious reform. Incorporating Mantel's critically acclaimed *Wolf Hall*, and equally renowned sequel Bring Up the Bodies - with both titles claiming the Man Booker Prize - the six-part series written by Peter Straughan (Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy), and directed by Peter Kosminsky (The Government Inspector), will reach screens in 2015.

To provide its audience with a fresh perspective on a well-represented period, the BBC has chosen Mantel's unique portrayal of the rise of Thomas Cromwell. From a blacksmith's son in the late fifteenth century to King Henry VIII's chief minister by 1532, his rise was shrouded in a controversy fuelled by conservative members of court, enemies that would ultimately ensure his downfall.

The subject of a multitude of fictional portrayals, from Robert Bolt's play A Man for All Seasons, to James Frain's depiction in The Tudors, Cromwell's true character remains a subject of great debate in historiography. Originally considered a mere pawn in the King's game of marriage, he has more recently been allowed greater dominance in the history of the English Reformation, praised for his instrumental role in the break with Rome. However, what is considered skill and ingenuity to some historians, has been interpreted as manipulation and cunning to others.

Carefully moulding Mantel's enchanting prose to screen, the television adaptation will deal with Cromwell's rise to prominence under the careful direction of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, and how Cromwell's political ingenuity prevented a simultaneous downfall with the King's ostracized Lord Chancellor. As Cromwell clings tightly to the reins of power, we will witness his approach to Henry VIII's Great Matter, resulting in a monumental break with the Roman Catholic Church to facilitate a new marriage to Anne Boleyn. However, as no heir arises and Henry's attentions turn to the Jane Seymour, Cromwell must act fast to oust Boleyn to save his own skin.

Cromwell remains a compelling historical figure, not simply because of his involvement in one of the most significant events in English history, but due to the reluctant inevitability surrounding his eventual fall from power and execution. After achieving unimaginable feats to appease the ever-changing direction of Henry's heart, proving himself to be a worthy and loyal chief minister, it was with great sadness that the King sent his beloved Cromwell to death at Tower Hill on 28 July 1540; a lament unfortunately expressed after the stroke fell.

Too numerous were Cromwell's enemies to have this sentiment shared among court. The Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Gardiner gleefully presented the young Catherine Howard to seize Henry's affections, and seal the fate of the waning minister. An unsuccessful marriage to Anne of Cleves was the final nail in the coffin as another head rolled out of power, proving no man to be immune from the wolves of regal authority.

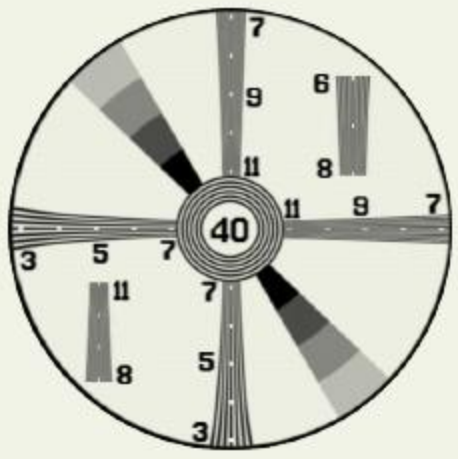
Mantel stepped in to the historiographical debate in 2009 with the first novel of a planned trilogy, *Wolf Hall*. She urged her readers to consider the humanity and talent of a figure so darkly represented, placing Cromwell in the context of the volatile, strategic tides of diplomacy that he navigated. The novel is haunted by the Latin phrase homo homini lupus est - man is a wolf to man - conveying the fickle and destructive reality of court politics. Based on Mantel's five-year accumulation of thorough historical research, *Wolf Hall*'s intimate access to Cromwell's mind offers a compelling exposé of the origins and motivations of a world-shattering statesman.

The BBC's 2015 adaptation teases a spectacular translation to screen, with Mark Rylance (Twelfth Night) cast as Cromwell, alongside Damian Lewis (Homeland) as Henry VIII. Claire Foy (Upstairs Downstairs) will take on the wiles of Anne Boleyn, whilst Jonathan Pryce as Cardinal Wolsey, and Mark Gatiss as Bishop Stephen Gardener, complete the court of formidable Tudor politics.

After considering Bruges as a filming location, the production team has turned instead to a UK-based adaptation of *Wolf Hall*. The six-part series will also feature two lesser-known National Trust properties in Somerset - Montacute House and Barrington Court - hopefully offering the locations a taste of the tourist interest enjoyed by Downton Abbey's Highclere Castle, or Pride and Prejudice's Chatsworth House.

Mantel's work boasts further success for the coming year. After Wolf Hall's May to October West End run in the Royal Shakespeare Company's Aldwych Theatre last year, the play is set to hit Broadway's Winter Garden Theatre in March 2015, produced by Jeffrey Richards and Jerry Frankel. The *Wolf Hall* trilogy is also set to wrap up in 2015 with the final instalment, The Mirror and the Light, taking readers beyond Anne's Boleyn's death to the final chapters of Cromwell's life.

Wolf Hall's established following will make for lofty expectations as fans tune in to see Kosminsky and Straughan's supposedly dark recreation of two highly successful historical novels. The controversy surrounding Mantel's latest release, a collection of short stories titled *The Assassination of Margaret Thatcher*, has left a critical reception to her daring style. Nevertheless, 2015 is set to be a triumphant year for the wolf.



An Echo from Exile: Re-discovering the Career of John Enoch Powell

Nicol Ogston

'A voice in the wilderness then?' came the pointed question from an interviewer. The reply, cold and calculated, was simply: 'Wildernesses are good places for voices … they tend to get a reverberation which is often lost in the more crowded of places.' By the time of this interview John Enoch Powell, once regarded as a first class British Statesman, was a political outcast of his own making.

During his political career, he forged the direction of political debate that the United Kingdom was to follow for the next forty or so years. The immigration debate, and his so-called Rivers of Blood speech, destroyed the statesman and exiled him to a political wilderness - he divides opinion in the UK to this day. To his admirers he was a deeply principled man, with convictions that ensured he placed the British people and their values high above those of the Conservative party, to which he was a member. To his enemies, he represented little more than a tolerable face to gutter politics. Tony Benn, for example,

« it is obvious that he had an uncanny ability to discover the strands that would characterise politics far beyond his own time »

likened his views to the flag that once fluttered above Dachau.

