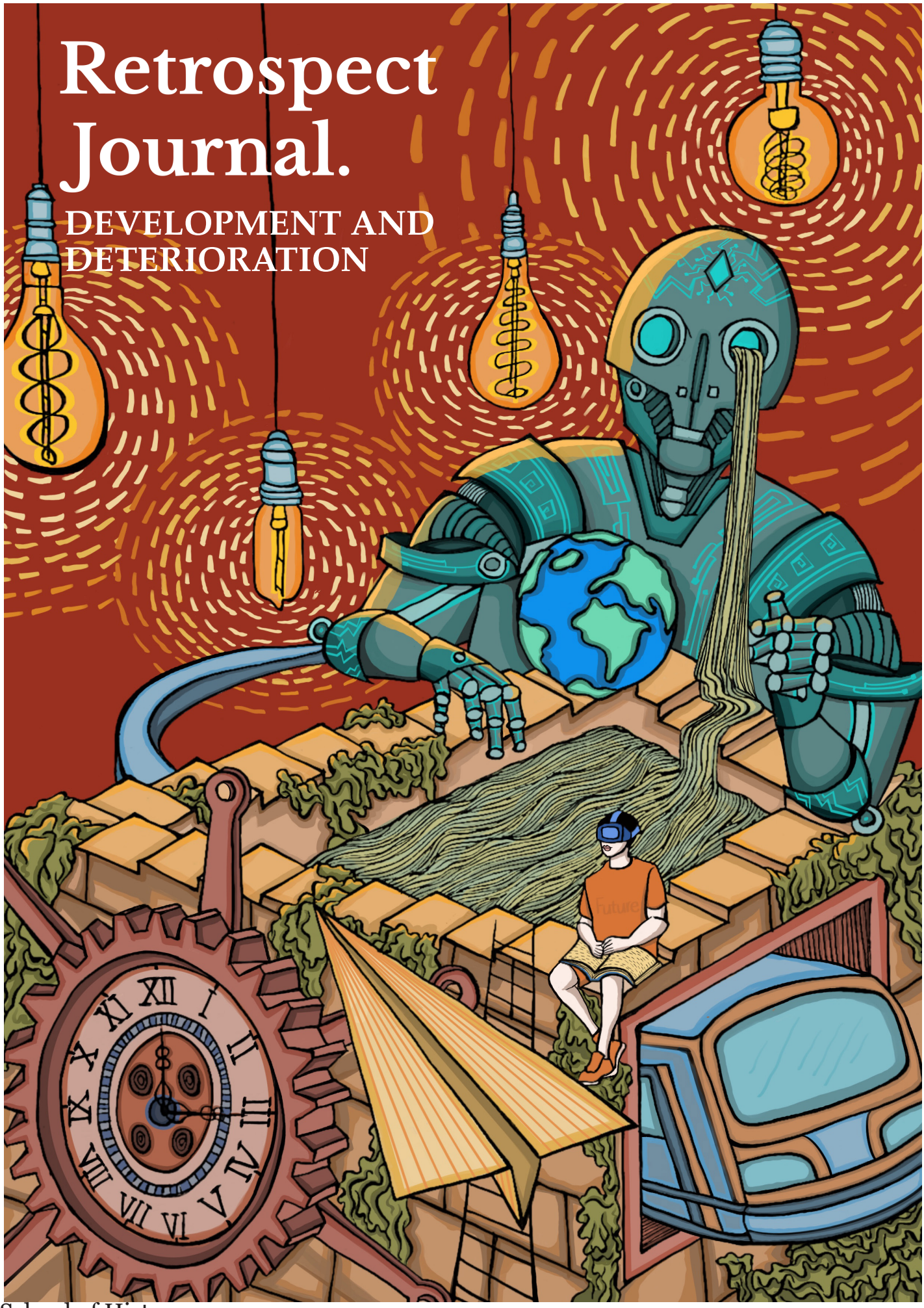
Retrospect Journal.

DEVELOPMENT AND DETERIORATION



School of History,
Classics, and Archaeology.

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The Team

From the Editor

Beginning my time as Retrospect's Editor in Chief during the height of 'freedom day' talk in the summer of 2021, it was easy to believe that the world was on its way out of crisis, that development was being made, and that the end of the tunnel was approaching. However, as we have learnt, there is not one straight path toward the end of a global crisis, and 'development' may not be a linear process. This is the idea we have chosen to reflect upon this semester, discussing the theme of 'Development and Deterioration.' Taking the principal of development, a hopeful idea – encapsulated in the image of a march toward enlightenment and modernity, and asking whether it is ever all-encompassing, whether progress can ever be seen without simultaneous deterioration, and whether there is even a 'goal' or 'endpoint' that we should be striving towards. Over the formation of History as an academic discipline, there have been changes in approaches to writing history, from those who believe that history is teleological – with each new change leading to the next in a chain that eventually leads to true modernity – to those who believe in a sceptical approach to history, disregarding the idea of linear progress in favour of 'micro-histories' looking at a time or place in isolation from the so-called 'bigger picture' of time.

In asking our contributors this question, we have sparked an ongoing conversation on the meaning of History, Classics, and Archaeology. As historians, we are first and foremost storytellers. However, a story, unlike history, will usually have a neat arc - a beginning, middle, and happily ever after. History does not afford us that same luxury, and it is not our job to impose such a structure merely to make the past easier to understand. The result of our endeavour has been varied, with revisionist views on the Industrial Revolution and the Atlantic Slave Trade taking precedence, sitting alongside examinations of scientific and technological 'advancements' of the nineteenth century, and considerations of the changing views on race in the American South. Through all of these articles runs a thread of scepticism, an approach to historical analysis based on questions, rather than answers, and this is what I hope you will take away from this Journal, to continue asking questions rather than seeking to confirm the answers you think you will find.

Of course, all of this would not be possible without an incredibly talented team. Our columnists, who not only write for this print edition, but fortnightly (or monthly for our Junior Columnists) for our website; our copy editors, who read through each article and work with authors to produce the final version of pieces that you read; our illustrators, who beautifully turn words into pictures to accompany articles, and our Podcast Team, who have been working the past semester to produce a podcast which will be reaching you in mere weeks. It is not something that we take for granted to have found such a committed group, and we hope that you enjoy reading their work.

Final acknowledgements must go firstly to Melanie Wu, our cover designer, who has had to put up with my emails and messages for the whole festive period, and who has produced an amazing summation of this journal with her illustrations. Next, the senior editorial team, Melissa Kane, Inge Erdal, Tristan Craig, and Sofia Parkinson Klimaschewski. None of this would be possible without their dedication to Retrospect, and their immense patience for my ideas and love of spreadsheets. I couldn't ask for a better group of people to run the journal with.

Lastly, thank you to you – the reader! This semester has seen over sixty articles published on our website, now added to by the collection within this journal, and we have had some amazing feedback, as well as increased readership from month to month. So, thank you for reading our work, supporting our journal, and encouraging our enthusiasm for History, Classics, and Archaeology.

Happy reading!

Alice Goodwin
Editor in Chief

History Society

It's hard to believe how quickly this semester has flown by! After a challenging year in 2020 and early 2021, coming into this semester we knew little of what to expect. Nevertheless, the History Society has been hard at work, and has had a very successful semester planning various academic, social, well-being and sporting events and more! Our agendas have been jam-packed with both online and in-person events to keep us all connected. I am so grateful to have a wonderful committee who continue to work hard and host such thoughtful, inspiring and community-driven events. It feels only right to brag about their achievements this semester.

Our Welcome Week this year was particularly packed, as we held four events as well as our sporting taster sessions. Our Trip Secretaries, Sara and Clara, were busy as ever, hosting two events in Welcome Week: a trip to Edinburgh Castle and a professional walking tour of the city—both for free! To mark the end of Black History Month, our Trip Secretaries organised a walking tour with Lisa Williams, an honorary fellow of HCA, to showcase Edinburgh's Black History. They are now in full planning mode for our February Reading Week Trip to Krakow for which we are incredibly excited!

Our Academic Secretaries, Josh and Olivia, had a successful semester as well, planning innovative and creative events. We began this semester with 'What is History? Week,' a take on E.H. Carr's 1961 seminal work 'What is History?' which encouraged both staff and students to reflect on why we study history and where history has taken us. Later in the semester we were fortunate to be joined by Dr. Maria Williams from the University of Alaska at Anchorage to celebrate Native American Heritage Month. We learned about the history of Alaska Native peoples and the current cultural renaissance taking place in music and dance.

We were so excited to have been able to host in person social events again this year! Our Social Secretaries, Isla and Katie, have been busy at work, from planning pub nights to Halloween costume competitions. After a forced hiatus (thanks pandemic!) we were finally able to hold our annual Ceilidh again, which was held at Ghillie Dhu this year, and completely sold out in a matter of hours. It was a wonderful way to celebrate the end of the semester and see everyone strap on their dancing shoes!

Similarly, our Student Experience Officers, Hela and Lucy, have been diligently working towards creating community as well as support and welfare networks within our school. They have been dedicated to HCA's new initiative, Academic Clans, which pairs first year and honours years students. They also planned events such as the 'Pre-Honours Know It All' which aimed to provide pre-honours students with tips and knowledge from older years. In addition to this, they have also collaborated with Health in Mind, a charity which promotes positive mental health and well-being in Scotland.

Our Postgraduate Representative, Daniel, has worked non-stop to plan events for both our post-graduate student body and aspiring post-graduates alike. From Gin Distillery Tours and Tastings, to a Q&A on how to get a PhD in History, to a subsidised trip for Scotland v Japan Women's Rugby. We really have organised it all!

Our Sports teams also deserve a shout-out this semester. Our Men's Football Team, led by Ollie, and our Men's Rugby Team, led by Angus and James raised £440 and £1101 respectively for Movember. All of our sports teams, Football, Rugby, Women's Netball led by Romi and Hockey led by Anneke, have had some great wins this semester and do an incredible job of fostering team spirit, from karaoke nights, to joint socials and more!

We are also so excited to welcome our two First Year Reps, Chelsea and Logan, and can't wait to see their exciting plans for next semester!

Lastly, we loved being able to collaborate with our friends in Classics Soc and Archaeology Soc for a William Robertson Wing Showdown with the HCA Societies Pub Quiz. We may not have emerged victorious (congrats to ArchSoc) but we had a great time fostering community (and maybe some light competition) in our school. Hopefully there's room in the future for many more Doorway Four Battles!

We know that this past year and a half of pandemic and the transition to being back on campus has not been easy on anyone. We at the History Society are dedicated to fostering community and support networks in our School. That said, we are open to any feedback or event ideas that would benefit students so please get in touch!

We have so many great events planned as well as long term projects finally coming into fruition in the next semester, and we cannot wait!

I feel incredibly lucky to be a part of a School with such an active and inspirational student body. Special thanks to you all for making it such a great semester. I hope you have a lovely and well-deserved Winter Break and we'll see you in January!

Scarlett Kiaras-Attari
History Society President 2021-2022

Archaeology Society

Hello!

It has truly been a pleasure to start my last year at Edinburgh as Archsoc president. After two very difficult years for all, I think I speak for all the committee when I say all our in-person events mean a lot to us. We can finally get to chat over coffee, laugh at silly archaeology jokes, bond over our niche passions, and of course get the rush of finding something in the mud once again! I have loved every minute of meeting new and old members; you truly are a lovely bunch. We hope we have created a welcoming atmosphere for you, and I encourage anybody, no matter your degree, to join us at our events! We would love to see you there.
Semester 1 has been filled with a varied range of events this year. We started Welcome Week 2021 with an online games evening, which ended with most participants in tears of laughter. Our second event was equally as entertaining! Mark Seaborne from Dunfermline Abbey kindly brought some artefacts down to the Meadows for our Welcome Week picnic. We spent a sunny afternoon on the grass, eating snacks, drinking coffee and cleaning bones. What could be better?

Our social secretary Ross Dempster worked hard all semester to provide a range of non-alcoholic and online events to make sure our members could be involved in the society comfortably! We held a coffee morning every other Wednesday in Teviot, which was a real success. I love any excuse for a coffee, but these mornings have been the best way to get to know our members. After a tough year, it's nice to be able to just relax in between the workload and support each other. To add to the Archsoc experience our executive, Darcey Spenner, Patrícia Hromadová and I, worked hard to bring Archsoc merchandise to members during first semester. We offered hoodies, beanies, mugs, and stickers, which all went down a treat. Ross also organized movie evenings online, and even brought back the games night in person! We had an excellent evening seeing some of our members' competitive streak come out, as we chilled out on the Teviot sofas for an evening of cards and board games. Our committee outdid themselves by creating and orchestrating a ghost tour down the Royal Mile for Halloween. Each told a spooky story at different locations, using their own research, before heading to the Tron for a few well-deserved pints. Another successful event, and we're proud to have provided all first semester events for free to members!

Another exciting development for Archsoc is that with the kind assistance of the Edinburgh Fieldwalking Society, we have started to dig at Cammo Estate every Monday. We hope to continue this into second semester, Covid dependent, so if you'd be interested in coming along, please get in contact. You don't need any experience to join, just Archsoc membership! Our academic events officer John Strachan has also provided us with an excellent range of individuals speaking from varied backgrounds to speak at our biweekly lecture series. I would like to thank all the amazing speakers for semester one: Jessica Nutt, Prof. Gordon Noble, Guillermo Diaz de Liano del Valle, Dr. Manuel Fernandez-Gotz, Dr. Joanne Rowland and Prof. Ioannis Liritzis.

Alex Straus-Jones has been working hard in his role as publicity officer and equality officer by creating informative posts on our social media. With the help of committee, he produced content and resource lists surrounding archaeology for Black History month and Disability History month. This important work in developing his role will continue in semester two, with a brand-new event Queering Archaeology. It will be held on 23rd February via Zoom during LGBTQ+ History Month. With some amazing keynote speakers from around the globe, and panel discussions on the experiences of queer archaeologists, this is not an event to miss! If you'd like to join us keep an eye out on our social media. Tickets will be free!
We are not slowing down for semester two. In fact, Archsoc are going full steam ahead into 2022 with a range of big events coming up! Our usual events will be continuing, such as Mondays digging at Cammo Estates and Wednesdays either at Teviot with our coffee morning or joining us for our lecture series. We will also have in person and online events scattered throughout the semester, so keep an eye out on our Instagram (@edinarch) and Facebook (@EdinburghArchSoc) or contact us via email (edin.archsoc@gmail.com) to find out more. If you're a member, Darcey's monthly newsletters will contain all the up-to-date information you need to get involved! We are starting the semester off with a bang with a Fieldwork Fair on 19th January, to advertise upcoming fieldwork with a range of members from the Archaeology department in attendance via Zoom.

Keep your diaries clear for the weekend of the 12th and 13th February, because we are hosting the annual Scottish Student Archaeology Society Conference 2022 (SSASC22) in the Playfair Library! This is an exciting opportunity in which students present their work, network with other archaeology students from around Scotland and meet professionals in the sector. We will be selling tickets via Eventbrite for the whole weekend including the student talks on Saturday, evening social on Saturday and professional panel talks on Sunday. Or, if you're not comfortable coming along in person, we will be streaming the event so you can watch on your sofa with a cuppa!