However, no matter how you assess Powell's political career, it is obvious that he had an uncanny ability to discover the strands that would characterise politics far beyond his own time. By analysing the life of this political exile and his speeches, this article aims to identify how Powell is at the root of most of the contemporary political debates now raging in the UK. Behind the chorus of this debate, the mutterings and whispers of Powell's legacy can still be heard. Until we rediscover his arguments, we will never be able to fully understand what the drivers for Britain's current political challenges - for instance, the growth of fringe parties such as UKIP and the European Union question - really are.

Powell was a deeply intellectual individual. By the age of three he was able to read, and visitors to the Powell household nicknamed him 'professor'. He would lecture them on the taxidermy birds which sat in the vestibule. By his early teens he was so versed in the Classical period that he began to go by the name Enoch, for fear that he should be confused with another Classical period academic called John Powell. He was later awarded a place at Oxford, and was enlisted at the beginning of the Second World War.

At this stage, Powell's romantic view of Britain was evident, as he viewed the prospect of dying for his country to be one of the most honourable routes to take in life. His vast intellect and aptitude for language soon saw Powell recruited as a code breaker, combating Rommel in Northern Africa. When asked about his life achievements he stated that his work on Herodotus and his actions against Rommel were the two most notable features, but stated that he would have liked to have died in the War. Post-war Powell took to travelling, and upon arriving in India, he determined that he would join British politics with the hope of one day becoming Viceroy to the country.

One can identify the moment that Powell joined the Houses of Parliament as representative for Wolverhampton - the man who would act as little short of a prophet - as the point from which the course of British politics changed for good. Powell served as a distinguished parliamentarian during his career, and was given credit by his peers for the way he debated arguments. He would first tackle the principles, and then rationally deduce a solution. This, however, led Powell to make arguments that commonly conflicted with those of his party leader, and thus against the political agenda of the day. His speech on immigration made in Birmingham 1968 is the most infamous.

He argued that if Britain did not curb mass migration to the country, it would result in inter-communal violence; those who came to settle in the UK would not assimilate, and those whom were native would become ever more resentful of these people. Powell closed by stating that as he looked forward, 'like the Roman, I seem to see the River Tiber foaming with much blood.' It was this speech that made him an exile. It sparked support, found most prominently in the London Dockers, Midlands of England, and working class areas that were threatened from the influx of cheap labour. A wave of opposition was to be found in wider British society, Labour and Conservative party members alike. Indeed, the Beatles song All You Need Is Love was partly written to challenge Powell's views.

Regardless of the backlash, this speech triggered a motion that remains characteristic of British politics. It initiated the debate that would silently brew until contemporary politics allowed it be publically fought. The UK Independence Party frequently states that there has never been a debate on immigration - cue Enoch Powell. Since the Rivers of Blood speech, immigration has been an untouchable issue due to Powell's inept handling of subject matter, and the language he deployed in his speech. It now seems that UKIP are using the same arguments but with slightly different rhetoric.

A further example considers the European Union - or the European Community as it was then. The marked portion of British society that wants to return to being an independent state, external to the European Union, can be seen to stem from Powell's arguments for Crown-in-Parliament sovereignty. Most notably, during the 1970s he made a range of arguments relating to how Britain could not sacrifice its independent status to the European Union. By being such a passionate defender of British sovereignty, this idea encouraged Conservative voters to back Labour to ensure a referendum on Europe. He claimed that the question of European membership would be fought out to the end, acknowledging the tensions it would cause between, for example, differing stances by England and Scotland.

When looking back at Powell's career and his arguments on immigration and the European Union, it begs the question as to whether he promulgated these debates based on existing political trends, or whether he himself was the source of them. With a fringe party now winning support based on its intolerance to mass immigration, and with the European Union now seen as an interfering force that challenges British sovereignty, it should be argued that Powell was creating trends as opposed to setting them. Had he been the source of true wisdom it would have been recognised, and most of the matters would have been debated and dealt with.

His disastrous handling of the matters and the resulting exile meant that he could only act as a prophet. As his voice echoes from his exile, it helps us to understand contemporary political debate in the UK.

‘Gamemasters’ Exhibition: The Evolution of Gaming

Tom Nurick

Turn right at the Maori war canoe, through the double doors, and you will find yourself in a dark room. A row of arcade cabinets, the flicker of dot matrix displays, half familiar chiptunes inviting you to explore. For an increasing proportion of the population, the experience of videogames is fleeting: a hurried few swipes on a phone, an inviting icon nestled on a desktop, just another black box lurking below the television. To someone unfamiliar with the arcades of old, it is a sobering experience to be confronted with their sheer heft, their brute physicality.

Piloting a ship through the darkness of space traces faint ghosts on Asteroids’ monochrome vector monitor, whilst the compellingly stark lines of Tempest owe as much to its limited eight-bit processor as they do to any design decision. ‘It’s not very forgiving’, remarked one visitor, walking away from a Reactor cabinet - Tim Skelly’s exercise in panicked hyperactive wrist movements. Lives expended, no cheery flashing of the word ‘continue?’, only a distorted guitar riff wailing to the room the player’s failure.

The fact that the National Museum of Scotland is choosing - for over four months - to fill an exhibition hall with videogames from the late seventies to the present day is telling. Frequently, games are decried for being immature, indulgent teenaged fantasies that cater to the lowest common denominator - ‘adolescent nonsense’, according to Braid developer Jonathan Blow. Witness the voluptuously lecherous design decisions of Team Ninja’s Dead or Alive franchise or the catastrophic examples of idiocy last year that came with the Gamergate controversy. The sheer lack of diversity in studios’ flagship series is a litany of dragon slaying carjacking flag-waving that would put even the most meat-headed Hollywood studio to shame.