Following the new and exciting Queering Archaeology event, we are bringing back our successful annual Women in Heritage event on 12th March. This event has had great reviews in the past, and we cannot wait to welcome our keynote speaker and panellists this year, via Zoom, for an exciting discussion about women and non-binary people in the Archaeology sector. It's a great space to support one another, discuss experiences and recognise the important work of each other, no matter the stage in your career.
Thank you to all the Archsoc committee for overcoming the challenges of the last few months, I can't wait to work with

you again for another semester. I also give my greatest thanks to all our members for attending events and HCA staff for supporting us. You give us the energy to continue through these strange times. Finally, I want to say a big thank you to Retrospect for providing us with the opportunity to share our society shenanigans with you all and I look forward to reading this exciting issue!

Becky Underwood
Archaeology Society President 2021-2022

Classics Society

The Classics society is excited for our social calendar in this new year, even if it is a bit adjusted once again. We have some exciting academic talks coming this semester starting with Mathura Umachandran on 'South Asian Identity in Classics' on the 18th January. Keep an eye on our social media for updates on our events throughout the semester to make sure you don't miss out!

The Development of Our Understanding of Ancient Greek Tyrants and How They Came to Power

By Alex Smith

Archaic Greek history is dominated by men described as 'tyrants', leaders of various Greek city states who appear to have come to power by exploiting various cultural shifts and the failures of fellow members of the aristocracy. There is much debate in modern scholarship as to what defines an archaic Greek tyrant. Traditionally, scholars have used descriptions given by later Greek historians like Thucydides, Herodotus, and Aristotle – which depict tyrants as those who despotically overturn the constitution – and have accepted the definitions these produce. However, none of the historians liked those described as tyrants, and they were influenced by contemporaneous fourth-century political issues. This means that there is huge disagreement among modern scholars over what it means to be a tyrant and whether the term is indeed anachronistic.

Antony Andrewes' definition of a tyrant as, "...roughly what we should call a dictator, a man who obtained sole power in the state and held it in defiance of any constitution that had existed previously. This may be done by mere force for the sake of personal power, but the common justification of dictatorship, then as now, was the dictator's ability to provide more effective government" exemplifies the traditional understanding of the term amongst scholars. Tyrants are also typically seen to benefit those outside elite circles.

One of the most well-known tyrants is Cypselus of Corinth. There are two accounts of how he came to power; the first can be found in Herodotus' Histories and the second is recorded by Nicolaus of Damascus in the fourth century BC but can be traced back to his contemporary Ephorus. Before Cypselus, the ruling aristocracy was a group called the Bacchiadae. They had originally helped the expansion of Corinth but became much weaker and could no longer use their past successes as a method of maintaining control. They were reportedly "harsh, oppressive and unpopular". According to Herodotus, the Bacchiadae married amongst themselves to maintain control of political power. Cypselus' mother, Labda, was reportedly a lame Bacchiad who was married to an outsider because no one amongst the Bacchiadae wanted to marry her.

After she became pregnant and oracles purportedly said that the child would take over Corinth, the Bacchiadae tried to kill him. However, Cypselus was hidden in a beehive and escaped. Now grown up and having visited the oracle at Delphi, Cypselus dramatically seized control of Corinth and exiled the Bacchiadae. In the other account, having returned from exile, he became popular with the ordinary citizens and was elected as a polemarch, a military leader; however, the account only describes his civilian exploits. He treated debtors well and was benevolent to the demos. Having gained support, he formed a party and then lead a coup to kill the king – the basileus – Patrocleides. The people replaced Patrocleides with Cypselus, who exiled the Bacchiadae and brought back those who had been exiled by them. Descriptions of oracles and the hero baby escaping wicked nobles are common in myths of founding heroes and deities and set the scene for the rest of the account. The description of the takeover itself contains not only 'heroic' details but also useful information. Nicolaus wrote:

"Kypselos came to Corinth and soon became a well-respected citizen among them, because he was seen as courageous, sensible and oriented towards the people, unlike the other Bakchiadai, who were arrogant and violent. And when he became polemarchos, he became even more popular, because of all the people who ever held that office, he did by far the best job. (...) Seeing that the Corinthians were hostile to the Bakchiadai but did not have a leader, he offered his services and led the people on. (...) When he had gathered a group of supporters, he killed the reigning king Patrokleides, for he was lawless and hated. And soon the people made Kypselos king in his stead. He allowed back the fugitives, and to those who had been deprived of their honour by the Bakchiadai, he restored it. Those who were not his friends were sent to a colony, so that he could rule over the others more easily."

Cypselus had grown up in exile. He returned and won the support of the people before killing an unjust king and taking his place. There are strong parallels between the story of Cypselus and stories of Zeus and other Greek heroes. The historical reality behind the account is either being framed or edited to portray Cypselus as a "divinely predestined glorious ruler". Nonetheless, there are things which can be learned from the account, as the events described after he returns from exile sound plausible. Cypselus' main strategy for gaining power was to secure the support of the demos, the non-elites, which then gave him the ability to gather the support of some of the nobles to launch a military coup. He took advantage of the people's dissatisfaction with the Bacchiadae and used it to give himself power, whilst simultaneously giving the people what they wanted. He peacefully built himself a power base whilst he was still weak, and then, as soon as he was strong enough, made his move. This element of Cypselus' character fits better with Herodotus' portrayal of him as ruthless: "Kypselos, however, when he had gained the tyranny, conducted

himself in this way: many of the Corinthians he drove into exile, many he deprived of their wealth, and by far the most he had killed."

Andrewes makes the case that Cypselus took advantage of the changes occurring across Greece whilst simultaneously benefitting from the local situation in Corinth, saying that there was a change in the way that the Greeks fought at the beginning of the seventh century. He argued that pre-archaic fighting had resembled that described in Homer, with lightly armoured nobles taking centre stage in duel-like fights on the battlefield. It later changed to Hoplite-style fighting, where formations and ordinary soldiers became more important. Andrewes argues that the reason this is so important is that tyrannies appear to emerge soon after, suggesting causation. The rise of the Hoplites led to the formation of something akin to a middle class, as the heavily armoured soldiers had to be able to pay for all their own equipment. This middle class wanted political power and would be equipped to demand it. There is no evidence that Cypselus used Hoplites in his coup, but he would have had armed followers and it is reported that he never had a bodyguard, suggesting he could trust his soldiers. The argument goes that his strategy involved taking advantage of the innovation in battlefield tactics, which also influenced politics, and using this new resource of well-equipped and disgruntled soldiers to put himself in charge.