With every attack, there come the apologists’ cries - video games are an immature medium. ‘Give them time’ it is said, and their true colours will be revealed. What nonsense. By the time films were this age, we’d been treated to the likes of The Birth of a Nation, and Metropolis. More pertinently, We would find precious few people decrying Super Mario 64 for being anything less than a classic - its lucid demonstration of the third dimension no less a watershed moment than The Wizard of Oz, introducing a generation of filmgoers to the delights of colour. Video games - and the multi billion worldwide industry that surrounds them - are no spring chicken, but a matured player in today’s cultural scene.

The one-hundred odd games - all happily playable- on display at Chambers Street echo this sentiment - a bold attempt to show off not only the games themselves, but the ideas behind them and the sea of changes that the industry has undergone. Therefore, alongside the inviting colours of Mario Kart and the swirling lights of SingStar, we find a selection of insightful talking heads explaining the design philosophy, as well as paraphernalia from videogames’ increasingly rich history. Will Wright expounds on how SimCity engendered a move from far flung, often destructive scenarios to creative, relatable ones, whilst Tim Schafer’s application letter to LucasArts - a series of screenshots from a hypothetical job hunting game - contain clear signs of the humour that he later inflected on the company.

The sheer diversity on show here is indicative of how far the industry has come, neatly split into three sections by the museum. The first contains the aforementioned arcade cabinets, back from when games had names of people, not developers, attached to them. The oldest games on display here are excellent, without qualification. Missile Command paints with eight colours a picture of the Cold War as compelling as any from Fallout 3; there is no ‘Game Over’ screen, only ‘The End’, flashing white and red. Back then, design decisions, and even games themselves, at this time were often acts of serendipity, as too was possibly their very existence.

One of the first videogames - the self-explanatory Tennis for Two - was never designed for any reason, just the result of a researcher at a laboratory fiddling around with a machine used to plot missile trajectories. Mario’s famous moustache was created as moustaches required fewer pixels than mouths. The eponymous space invaders getting ever faster the more of them you destroyed can also be explained; with fewer sprites to display, the two megahertz chip was able to process them faster.

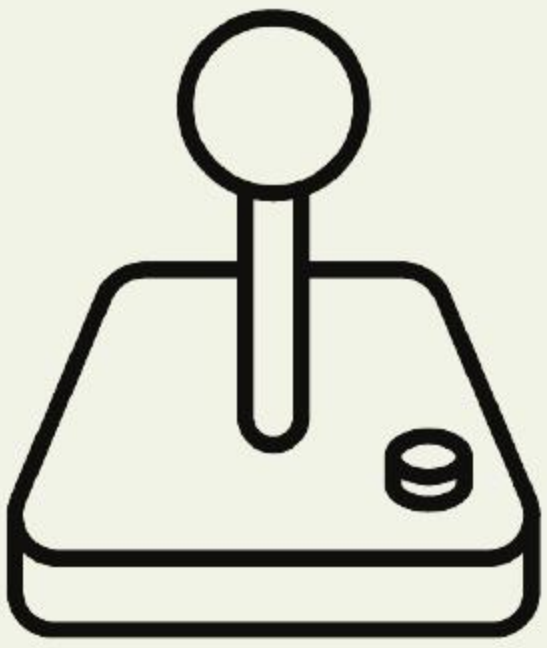
There remain brief glimpses of this in later games - on a design proposal for Deus Ex, Warren Spector is listed at the top of the tree as, ‘Creative Lead, Whatever’, indicative of the inevitability of problems when approaching the unknown. However, they are few and far between, and the lion’s share of the exhibition is taken up with a section called ‘Game Changers’, chock full of the slick titles with which we are familiar with today. It is a shame for that some of the older games run emulated on modern hardware - jarring examples in a museum of simulated-history, and the sheer amount of space devoted to the Lego series of games makes one wonder if developer Traveller’s Tales had a say in the museum.

Nevertheless, tucked away are gems, documents for an early version of Grand Theft Auto with ‘forget it’ scrawled over it; Scotland’s most famous virtual export was always close to be being canned, its complexity like ‘nailing jelly to kittens’. Elsewhere, a corner devoted to Tetsuya Mizaguchi’s work is a vivid demonstration of the possibility of the medium - Rez is a frenetic on the rails shooter where the combination of music and picture was meant to produce synesthesia. The Japanese version of the game went a step further, shipping with the dubiously titled ‘trance vibrator’.

Finally, there lies a room devoted to the purported ‘Indie Pioneers’, the Angry Birds and Minecrafts of the world. Suddenly, the decor changes - from the dim lighting of an arcade or bedroom, we are in a bright space, tablets strewn around invitingly, screens cluttered with high scores evaporate to leave gentle, minimalist worlds. Such games, such as the open ended Flower, are emblematic of the rise of a new type of game-player.

Whereas Mizaguchi saw his design philosophy - one that would later influence Guitar Hero- as being ‘I think, I feel, I react’, these new games seem typified by the absence of the latter. It is by doing so - relinquishing a quantifiable metric of how their audience should engage with them - that video games seem to be at a milestone point, drawing inviting comparisons with other art forms. No book scores you on how well you read it, no painting suddenly disappears - replaced with ‘Viewing Over’ - if you do not engage in a particular way.

It’s heady, exciting stuff, and one leaves the exhibition not only emboldened as to where the medium is going, but with a heightened reverence as to where it came from. With modern games now promising an exploration of complex emotions and moral choices equal to any other medium, there has never been a better time to explore the humble beginnings. Continue? Yes please.



‘Excavating the Community Spirit’: The Development and Benefits of Community Archaeology and Outreach

Kristie Yorkston

In recent years, the field of archaeology has made an effort to shift its focus onto outreach projects, to get young people involved in the subject, as well as anyone else who may be interested. This has motivated the move away from the purely academic side of archaeology and fieldwork, where only those with a background in the area could participate in aspects of archaeology beyond excavation or manual labour. We call this sector of outreach ‘community archaeology’.

Community archaeology has been widely beneficial to the public – not to mention those who study it - allowing people to turn up to an excavation site on a voluntary basis. There are no strict rules concerning how long you should be there, and you do not have to dig for the whole day on site. This new aspect to the subject has been particularly great for students, as it means they can gain fieldwork experience, without a fee, in excavation techniques as well as in the planning and processing stages. It can often cost hundreds of pounds to join a field school to learn these skills in a more formal research-based setting.