Andrewes' argument would explain the tyranny of King

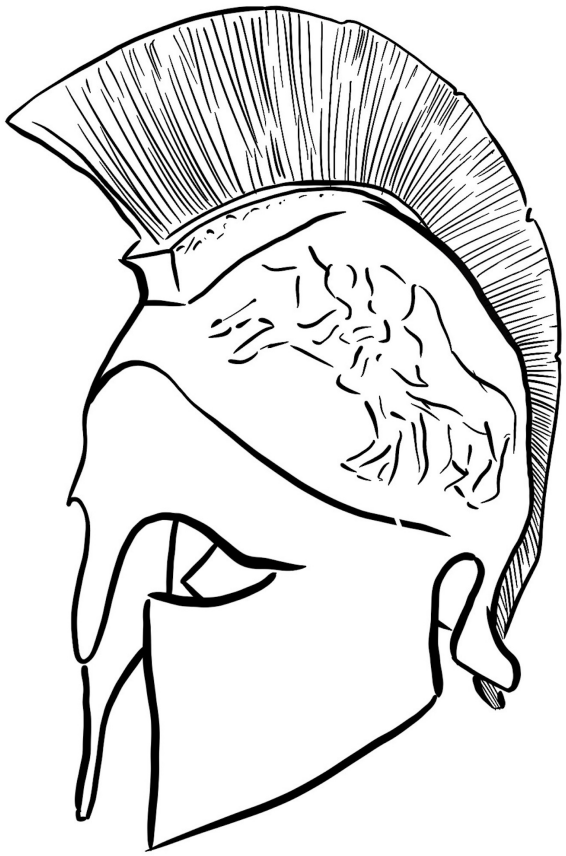


Illustration by Emily Geeson

Pheidon of Argos. Under Pheidon, Argos experienced a sudden increase in power and was able to win a war against Sparta. If Argos was amongst the first to use Hoplites, it would explain their sudden victories and why Pheidon is remembered as a tyrant. Aristotle suggests that the reason he was seen as a tyrant was because he did more than his hereditary powers should have allowed him to do. This makes sense as Ephorus describes the kings of Argos as mere figureheads at this stage. By adopting a Hoplite army, he would have dramatically increased his own power and decreased that of the nobles around him, explaining his tyrant status. Pheidon is another example of a tyrant whose strategy involved using the change in fighting style to increase his own power. However, more recent scholarship, including the work of Kurt Raaflaub, suggests that this is not the case. It is more likely that the development of equipment and the phalanx formation, which lead to the Hoplite fighting style, took much longer and that large groups fighting were more important than they were previously thought to be in the pre-Archaic period. This means that Cypselus did not use Hoplites in a unique way and that, whatever caused Pheidon's success, it was not a sudden adoption of Hoplite military tactics.

A more significant issue is Andrewes' reliance upon historians from the fourth and fifth centuries BC. Anderson has pointed out that that the constitutions described were not as rigid or encompassing as those around the fourth century, and so it was easier to circumvent them in the archaic period than later in Greek history. Later Greek historians did not take this into account and so saw earlier rulers, the tyrants, as circumventing their cities' constitutions, when they were in fact a natural result of the political process at the time. This signifies a huge shift in our understanding of Greek tyranny. By appealing to the people, Greek tyrants like Cypselus were not radically taking on their fellow aristocrats on behalf of the ordinary man but were instead playing the same political game and using the resources they had at their disposal to win. Overall, the development in our understanding of the change in battle tactics and the ways in which this affected archaic Greek politics, and the realisation that historians like Herodotus and Aristotle were writing more anachronistically than was previously thought, has had a massive impact on how we think about Greek tyranny.

The Deterioration of the Restoration Church in Scotland: Presbyterian Dissent and Government (Mis)management, 1662-1687

By Jack Liddall

Overseeing the deterioration—indeed, the complete dismantling—of an establishment institution was the aim of Presbyterian dissenters in the Scottish Restoration period. The Restoration episcopalian church eventually collapsed in the face of a highly destabilising nonconformist movement. Early Presbyterian historians viewed this as inevitable 'victory' and 'progress', writing something of a teleology into the dissenting campaign. The fact remains that many ordinary Scots were devoted to religious beliefs which were not reflected in the official church structures and they posed a successful challenge to this established order. So, why was the deterioration of established structures so full and uncompromising?

This article tackles this question, looking from 1662 (the re-establishment of episcopacy) to 1687 (the advent of religious toleration policies) and focusing on the concentrated nonconformity in the south and south-west of Scotland. Dissent—or nonconformity—in the Restoration era is taken as Presbyterians' refusal to participate in the national episcopalian Kirk. It is argued that to understand why Presbyterian nonconformity was so destabilising, an appreciation of the diversity and rigour of Presbyterian dissent is necessary to an assessment of the Restoration government's counterproductive responses to it. From 1690, Presbyterian nonconformity was primarily chronicled from the perspective of the dissenters themselves, reading a teleology into nonconformity. Such bias has been challenged by historians who have highlighted dissent's social diversity. Hyman argued that indulged ministers (Presbyterian preachers ostensibly loyal to the established church) provided the localities an 'alternative church' to expand. Raffe has inserted 'lay activism' and popular political participation into the narrative. McIntyre similarly created a focused social study of dissidence. This article synthesises these recent findings in cultural and religious history to conclude that dissidence was destabilising due to its social diversity as well as widespread nature.

For one, nonconformist ministers caused significant disruption and destabilisation. In 1662, over 250 Presbyterian ministers were deprived of their congregations. They proved ever troublesome for the Restoration government, evidenced by the government's increasingly distressed reports in the Privy Council Register. An alarming letter sent to archbishops in 1662 concerns the dangerous 'disorders' of 'several ministers' in 'many places of the kingdom'. Their dissent was also specifically designed to antagonise Church proceedings: in 1664, the Synod of Galloway records many 'divers ministers' who even withheld parish documentation to thwart the transactions for conformist ministers' stipends. Deprived ministers expanded the dissenting movement by ordaining new ministers, with one Anglican contemporary, George Hickes, commenting how Scottish dissenters 'ordained ignorant and factious striplings'. Legislature from 1672 'against unlawful ordinations,' illustrates how threatened the government was by the proliferation of nonconformist clergy. Dissenters' accounts, supplemented by the council register, also record the rise of massive conventicles—unlawful religious assemblies: Gabriel Semple, a deprived minister, held conventicles in houses which 'would not hold them', then gardens which were 'not convenient' until eventually he 'took the open fields'. Similarly, in 1678, the register charges Sir William Douglas's tenant with organising horses to be sent to Edinburgh from Roxburgh to 'bring the [deprived] preachers to these [conventicle] meetings', denouncing clergymen convening in the capital for 'seditious correspondences'. Personal accounts also reveal the powerful sense of purpose amongst conventiclers, posing a dramatic ideological threat to the Restoration regime: Semple cares not for 'the danger of adventuring to preach' but 'thought himself obliged' to dissent. Overall, the evidence clarifies that religious dissent was not simply proliferate, but was highly organised and ideologically charged, fostering a parallel Presbyterian 'quasi-church' — as Hyman termed it — seriously destabilising the Restoration Kirk.

However, such organised, widespread — destabilising — religious dissent was not monolithic. Presbyterian historians, like Wodrow and Kirkton, may have preferred to foreground nonconformist ministers, especially, itinerant, conventicling clergy. Noting the social diversity of the dissenting campaign is crucial. Indeed, Galloway's Synod minutes for 1664 concede that it was 'neither possible or necessary' to name 'all ye common people…who willfully absent themselves from churches', speaking to dissenting culture's deep social pervasiveness. Furthermore, nonconformist laypeople — from landholders to yeomanry —were extremely charitable: Lady Kilvarock even gave a house to a deprived minister and Hickes condemned '400 dollars in private gifts' donated by parishioners to James Mitchell, before his execution for attempting to assassinate Archbishop James Sharp in 1668. From Quentin Dick's account of

the 1666 Presbyterian revolt, can be gleaned an insight into Presbyterian lay convictions: he feels bound by 'that word [of God] …speaking loudly unto me, comply not, cede not'. An assessment of Presbyterian dissent must thus appreciate the laity's sense of obligation to dissent and the practical manifestations this had, seriously compromising the Restoration Kirk's authority.

However, any assessment of destabilising Presbyterian dissent is unconvincing without a consideration of government policy. This half of Scotland's religious struggle is often muted in the traditional telling of the narrative. Wodrow and Kirkton took as their central contention the 1689 Revolution settlement's claim that 'prelacy' was 'contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people' thus, highlighting popular Presbyterian commitment as a central theme in Restoration Scotland. Yet, just as Raffe has noted 'the inherent fragility of government by bishops,' this article challenges the Presbyterian narrative by analysing dissent not just as a nonconformist movement in and of itself but as a response to adapting Restoration governance (not least because contemporaries understood dissent in this manner). Just as Lord Ross, a government commissioner, wrote in 1674, religious dissent 'ryses and falls according as they ar punished or slighted', so government policy informs a critical element of this assessment.