Now, it is true that community digs may not be overly filled with finds of burials and exciting treasures, but it is still valuable experience, and with the introduction of David Connolly’s (British Archaeological Jobs and Resources) ‘Skills Passport’, it is a great way to have your skills recognised. Not to mention, a great amount of fun can be had on a community dig. There is honestly nothing like a hard day’s work with a friendly group of people - including children, the retired and students from other subjects in the Humanities and Arts - and you will often find yourself working with the same people again.

There is a great strain in archaeology today to enthuse and involved more young people. In the School of History, Classics and Archaeology, we have our own group, Edinburgh Archaeology Outreach Project (EAOP), to do this very job. They go out to youth groups and primary schools to work with young people, teaching them the skills of an archaeologist. Many commercial firms are now doing the same. With every excavation project that they undertake, they will go into a local primary school or high school and inform them of the work they do, and hold open weekends where members of the public can come along and participate. Often it is family groups who will turn up to take part on these weekends. Within the HCA School, we also have the Scottish Cultural and Heritage Volunteer Group (SCH) who promote volunteer positions within the heritage sector. We obviously have a consciousness in the University that we need to promote outreach of the Humanities subjects. The two groups that I have mentioned have only been recently established.

The Council for British Archaeology (CBA), the charity behind the magazine British Archaeology, have an entire section of their website dedicated to community archaeology, with an annual award for ‘Best Community Engagement’, and provide bursaries for groups and individuals who want to learn about bringing archaeology to their communities. The CBA motto, ‘archaeology for all’, explains their focus in supporting the outreach of archaeology.

In 2014, the Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage was released, specifically for articles concerning community archaeology. There are now also conferences for ‘Community Heritage and Archaeology’, suggesting that community archaeology has become a prominent part of the field, and a key skill to being an archaeologist today. The need to reach out and teach what you know, inspiring people to enter archaeology, is now essential. As archaeology is a vocational and practical subject, it is easy to bring people in and keep them interested. This boom in outreach archaeology has undoubtedly been a milestone within the subject. It is likely that more companies will engage with community archaeology, and Masters programmes will become more available in the subject.

If you are interested in reading more about community archaeology, there is a discussion in Public Archaeology, 7:2, titled ‘Evaluating Community Archaeology in the UK,’ by Faye Simpson and Howard Williams. Also, if you are interested in getting your own hands-on approach to archaeology and heritage, I recommend joining the voluntary groups EAOP and SCH here at the University of Edinburgh.

Is there More to Churchill than meets the Eye?

Josh Stein

Winston Churchill's personal image is something of a war hero, an embodiment of the fight against fascism, and someone we Brits are meant to take as a role model. Yet fifty years on from his death, is the general interpretation and regard for Churchill overshadowing the real personality that lay beneath the iconic hat and cigar? We are taught from a young age that Churchill was the 'beacon of light' that realised the catastrophic implications of appeasement, and hence saved mankind from the Nazi regime.

This, on the face of it, is true. Winston Churchill did lead Britain to victory, and it would be distasteful and unjust to discount this achievement from his timeline. There is an obligation for anyone British to be exposed to his speeches; he was undeniably an extremely talented orator and wartime leader. Statements such as, "Never was so much owed by so many to so few," and, "Success is not final, failure is not fatal: it is the courage to continue that counts," have been engraved into British folklore, representing an ideal for all citizens to aspire to.

His cigars and preference for Homburg hats created an iconic image of a leader who reversed the tragically ineffective policy of appeasement, and turned the tide of the Second World War, driving the Nazis out of Western Europe and out of business. His leadership during the Battle of Britain and the D-Day landings, both iconic symbols of freedom, exemplify him as the British bastion of democracy. He was also a distinguished social reformer in his days as a Liberal MP, campaigning for better working conditions in factories and coal mines.

He was one of the first to act on Seebohm Rowntree's findings of widespread poverty in York that was damaging the potential economic output of the country. Along with David Lloyd George and Herbert Asquith, Churchill developed the foundations of what we would call the modern welfare state, with the first British pension schemes and free school meals. Nonetheless, it is clear that this was principally to improve the strength of the military forces; a direct response to the Boer War which had severely dented the Empire's reputation. Churchill's obsession with the Empire was effectively the cornerstone of his policies and beliefs.

On the fiftieth anniversary of his death, 24 January 2015, David Cameron said Churchill represented a role model for all British citizens as someone who fought against "every affront to freedom in this century". Despite this, in the seventy years since the end of the Second World War, and with the gradual but painful end to the Western imperial empire, Churchill's support of the imperial era and supposedly backward ideology have come to light. Although Churchill does represent the eventual defeat of the Nazis and the end of the Second World War in Europe, does his almost deification protect other elements of his character from public view? Are we taught just one side of his story?

A deeper analysis of Winston Churchill reveals distinct statements which do not conform to Mr. Cameron's description. In fact, a closer examination of Churchill's personality completely contradicts his supposed immortalization. His strong support of the Aryan ideology is clearly shown in various statements made during his time in the British Army. His eager involvement in the Boer War and indeed in the maintenance of the British concentration camps was something he boasted about and highlighted in his diaries.

As an MP, Churchill relentlessly encouraged both the continuation and expansion of the imperial program, commenting in 1920 that he was "strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes." This was in direct reference to the British suppression of the Kurdish rebellion of that year. In a statement about Mahatma Gandhi, indisputably one of the other 'bastions of democracy' of the twentieth century, Churchill suggested to a startled news reporter that Gandhi be "lain bound hand and foot at the gates of Delhi, and then trampled on by an enormous elephant with the new Viceroy seated on its back."

A strong supporter of eugenics and a propagator of the Mental Deficiency Act of 1913, Churchill's convictions represent a collection of archaic principles which in today's society would be completely disowned. The act defined four different groups of people who should be 'detained for life,' and encouraged the forced sterilisation of the 'feeble-minded' in order to avoid the contamination of British 'Aryanism'. The image of Churchill in the West is undoubtedly not the whole story. His success in leading Britain and the Allies out of a supposedly helpless situation with the Allied victory at the Battle for Britain and the successful invasion of France in 1944, have for the most part overshadowed the less politically acceptable elements of his rhetoric and demeanour. To elect him as the Greatest Briton of All Time, as was done in a BBC poll in 2002, is to dangerously ignore his archaic nature of his ideology.