As government policy became increasingly dictated by John Maitland, the earl of Lauderdale, 'indulgences' were issued to over 40 specific deprived clergymen in 1669 and a further 80 in 1672, licensing them to minister specific parishes to manage dissent. At its inception, the earl of Kincardine wrote to Lauderdale: 'I'm affrayd…those who have received [indulgences] shall not prove worthy of it,' foretelling the counterproductivity of accommodation. Conciliatory efforts would facilitate even more destabilising dissent: as indulged minister, William Vilant, commented, there 'hath been much more [dissident] preaching…since the Indulgence than before'. Indeed, whilst nonconformist ministers may have traditionally been foregrounded, indulged ministers expediated dissent's growth. They were often committed to preaching and organising against the Restoration Church, capitalising on their accommodations to resituate and provide resources to the dissenting movement. The indulged included Presbyterian zealots: Thomas Wyllie — a formerly militant Presbyterian — was accommodated at Fenwick and Alexander Wedderburn —formerly convicted of sedition by the High Commission — received a license for Kilmarnock. Indulged ministers attended nonconformist church courts, for example, a 1675 Glasgow synod which ordained new ministers to be 'bound to adhere to…our covenants' was well-attended by indulged clergy. In his sermon notes for July 1677 John Baird, Paisley Kirk's confined minister, demonstrates

Illustration by Melissa Kane

the strong ideological conviction of indulged clergy. As dissenters of the episcopal Kirk, he impels his parishioners to 'remember the covenant', calling upon God to 'let folk goe and tast and see' the covenant (referring to the National Covenant signed in 1638 declaring Scotland's commitment to the Presbyterian religion). Such accounts can be used to illuminate the counterproductivity of indulgence; indulged ministers appear just as committed to the Presbyterian cause, with government attempts at accommodation making a destabilising force out of moderate, manageable dissent.

Recognising conciliation's failure, from the mid-1670s, Lauderdale hoped that 'if the [Privy] Councill doe vigorously prosecute the King's comands…violent & seditious Spirit may easily be quelled', making a clear turn back towards militaristic suppression. The council renewed a 'Clanking Act' using government forces on dissenters by fining conventiclers and prosecuted ministers who violated conditions of confinement. However, these persecutory policies were often inhibited by the state's limited capacity to enforce them: a lack of local law enforcers negated the efficacy of penal laws. Specifically, in 1677, Lauderdale called a meeting of Ayrshire's lairds and earls to collect assurances of enforcement of the council's penal laws. A reply contested that the local gentry had neither the resolve or resources to prevent conventicles and Glasgow's baillie-depute was even fined for holding conventicles for 'great multitudes of people'. In addition to this, in localities where penalties were strongly imposed, they often simply hardened dissenters' resolve. Blackadder's record of field conventicles evinces this argument. Preparing a conventicle in Diven in 1678, Blackadder observed an ammunition dump and asked those congregated: 'what meant all this preparation?'. The laypeople's response illustrates why they felt provoked to act more defensively: one hundred men had been commissioned 'to search for and apprehend' nonconformists. When government forces approached the conventicle, armed laypersons ensured that 'the militia' — 'terrified at all this apparatus' —fled out of 'dismal fear'. Evidently, persecution created an increasingly violent and combative resistance movement.

By considering laypeople, indulged ministers and examining government policy as equally relevant factors, this article has sought to remedy the imbalance of Presbyterian histories which overstate nonconformist clergy's role and neglect the Restoration establishment's role. Overall, Presbyterian dissent posed a destabilising threat to the Kirk because highly organised, ideologically charged and socially pervasive nonconformism was facilitated and exacerbated by the counterproductive government policies.

Understanding the Treatment of Mental Health in Europe from Antiquity to Early Modernity

By Megan Crutchley

To preface what I am about to say, it is essential to know that peoples understanding of how disease worked, up until quite recently, was founded in beliefs that were completely logical to them. As far as they knew, their beliefs on how disease worked were true, and they were as sure of that as we are of gravity existing, or that evolution happened. By understanding this, as well as the resources they had to hand, we can begin to investigate the tragedy of the treatment of mental illness, for both the patient and, in some cases, in Europe from the age of antiquity to the end of the medieval period.

There is evidence of people trying to treat mental illness that dates to 5000BCE, a trephined skull found in an ancient burial site. This treatment, of surgically putting a hole in someone's skull in order to allow evil spirits trapped in the patient's body to leave (and therefore allow for the patient to become well again) continued to be practised well into the late medieval period. The fact that people were attempting to try and cure people who were mentally unwell so far in the past speaks for human nature itself – as a race, we are inclined to help people and to sense when someone else is not well, even if their suffering is not physical. However, due to a lack of understanding, this has led to the exacerbated suffering of mentally unwell people -- and indeed those misdiagnosed as such -- when people who loved them tried to cure them.

When it came to illness, people were diagnosed through the physical manifestations of their symptoms. Since ancient times, people believed in the theories of Galen and Hippocrates, which noted that in order to maintain a healthy body, people had to keep the 'four humours' that were in their bodies, in balance. These four humours were blood, black bile, yellow bile and phlegm, and when one was out of balance, it was diagnosed through the patient's physical symptoms and treated in a counter balance way. For example, when someone was believed to have an imbalance of blood, the person treating them would practise bloodletting. However, there was still a lack of knowledge as to why the humours would go out of balance; one theory was that it was a result of old age and the physical embodiment of the body's natural deterioration. Another, which was developed during the age of antiquity, was the idea of disease being a punishment for immoral behaviour. Instances of this happening were also recorded in the Bible, and the reverence people had for the teachings of antiquity led physicians to believe it to be a viable cause of disease.

With this context, we can begin to look at how people viewed mental illness following the teachings of antiquity. Celsus, a man writing an encyclopaedia type book during this period, wrote about a disease which did not seem to manifest itself physically into one part of the body, but instead seemed to affect the body as a whole. He named the condition, 'insania', and this was further categorised depending on how long the patient was deemed to be suffering with it. The mildest of these categories is 'phrentis' where the patient only suffers a short bout, 'mania' being for people who seem to suffer infinitely, and 'melancholia' was deemed as somewhere between the two. Celsus struggles greatly to define the symptoms of each, as people were all affected in different ways -- people could be prone to laughter, and then there were those who would suffer from chronic sadness, or be violent.

Treatments for these illnesses were derived from what people believed were causing them. The theory of opposites, in which the person was treated with the opposite of whatever it was they were suffering with too much of, was applied to people with mental illness also. For example, those suffering from violent fits would be secluded to dark and silent rooms, as they believed that this would calm their 'spirit'. It is unimaginable how awful this experience would have been, with not knowing how long you would be in there, and constantly being misunderstood by the people who were meant to be caring for you. It was also believed that 'mania' could be caused by sprits independent of one's own body, a theory popularised in Greek tragedy, or by the deterioration of one's own spirit. If it was the former, then poisons would be used to purge the patient's body of the influence of these outside spirits, and for the latter it was believed that torture would manipulate the mental state back to how it was previously. These barbaric treatments, which we usually associate with outdated practises in treating mental health, seem so vulgar to us as we have the benefit of knowing that they did not work, and only made the condition of the person suffering worse. It is indeed hard to reconcile the plethora of inhumane and ruthless treatments given to some of the most vulnerable members of society by many a physician misguided by the science of the time.

There were some methods of treatment that coincide with more modern beliefs. For example, it was widely accepted that the best way to approach and treat mentally ill people was in a calm and comforting

way, to encourage them into a more rational conversation and out of the emotional mind. Also, when 'melancholia' manifested itself into a form of sadness, it was deemed best to treat the person by encouraging them to partake in activities they used to enjoy when they were well and praising any work they may have done.

Although, this unfortunately was not the case for all people, and accessing this kind of treatment would have been more difficult the poorer you were. Most of the population of the world, even now, are excluded from the riches and privileges of civil society. Therefore, they could not afford to look after those who were mentally unwell or born with disabilities, nor did they have the time, as much of their time was already consumed with completing tasks essential to daily life and survival. As well as this, other parts of their lives were affected by the prevailing view of those who had these mental health conditions – the association of being ill with sin meant that being mentally unwell was considered a shameful thing. People also relied heavily on marriages as a form of income, and for one's family to be perceived to be defective in any way, would be detrimental to one's marriage prospects. Therefore, many people who were mentally unwell would not receive the proper care and sometimes would be neglected purposefully and left for dead, due to the stigma surrounding them and their families.

Access to healthcare was traditionally organised by the church, and through a kind of communal welfare program. To help the ill was seen as a way of proving you were morally good, and it was often the place of monasteries and the clerks in them to care for the poor and ill people who could not afford physicians and doctors. A change in this line of thinking came during the early 1500s, with the reform ordinances of the Holy Roman Empire in 1522, the seat of Christianity. They said that relief for the poor should be the responsibility of local authorities and that charity and assistance should only be given after the person receiving it had been evaluated and deemed worthy of it. It became more rationalised and organised, and the church overall was more suspicious and reluctant to help those in need. In England, the monasteries were gotten abandoned altogether, with Henry VIII's decree in 1536. This created a gap in healthcare, which was never filled to the same extent of the church, as these new institutions needed funding. Some were endorsed by wealthy sponsors like the Thomas Guy Hospital, set up in 1707, or Bedlam Hospital by Edward VI in 1547, but these institutions could not come close to the expansive network of healthcare the Catholic Church had cultivated over hundreds of years. Healthcare became less and less accessible, leading to more tragic cases of neglect.

My intention in writing this was to try and understand the logic behind the treatment of mentally ill people up until more recent centuries where more significant discoveries were made in the field of psychology. In some ways, I am still not understanding of the cruel ways in which people of the past are known to have treated mental illness, as to me they seem unfathomable for a human to commit. However, the ability for humans to sense when someone is not well, even if that is not physically detectable, is inspiring, as well as our intrinsic want to help and care for these people. Our duty in the present is to want to support those who are mentally unwell, to replace the prejudice and misunderstandings of the past with tolerance, care, and understanding.

How Phrenology Became a Pseudo-Science: A Historical Analysis

By Kat Jivkova

An ambitious endeavour to link personal traits with scalp morphology, phrenology was a trendy practice in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the reason it became so popular was its alleged ability to break away from the science characterised by 'neoclassical rationalism' prior to the Enlightenment, or its ideological implications which ultimately overrode its scientific credentials. Sandwiched between the traditions of Social Darwinism in the Victorian age and the socio-biology of the past two decades, phrenology was a product of philosophy (or rather a science of the mind based on it), no matter how intensely physiologists masked it in rationale. And indeed, its greatest weakness was the scepticism which surrounded it, for a theory overly reliant on generalising methodology was always bound to fail. A recent empirical study conducted in a 'light-hearted spirit' by the Nuffield Department of Clinical Neurosciences further argues against local scalp curvature being used to infer brain function, using more up-to-date methods—high-quality structural MRI enabled the department to quantify large scalp curvature and thus re-examine phrenological ideas of brain organisation reminiscent of the Victorian times. However, it is clear from the article, and from general attitudes of psychologists from the twentieth century, that phrenology is now considered a pseudo-science. So how did the practice, at the peak of its popularity, fall so quickly into oblivion? And why is this a good thing? These questions will be answered with the help of two case studies in the form of scientific sexism and the influence of phrenology in British asylums, where the flaws of phrenology will be exposed.

Phrenology began with the work of Franz Joseph Gall, a German physician who is now considered the father of this fraudulent pseudoscience. He obtained a medical doctorate in Vienna at a time when enlightenment ideas ran rife in the Viennese medical world and doctors were ever more receptive to new methods based on clinical observation. Thus, Gall's own research was largely encouraged by the Allgemeines Krankenhaus, a recently founded public hospital, and he was able to perform brain dissections on his quest to create a new science of the mind. In the 1790s, Gall developed a