None of this, however, means that Churchill should be discounted as a role model entirely, and placed in the same category as Jack the Ripper and Emperor Nero. There must be a middle ground in which his role in mobilising Britain and the Allies towards victory is also remembered and revered. Regardless of his ideology, the hard fact remains that he was instrumental in the demise of the Nazi regime, the odds of which were close to zero when he came into office.

The Longest March Of All: Washington, 1963

Charles Nurick

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom took place on 28th August 1963. Around 250,000 Americans turned out in support of the fight for the civil rights of African Americans, and to put an end to racial discrimination in the United States. Of course, this was not a march that had only just begun; this was a march that had its roots buried decades before, culminating in the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

For many, the first tentative steps were taken nearly a century prior to this in 1865, when the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was officially adopted. A landmark piece of legislation, the Thirteenth Amendment abolished all slavery in the United States, and involuntary servitude was now only legal as a form of punishment. This was a step in the right direction, but still a long way away from what many African Americans dreamed of - complete racial equality.

The passing of the 1866 Civil Rights Act was yet another positive advancement in what seemed like a determined push to improve the lives of black Americans, but it was an undoubted false dawn. 'Black Codes' swept across the southern states, where slavery was still very much seen as a God-given right. These codes aimed to restrict the civil liberties of African Americans – most of whom were former slaves – and forced them into either debt or low paid labour. Worse was to come, however.

In the 1870s, many African Americans found themselves fearing for their lives on a daily basis. Violent white supremacists – such as the Ku Klux Klan – hunted blacks like game, and enforced policies of discrimination through the likes of the Jim Crow laws. Institutionalised racism solidified itself in American minds, especially those in the South, for decades: legal discrimination was prevalent, and fear was used to dissuade black Americans from exercising their limited voting rights.

None of this compared to the horror of the rise of lynching. While other ethnic groups, including some whites, were the target of mob violence, African Americans received the full force of this brutal practice, which regularly saw its victims mutilated – often whilst still alive – through decapitation, burning and beatings, before being hanged to act as a warning to all others in the community. Despite being outside the law, little was done to stop these attacks, with instances of lynching even taking place outside courts when the mob felt that the accused had not received sufficient punishment for their crimes.

Race relations continued to deteriorate following the turn of the century. Lynching remained prevalent, as did racial segregation and discrimination. But seeds of change were beginning to be sewn. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1909 by a group of both black and white Americans, keen to eradicate the discrimination, violence and unethical treatment directed towards 'people of colour' in the United States. The NAACP focused on nonviolent, indirect action by lobbying courts, pushing for legislation and educating the public on the issues disenfranchisement and lynching.

Successes were limited until 1954, with the landmark case of Brown vs. Board of Education - overturning the 1896 ruling of Plessy vs. Ferguson – that decreed segregated public schools were unconstitutional. A major milestone on the road to equality, this passing gave hope to African-Americans across the country, and acted as a breakthrough for the Civil Rights Movement. Perhaps even more famously was the case of Rosa Parks, a black woman who refused to give up her seat to a white man, thus triggering an unprecedented chain of events. Following her arrest, the NAACP organised the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 that protested the segregation on public transport, despite the fact that a majority of passengers were black. After over a year, the federal government felt compelled to take action, and ruled that segregated buses were also unconstitutional - yet another significant step.

As the NAACP continued to grow in support, other civil rights organisations began to spring up throughout America. With the inspirational and charismatic Martin Luther King Jr. at its head, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was founded in 1957, while the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) appeared shortly after in 1960. Both groups shared similar values, in contrast to that of the NAACP. While still believing in nonviolent strategy, their tactics were direct in a deliberate attempt to destabilise the everyday lives of white Americans. Sit-ins at segregated restaurants and shops, freedom rides across states, and educational programmes were all utilised by these groups in an attempt to alert the rest of America to their plight.

Peaceful action proved to be of some success for the civil rights movement. The unprovoked police brutality, witnessed by many on television, led to greater sympathy and support for African-Americans. With support growing amongst the general public, so too was the pressure on President Kennedy. As Dr. King stood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, proclaiming his dream of an equal and fair society, Kennedy had a dream of his own. In the wake of the March on Washington, civil rights leaders met with the President to discuss the passing of the Civil Rights Act, something which Kennedy was keen to be seen promoting; there was a perception of reaction rather than action when it came to racism. Despite his best efforts, he struggled to convince Congress, and soon found himself at a dead end.

Kennedy's assassination in 1963 sent shockwaves across America, but it also provided a lifeline for the faltering Civil Rights Act. Incumbent president Lyndon B. Johnson used his influence to persuade Congress of the act's merits, citing respect of Kennedy's memory as one major reason for its passing. It proved a success, and in 1964 the Civil Rights Act was officially passed, promising to outlaw discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, colour or national origin. But that is not the end of the road.

To this day, the march continues as African Americans still seek complete racial equality. The passing of the Civil Rights Act was an undoubted milestone in both black and American history, but remains just a marker on the ever-lasting journey.

David Marcu

reviews

'71: A Bloody Truth

Frances Roe

I was expecting a powerful and touching narrative of life in Belfast at the height of the Troubles. What I got was more intense and affecting than I thought possible. As an ancestrally Irish catholic, I was ready for my natural bias against the British and Protestants to claim my perception of the film.

Nevertheless, the equality with which the director, Yann Demange, and the writer, Gregory Burke, presented each of the conflicting factions was incredible. There was sympathy and hostility towards all in equal measure. What was clear throughout the film were the realities of life for the civilians of Belfast. Despite it being a film, with a largely fabricated storyline following Private Gary Hook (Jack O'Connell) in his journey back through the IRA stronghold to his barracks, the situations and violence were all too real.

Jack O'Connell was outstanding, as were the rest of the cast. Whilst he had significantly few lines, his skill and emotional range were intense and brilliant. His shocked silences reflected your own speechless reaction as a spectator to the horrific events that occur. The Derbyshire born Gary Hook acted as your tour guide through the ramshackle and bomb damaged streets of east Belfast.