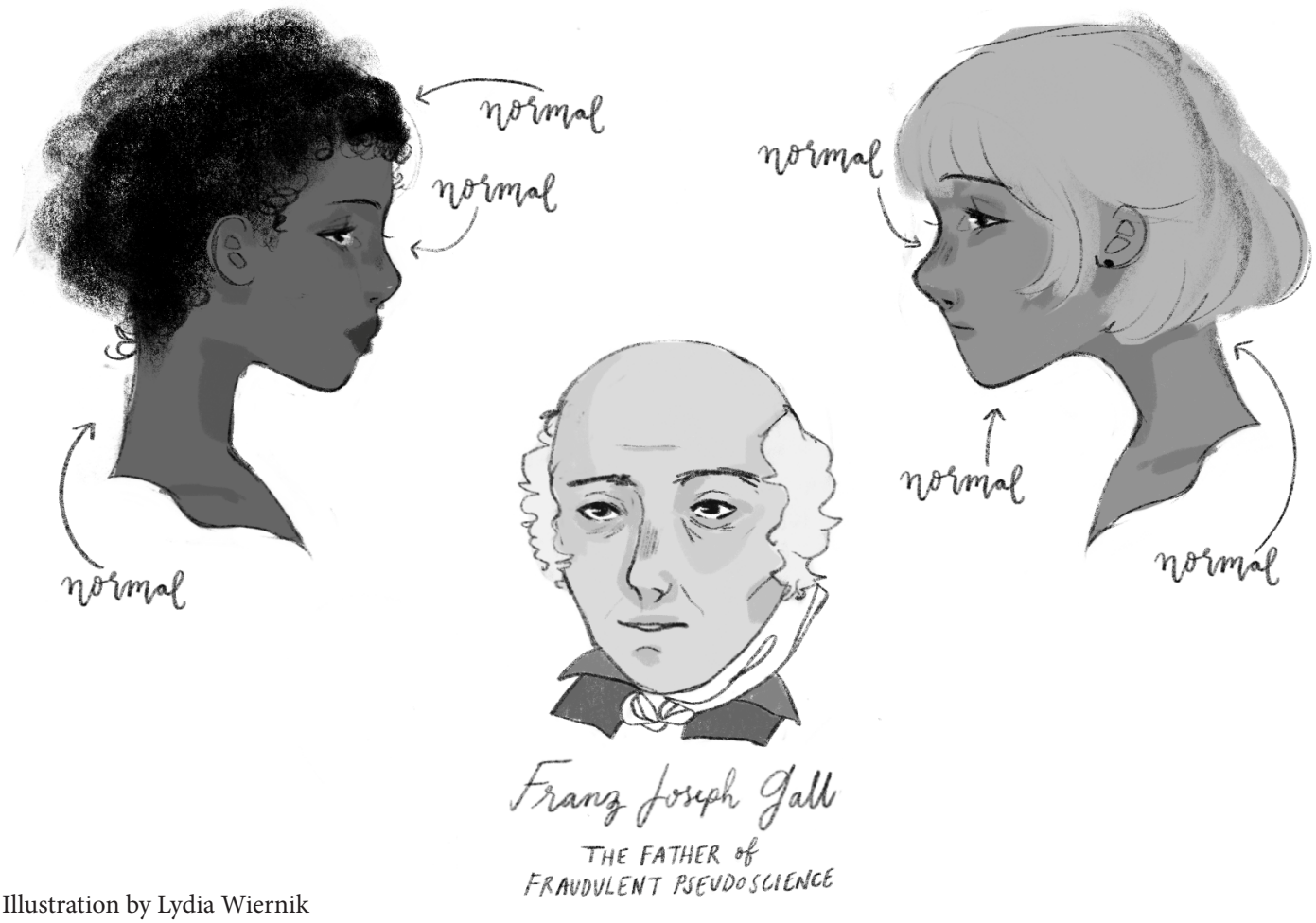


Illustration by Lydia Wiernik

theory in which distinct parts of the brain corresponded to mental functions, which he nicknamed 'organs'. He located these organs primarily in the cerebral cortex and conducted extensive neuro-anatomical studies with the help of his assistant, Johann Gaspar Spurzheim. The more prominent a person's trait or characteristic was, the larger this specific brain location impacted the shape of the skull. Gall's phrenological methodology was characterised solely upon observations and correlations: he first sought out a subject with an unusual trait, either physical or mental, and determined which feature of the head it correlated to. For example, he once treated a young widow who had intense sexual desires; noticing that her neck was enlarged, he attributed this trait to an organ in the lower part of her brain called the cerebellum. He even extended this observation by suggesting that any humans with thick necks also exhibited this trait. His tendency to reduce specific characteristics to a specific organ in the brain enabled him to build up a six-volume edition of his work on rational empiricism in 1825, and he then spent the remainder of his life promoting his theories in Paris. However, from a modern perspective, it is easy to identify the obvious flaws with Gall's loose methods of observation. First, his approach relied on the generalisation of many social groups to identify common skull shapes among them. This could never be a viable method of observation considering that scalp morphology was measured using one's fingers, and the number of subjects that Gall used in his hypotheses could never be representative of the entire population of those exhibiting these specific traits. Furthermore, Gall's phrenology could be used as a weapon in the perpetuation of scientific racism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As phrenology spread to the United States, it was used to substantiate the inferiority of non-white races, particularly in the context of the growth of the abolitionist movement in the 1830s and 1840s which threatened to cease the continuation of slavery. Nonetheless, Gall's science of 'bump reading' as a means of identifying one's traits had a great influence in the nineteenth century across several disciplines, from psychiatry to literature. Indeed, phrenology became a key subject of Victorian literature, though mostly in the satirical sense, as writers began to criticise the absurd concept which scientists had grown so fond of. Charlotte Brontë, for instance, recognised that although phrenology's catchphrase was 'know thyself', it was in fact a man's science—a sexist science.

The hunt for a redefinition of differences between the sexes, and perhaps a key turning point in the timeline of scientific sexism, began with the development of female skeleton models. This impetus was arguably drawn from a desperation to uncover a finer delineation of the differences between men and women as a means of reasserting the position of women in European society. French anatomist Marie-Genevieve-Charlotte Thiroux d'Arconville published drawings of the female skeleton in 1759 which displayed the female skull to be smaller than a man's, perhaps foreshadowing what phrenology aimed to develop. The difference in skull size was interpreted as proof that women's intellectual capabilities were inferior to that of men and their lesser

Illustration by Lydia Wiernik

'natural reason' provided an explanation for why they could not participate in science themselves (or in any other intellectual professions, for that matter). A flood of medical literature in the nineteenth century further emphasised the significance of women's skulls and some anatomists even classified them as similar to children's skulls—German doctor E.W. Posner believed that 'women's heads tend towards the childish type' and thought that these similarities suggested that women end their growth earlier than men and fail to reach individual maturity. The idea of the 'unscientific woman', and phrenology's role in this depiction, resulted in the removal of women from the medical profession which, according to Professor Theodor Bischoff, tainted their 'pure and unadulterated feminine nature'.

Another field in which phrenology was influential was the British asylum. Clinical psychiatry and phrenology were intertwined in this period of psychiatric history within the Victorian asylum. The extent of this influence was highlighted by practical phrenologist J.Q. Rumball, who stated that 'Most of the Superintendents of our Public [county] Asylums are Phrenologists.' It was Spurzheim's British tour of 1814 which attracted the attention of British alienists, which reached its peak with the publication of his Observations on the Deranged Manifestations of the Mind or Insanity in London in 1817. This was described as a 'complete and excellent treatise on insanity' and heavily influenced British alienists, which was the term given to Victorian psychiatrists. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the asylum as a prominent treatment of insanity became challenged by new ideas of moral therapy. Philippe Pinel and William Tuke, who were both prominent physicians in the treatment of mental health, led this debate, arguing that the use of restraints and medicines dramatically decreased the wellbeing of patients. Moral therapy, in contrast, did not rely on the medical treatment of insanity but on therapeutic techniques concerning a patient's psychology. This new development in the treatment of insanity threatened the status of physicians within asylums and they desperately clung onto phrenology in an effort to save their skins. The fact that phrenology provided them with evidence that special medical attention as well as scientific knowledge was required to deal with the insane reassured them that their work was still relevant.

Phrenology deteriorated as a discipline because it was never taken seriously in the first place. It may have risen in popularity, but only as a tool to substantiate specific beliefs about particular groups, such as women and patients in an asylum. Thus, it was only ever seen as a means of asserting certain beliefs rather than as an evidence-backed field of neuroscience. Reducing the essence of the human condition to the contours of one's skull was never a romantic theory of psychology, and the 'Golden Age of bumpologists' quickly faded as 'a piece of thorough quackery'. There was no distinct period in which this happened, but as criticism of phreonology's methodology increased and it repeatedly failed to replicate its findings, its reputation faltered.

In retrospect, Gall and Spurzheim were monumental to the emergence of a modern neuroscience at the end of the nineteenth century—their conceptions of the brain were stimulating, but they were quickly exposed by anatomists such as Paul Broca and Carl Wernicke, who noted that scalp morphology did not correlate with local brain function. However, Gall was correct in his assumption that mental functions are localised in specific sections of the brain, now known as localisation of function. Generally, phrenology should not be seen as a scientific achievement but as a window into the lives of scientific adventurers and of how they were used for all the wrong reasons. Perhaps it may have foreshadowed the idea of brain mapping or neuroimaging used in modern neuroscience, however this is the extent of its usefulness, and its status as a pseudoscience in the present is justified.

Revising Views on the Industrial 'Revolution'

By Ruth Cullen

Britain during the Industrial Revolution was a hotbed for technological advancement. The finalisation of a new design of steam engine by James Watt in 1775 made manufacturing cheaper and more efficient. New incentives for scientific research and education emerged as a result, including the 1859 implementation of Joseph Bazalgette's advanced sewerage system in London, significantly reducing typhus, typhoid and cholera. All these factors lend themselves to the idea of an industrial utopia in which man's enlightenment made his life easier, advancement pervaded all aspects of life, and everyone benefitted from this rapid technological development. However, it was the realisation of these industrial ideals that created a fundamental paradox of this period's success. The exploitation of labourers did mean that these developments were possible, but they were accompanied by deterioration in health, degraded respect for well-being, and arguably set the foundations for a materialist society in which profit was the primary concern. The historical debate encapsulates whether these downfalls undermined the Industrial Revolution's successes to the point that the development was not worth the sacrifices that facilitated it. These sacrifices concern ill health, poverty, and social changes that J. L. and Barbara Hammond would argue turned man into 'a wage earner and nothing more.'