The idea of the city as a war zone was extremely visceral. The film did not present a war between armies, but one between an army and the people: men, women and children. This was made all the more profound by the series of tragic deaths which took place throughout the narrative - no one is safe from the violence.

The hundred minutes of the film felt like a nightmare from which there was no escape. The intensity of the environment combined with the blackness of night in which it takes place is tremendous. The darkness and 'real-life' camera work created the feeling that you were right there with the Hook, just as vulnerable as he was, and sharing his terrible awe of the lawless and corrupt nature of the conflict.

The Troubles of the 20th century, I feel, are largely overlooked when it comes to retellings. It is a subject which is wrongly bypassed as a source for film, being so close to home in both history and geography, and something that in many ways is still going on today. The twentieth century is seen as the climax of centuries of the old 'Irish Question' - the issue of what England should do with their 'First Colony', Ireland. Following hundreds of years of Catholic repression and random massacre, such as those of Oliver Cromwell's army in 1649 at Drogheda and Wexford, the twentieth century saw an incredible surge of violence and uprisings.

The inescapable atmosphere created by the film is balanced by its relative shortness. Viewing is an intense, yet quick, experience, which totally envelopes your mind for the hundred minutes or its duration. Due to my Irish roots I was very interested in discovering some of the concentrated history of my country and it tumultuous past. As much as it is a film about Irish history, it is also one of English and British history as a whole. No matter where you heed from, you will discover something of your own heritage.

Jungle Atlantis

Lucy Hughes

Set in the jungle of Cambodia, the BBC has created a captivating and illuminating two-part documentary series focusing on the Khmer Empire, which ruled over most of South East Asia for around 600 years from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries. The rich heritage of the Kingdom of Cambodia is based on the story of how the biggest super power to exist in South East Asia fell quite suddenly into ruin after abandoning its capital city 'Angkor'. For over 100 years, researchers have tried to discover what caused the demise of the empire by looking at what remains of it today within the temples consumed by the Cambodian jungle. Although there is much in the way of religious buildings which have survived to be studied, the people behind these structures are still an enigma to historians and archaeologists.

Angkor Wat is seen as the pinnacle of the spectacular medieval architecture of the Khmer Empire and is still the largest surviving religious monument in the world, used by Khmer people today for worship as well as drawing millions from around the globe to witness its immense beauty. However, this documentary goes beyond the traditional exploration of Angkor Wat and showcases new technology which, for the first time in history, has uncovered an incredible and breath-taking revelation of the extent of the Khmer Empire's construction around the revered temple. Seen as a scientific revolution, 'LiDAR' technology uses laser scanning to look underneath the surface jungle and can find traces of buildings and the foundations of Khmer civilization which no longer exist above ground. The structures it detects would have been made from degradable materials such as wood, which unlike the stone of the temple ruins, has been completely swallowed by the jungle and so is invisible to naked eye. By using the innovation of 'LiDAR', archaeologists have discovered that a huge metropolis surrounded Angkor Wat, complete with canal networks for transport and thousands of houses and monasteries. It confirms that the total size of this huge capital city surrounding Angkor Wat would have had up to 750,000 inhabitants, at a time when London only had 18,000 people. This new knowledge of the metropolis surrounding the temple ruins offers the first real insight into the every-day life of those who lived there.

The programme is an intriguing exploration of how developments in technology have allowed researchers to speed up their findings, which would have previously taken decades to discover using archaeologists on the ground. The first episode focuses more on the technology itself and this transformation of research techniques, while the second then tries to answer the ultimate question on which this research is based. What really happened to the Khmer Empire when it abandoned the capital city of Angkor and allowed its incredible temples to crumble into the spectacular archaeological sites they are today? To uncover part of this mysterious historical enigma, you will just have to watch and find out for yourselves...

Massacre in the City of Life and Death

Pablo Perez Ruiz

Nanking, 1937. Second Sino-Japanese War. The capital of the Republic of China had been captured by the Japanese Army, and what would happen next was to be one of the most terrifying massacres of modern human history. Director Lu Chuan has rediscovered China's history in his film, making the past accessible to all through his deeply emotional, black and white, highly-graphic portrait of the massacre. Dialogues are short and scarce, however, the strength of the imagery throughout compensates for and exceeds the effects which dialogue could provide. The film explicitly depicts mass extermination, rape, and the continuous conscious violation of human rights; having a strong character is compulsory in order to view it without breaking down emotionally.

Despite its controversy in China regarding the sympathetic portrayal of Kadokawa, one of the Japanese officials, the film perfectly captures the atmosphere of the moment - the brutality of the Japanese forces, the hopeless Chinese captives, and the permanent impotence of the International Red Cross to provide a safety zone. Lu Chuan also situates the film within its wider historical context, with high tensions in Europe explored through the character of Mr. Rabe, a German businessman and Nazi Party member running the Nanking Safety Zone. The increasingly aggressive and unstable nature of the Nazi regime is made obvious when Mr. Rabe is asked by his superiors to return home due to the affinity growing between the Germans and the Japanese. The realm of international politics is suddenly confronted with the most

humane aspects of reality when the destiny of Mr. Rabe's secretary, Tang, as well as those of most of the Chinese civilians living in the Safety Zone, are left in the hands of the Japanese soldiers.

Tang's personal story is truly powerful not only because of his brilliant character development, but because he encompasses the sentiment of the Chinese population captive in Nanking. Constant uncertainty and fear of death are captured by the permanent background of shootings and misery. Atrocities keep recurring, and the film ends in an unstable equilibrium: the surviving civilians fly, but their hopes to survive are naïve. The war has just started.

Highly captivating, the film constitutes an accessible historical account of the massacre. Despite his fictional approach, Lu Chuan interviewed several Japanese soldiers who occupied Nanking, and characters such as the German businessman, Mr. Rabe, are based on historical ones. Historians still lack enough information concerning aspects such as the total death toll, as many secret records were destroyed after the defeat of Japan in 1945. Lu Chuan has been able to rediscover China's past by revisiting one of the most shocking episodes in its history. The atrocities committed by the Japanese are depicted to their full extent and without any censorship. However, a sympathetic approach to the Japanese as more than simply 'monstrous' is also possible through the character of Kadokawa. Thus, the film brings back to the table an episode of the Sino-Japanese relations which is still highly contentious in modern historiography. It is through chronicles such as *City of Life and Death* that modern audiences, and even more those alien to the history of the region, can start to discover and dig into the past.

Frankenstein

Anna McKay

In the introduction to his 2011 production of *Frankenstein*, Danny Boyle claims that Mary Shelley's story, "endures because we want to know who made us". His production is truly centred around human discovery, exploring our origins and recovering the processes which have developed and shaped European civilisation.

The development of Dr Frankenstein's nameless creation, crudely labelled his "monster", represents the processes of human learning and the discovery of the world itself on stage. In the introduction to the cinema version, Boyle claims that, unlike the many hackneyed films of the twentieth century, his production will give the "monster" a voice - and he truly does.

I recently saw *Frankenstein* in a cinema reshowing of the acclaimed National Theatre production, and was struck by the extent to which Nick Dear's script questioned the ethics of scientific discovery and the concept that Europe is "civilised". Despite a fantastic ensemble cast, the acting abilities of Benedict Cumberbatch as the "monster" and Johnny Lee Miller as Victor Frankenstein stole the show, and ensured that the audience's focus was centred around the uncomfortable relationship between the creature and the creator. Frankenstein's first conversation with his creation at Geneva brings the ethics of discovery explicitly to the foreground of the play.

Up to this point, the audience has been forced to watch the "monster" in a long scene at the start of the play as he is born, and painfully learns to walk. I watched the confrontation fully on the side of the "monster", having seen the cruelty with which he is received by the world, and being invested empathically in his development. Frankenstein's claim in this scene to have created him merely because he could, exposes his (undeniably immense) scientific breakthrough as a selfish endeavour, and one which Victor falsely masks later in the play as a medical aid for society. The 19th century gothic world of the play clearly challenges the modern audience - it is impossible not to be disillusioned by this presentation of scientific discovery.

The play rediscovers Mary Shelley's original book *Frankenstein: Or, The Original Prometheus* published in 1818, presenting it to a modern audience and proving that its relevance transcends history. *Frankenstein* has long been connected to Shelley's personal life; her mother, Mary Wollstonecraft, died not long after giving birth, and Shelley herself lost three children. The issue of parenthood which pervades the novel is maintained in the play, as Frankenstein's creation frequently blames his demoralised state upon his abandonment at birth.

The "monster's" discovery of the cruelty of humanity in nineteenth-century Switzerland - emphasised by the graphic beatings which he is repeatedly subject to on stage - further reflects the ideology behind Shelley's novel. The blame for his decline into immorality and murder unequivocally falls upon society, and the dysfunctional father-figure of Frankenstein himself, as it does in Shelley's text. The audience is thus presented with a strong sense of Shelley's disillusionment with her own society, and the uncomfortable idea that the twenty-first century world is not all that different.

Danny Boyle's production rediscovers Shelley's text for the modern audience while also exploring the ethics of discovery itself. Just as the "monster" discovers first the beauty and then the cruelty of the world, the play asks us to recognise the duality of our society, and the potential extents of human brutality. Ultimately, it is the acting power of Benedict Cumberbatch and Jonny Lee Miller which truly draws us into the gothic world of Shelley's imagination, challenging us to reflect upon the moral realities of science

American Sniper

Flo McMullen

Set against the bleak, grey backdrop of war-torn Iraq, director Clint Eastwood's 34th film maps the journey of U.S Navy SEAL from a struggling cowboy to America's most notorious sniper. Adapted from Chris Kyle's autobiography, Eastwood creates an absorbing fusion between the horrors of war and the struggles and hopes of everyday civilian life.

Bradley Cooper, who gained 40 pounds to more accurately play the role, gives a stunning performance as Kyle. He is depicted as a man committed to protecting his fellow soldiers, whilst at the same attempting to forge a life with his wife Taya (Sienna Miller) and their two children (presented as incredibly fake babies).

Eastwood's presentation of Kyle's career is evidently slightly sugarcoated; little attention is paid to the impact of Kyle's accredited 160 kills. Despite this, Cooper's gripping performance exudes intense tension, revealing Kyle's personal battle with internal demons. The sound of gunfire in Kyle's subconsciousness, and his consistent fear whilst home from war, makes for edge of the seat viewing. Eastwood therefore, creates subtle undertones throughout his work concerning the harrowing effects of war for both sides, whilst not detracting from Kyle's individual contributions and determination.

Significantly, in a film concerning one of the most controversial conflicts in recent times, Eastwood effectively presents the confusion of war's message. It is largely through the voice of Kyle's fellow soldier, Marc Lee (Luke Grimes), from which comes the questioning of America's mission in Iraq. Similarly, Kyle is plagued by his rival sniper on the opposing side, thus creating a mirror image which begs the question as to whether they are so different after all.

In a haunting opening scene, Chris Kyle's first 'kill' in Iraq is devastating; a young boy holding a grenade. Eastwood mirrors this image in an equally chilling and disturbing scene featuring the drill-wielding 'Butcher' murdering another young boy. Evidently these images dispel criticisms of Eastwood's work as glorifying America's involvement in Iraq, or of Kyle's 160 kills. Instead, they critically reveal the atrocities on both sides, which result from war, arguably making this an anti-war epic. Chris Kyle is pictured leaving Iraq in a blinding sandstorm, under a hail of Iraqi and American gunfire; suggesting that in war nobody knows who they're really aiming at.

Vikings

Anna McKay

The immensely popular drama series Vikings, based on the life of the legendary Viking hero Ragnar Lothbrok, first hit television screens in America on the History Channel in 2013.

This February, the historical drama entered into its third series, and each episode is being broadcast on Amazon Prime the day after its American showing - a testament to its quality and popularity. This year marks the 1150th anniversary of Ragnar Lothbrok's death, and it seems fitting that the mythology surrounding his life, and role in the Viking past which so influenced medieval European culture, is being explored.

The series taps into Scandinavian mythology and legends surrounding the great hero, drawing its material from several medieval literary works, including the Gesta Danorum or "Deeds of the Danes" (c. 1185), and later Icelandic works Ragnars saga loðbrókar (The Tale of Ragnar Lodbrok) and Þáttr af Ragnars sonum (The Tale of Ragnar's Sons). While the series may not be absolutely true to these sources, it works to develop a vivid representation of the violence and contradictions inherent in Viking society - not usually a popular subject on screen.

The series is deeply concerned with presenting Viking society at a human level, reminding the audience that they were not simply the mythical people we have come to know through their lore, and the popular Avengers' films. Depicting Ragnar's family, his wives and children, Vikings allows us to comprehend the Norsemen on a more human level, and envisage their Machiavellian political manoeuvring.

The clash between Pagan and Christian societies is also presented through a highly personalised lens. In season one, the monk Athelstan (George Blagden), is captured by Ragnar and his companions. Returning to Kattegat with the Norsemen, through a series of plot twists, Athelstan integrated into their culture. Throughout season two and the current episodes, the clash between cultures is played out as Athelstan returns to England, and becomes torn between his Christian origins, and adherence to the Vikings' religion. Interestingly, the meeting of the cultures is predominantly shown through the Vikings as focalisers, offering a fresh perspective of the time period which consistently works to explore the Norsemen's culture from within - on its own terms rather than as the "other".

The series envelops its audience in a world driven by magic and rituals. Making good use of the legendary sources, the drama is driven by prophecies which tease us with their elusive intangibility, yet offer a deeply satisfying direction to the narrative. Incredibly exciting, the series offers something for everyone. Its fast paced adventure narrative, together with intelligent character development, combines to create a fantastic three-dimensional drama. Vikings is the perfect series for anyone who loves history, fantasy, drama, politics, or just a good bit of gore.

American History Too! Podcasts

Mathew Nicolson

The podcast 'American History Too!' has proved to be a fascinating addition to the second-year undergraduate course American History 2. Hosted by Mark McLay and Malcolm Craig, the podcast provides the dual function of expanding upon the course content, particularly in regard to historiography, and as a useful revision resource.

Each episode of the podcast explores a different issue covered in the AH2 course, generally of a political nature, but usually with a wider discussion of the economic and social trends of the period. As an episode is published only every other week, it cannot cover every topic of the course, and certainly not every debate within the study of American History. Despite this, it does provide a reasonably in-depth overview of select topics from the course. This may, however, limit its appeal to those outside of the course with a passing interest in American History, as they might wonder why the podcast skips from the New Deal to McCarthyism without reference to the Second World War. Nevertheless, the discussion typically does a good job of contextualising the topic within wider historical movements thereby helping to smooth over the gaps forced by the podcast's schedule.

In terms of widening engagement within the course, the podcast has been a resounding success, letting the mind remain fixed on the great debates of American History when outside of the lecture theatre; one can evaluate the success of the New Deal from the bus to university, or examine Andrew Jackson's legacy during a climb of Arthur's Seat. The podcast is a handy way of continuing to study the course content when reading a book is unpractical, such as when travelling. It is also a welcome alternative when one's eyes reach that point in revision where they cannot absorb another page.

While podcasts cannot and should not replace lectures and seminars as sources of academic engagement, American History Too! has proven that podcasts can play a valuable role alongside these more traditional avenues of learning. It has highlighted the potential value podcasts can have in developing academia. This could take the form of introducing background podcasts for other courses, expanding existing seminar series, or as a medium for students and academics to share their ongoing research. Overall, American History Too! provides a great introduction to the main themes of American history and is well worth a listen.

Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg

Frances Roe

"It starts at five pm and finishes at ten thirty." Terrifying words anyone new to a Richard Wagner opera will hear and think, "can I do this?" The answer is yes, yes you can. Whilst being five hours long, The Mastersingers of Nuremberg (1868) is funny, moving and stirring. The three act opera tells the story of Sir Walther von Stolzing (Gwyn Hughes Jones) and Eva Pogner (Rachel Nicholls). They are in love but Eva's father, one of the guild of Mastersingers of Nuremberg, declares that she will be the prize of the singing competition to take place between his fellow Mastersingers. Sir Walther is unfortunately, not a Mastersinger, but he is helped by the beloved poet Mastersinger of the town: Hans Sachs (Iain Paterson). The comic villain of the piece is Sixtus Beckmesser (Andrew Shore), himself too, in love with Eva, but he is old and not quite to her taste.

The rules of the Mastersinger's guild are strict; like rules of poetry, if they are broken, the song is not counted as art, and thus the singer is disqualified. The kind cobbler, Sachs, teaches Walther the ways of the guild that finally culminates in the beautiful 'prize song' at the end of act three. Wagner's message is clear: German art must be celebrated and protected, but also recognised as something that must not be tied to rules.

The English National Opera (ENO) obviously put a lot into this immense production: the sixty-strong chorus were clothed in lavish medieval costume, and there was brocade as far as the eye could see. The ENO's efforts generally paid off, the enormous collage of German artists, composers, actors and singers made up the proscenium screen was indeed impressive. The staging was intriguing, if not requiring a bit too much moving around whilst the important scenes were taking place, drawing my eyes and ears away from the action, and towards some apprentices putting up pictures. The costumes were a melee of the good, the bad and the ugly; Eva was seemingly hated by the costume designer, and given a horrifically unflattering blue brocade sack-with-corset. Sachs' costume was a few decades ahead in style of everyone else's, representing him as a forward thinker in his time.

The standout performances were those of Iain Paterson as Hans Sachs, and Andrew Shore as Beckmesser. An announcement before the start of the performance proclaimed that in spite of Paterson being ill, he would still perform. Despite sounding ever so slightly nasal at times, Paterson was fantastic; his voice was powerful, delicate and beautifully evocative of Sachs' conflicted emotions. As the cobbler, Sachs, rolled out shoe metaphor after shoe metaphor, a trope that I would never have thought would be so powerful. Shore had brilliant comic timing as the 'panto' villain, his voice too, was wonderfully suited to his role.

Whilst the production had its flaws, the cast was immaculate, and the music enthralling. It does not feel five hours long because you are so captured by the story and the characters that it flies by. Do not be afraid of the five-hour opera.

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