The scientific and technological advancements of the Industrial Revolution are undeniable. Charles Babbage's writings about the development of machines for production proved very influential in the field of technological science. His contribution to the scientific field of the industrial revolution was the Difference Engine, credited as being the first mechanical computer, leading to the development of fundamental theories for digital programming. In his treatise, On *the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*, published in 1832, he uses terms such as "perfection" and "genius" to describe the manufacturing techniques that were celebrated, partly because 'distant kingdoms have participated in its advantages.' For this reason, science and engineering were successes in themselves, serving as evidence for intellect and innovation, but the Industrial Revolution also raised Britain's global status and was used as an argument in favour of colonialism. In fact, oversees connections both facilitated British industry by providing a range of raw materials, but more importantly justified the continuation of empire through the benefits of the exportation of British goods. British supremacy during this period was emphasised in the scholarship of the Industrial Revolution for many decades to come, in terms of both the superiority in industrial enterprise, but also the idea of the advantage colonial rule gave to the colonies, regardless of whether this was true on all accounts.

Francis Place even argues that the conduct of everyday society improved between the start of the nineteenth century and 1829, when he wrote that 'the people are better dressed, better fed, cleanlier, better educated, in each class respectively, much more frugal, and much happier.' The supremacy Place gives to modern London society derives from his belief that poverty and squalor were not conditions imposed on people from which they couldn't escape. Instead, he argued that self-improvement was accessible to everyone. This could reflect the extent of the opportunities available through education during the Industrial Revolution but could also be influenced by his own experience in advancing from a working-class apprentice to an influential writer.

However, Place's assessment may not have been strictly true. Although increasing industrial activity improved social mobility by creating an arena in which people could seek promotion, the class divide between workers and factory owners exemplifies social deterioration in this era. Society was split between those whom the Industrial Revolution benefitted and those who were benefitted from. Workers were forced to live in cramped quarters, due to proximity to the factories in which they worked, and the dangers of travelling across the city at night. Fresh air and adequate living space became luxuries for those who could afford it, and Charles Booth estimated that in the late nineteenth century, as much as 35% of the population of East London was living in poverty. Therefore, living conditions during this period suffered at the expense of industrial success, as the ambition for maximum output with minimum cost was unlikely to consider the needs of the working population for a comfortable life, preferring the ideals of efficiency and hard work.

The changing of social status caused by industrialisation was not restricted to the split between the lowest of the working class and their employers, as many industrialists attempted to utilise their new-found influence and affluence to replicate the gentleman class. The distribution of income, as Pat Hudson argues, dramatically moved to favour the middle and upper classes, creating a sense of superiority for the emergent bourgeoisie, who then aspired to the classes above them that they had not yet reached as they climbed the social ladder. Therefore, greater distance was created between varying classes, and the lower classes were increasingly viewed

as an instrument to be used for the upper classes' benefit. Michael Shanks claims that managers saw manufacture as a 'means to better things – to politics, to land-ownership, to culture, to a position in the city.' This undermines the idea that the Industrial Revolution was prized for its industrial success, as the workers were under-appreciated by those their labour served, and the classes that benefitted were increasingly disinterested in the work they did, seeing it as somewhat beneath them and not evident of virtue or respectability.

In addition, the writings of J. L. and Barbara Hammond had significant influence on the contemporary outlook towards industrialisation, exemplified in their joint work, The Village Labourer. A focus on workers' wages demonstrates how difficult life had become due to the Industrial Revolution's social impact, as they comment that 'the labourer's wages no longer sufficed to provide even a bare and comfortless existence.' Even in a contemporary context, the poor financial conditions of this era were not unknown to those with the power to help the situation. In 1795, Samuel Whitbread made proposals in government for a minimum wage that were fixed to the fluctuating prices of food. Arguments made against Whitbread stem from denial of the extent of the problem, with William Pitt recognising the difficulties that those in poverty faced but refusing to pass the bill on the grounds that it was not necessarily the government's responsibility. Pitt also rejected the claim that growth in prices overtook that of wages. Therefore, during the Industrial Revolution, there was a deterioration in financial well-being, as economic concerns of employers took precedence over the everyday lives of workers, and the government's refusal to get involved proves the lack of regard for people's welfare. The immediate political impact of Hammond's assessment of British society, when it was published in 1911, motivated many liberal reforms, showing that their claims had, upon reflection, been confirmed and appreciated by a government gradually moving away from a laissez-faire attitude.

In terms of engineering, technology and Britain's status as a world power, the Industrial Revolution can be seen as a period of considerable accomplishment. The developments laid the foundations for modern society in a range of positive ways, but these successes cannot be seen in isolation. They would not have reached their full potential without the negative effects on the lower-class labourers who were depended on to make these changes, casting doubt on whether the benefits to their lives outweigh the harsh quality of life they endured. It is important to distinguish between the long-term and short-term effects, as conditions were in a state of continuous flux, but poor living conditions, low pay, and abuse of power by the upper on the lower classes may impair the impression of indisputable development that is frequently applied to the Industrial Revolution.

Illustration by Melanie Wu

The Great Reform Act of 1832: One Small Step for Men or One Giant Leap Backwards for Women

By Sophie Whitehead

We often think of morals within a society as constantly evolving in a forward direction – being constantly propelled to the end destination – towards a recognisable present. This, is of course, not true. This article proposes to look at the effect of the 1832 Great Reform Act, which it is often characterised by historians, and, perhaps more persistently through public discourse, as an act of democratisation, an act which gave the right to vote to many more people within the British electoral system. The act was a response to petitions and protests such as the Peterloo Massacre of 1819. In this way the Great Reform Act was not only a development in the British democratic system, but also a product of the democratic right to protest. However, this is not the whole story. Whilst it is true that the Act gave the right to vote to many more men, it actually took it away from some women. Admittedly, voting participation rates was were not overly high for women pre-1832, however female voters were there, and in some areas, women were very active within the political system – perfectly embodied by Georgiana Cavendish, the Duchess of Devonshire. Through this article I plan to challenge the assumption that female suffrage was a topic born in the early twentieth century, while being careful to not overstate female engagement with voting, particularly when considered that many women would sell their votes.

Before 1832 women were theoretically allowed to vote in elections, though they by no means made up a majority of the voting population. According to historian Ruth Larsen, there is evidence that from the seventeenth-century, property owning women, who owned 10% of the property in England, believed that they had as much of a right to enfranchisement as male freeholders. But how does that correlate to actual voting? Research conducted by Derek Hist in the 1970s introduced the idea of female voting pre-1832. Whilst women only feature in two pages of his 1975 book The Representative of the People?, his work really opened up the topic of female suffrage. According to Hirst 'the participation of aristocratic women in an act, the election, which was itself uncontroversial, was not especially abhorrent.' Hirst touches upon the two main issues which seem to have naturally increased men's hostility towards female voters – class, and contention of elections. Class seems to be the major barrier to voting – particularly in people's perception of who was eligible to vote. The Whig statesmen Charles James Fox exemplified this position when, in 1797, when speaking in the house of commons against too wide extensions of suffrage he claimed that "it must be the genuine feeling of every gentleman who hears me, that all the superior classes of the female sex of England must be more capable than the uniformed individuals of the lowest class of men". Whilst Fox's statement is undoubtedly highly controversial, it does illustrate the argument that the general opinion, pre-1832, seems to be that class, not gender, was more decisive about a person's ability to vote.

There are also many examples of women's participation in elections, though they are much more difficult to find than lofty statements from the likes of Charles James Fox. As with much of history, the sources that are most easily drawn to the attention of historians are cases when people diverge from the norm, and this is true of women voting. The place where female voters are most easily seen, is in contested elections. It appears that female voting did not ruffle any feathers until the point at which it had the potential to make real political change. According to Larsen, it is in these cases where a woman's right to vote was questioned. There is evidence to be found of unquestioned female voters, although these appear to be more stumbled upon than anything else. Speaking to women's hour historian Dr Vivienne Larmine who noted her surprise at seeing that two of the thirteen names on the list of voters for Heytesbury in Wiltshire, in the election of 1640, as she puts it, 'three-centuries before you might expect to find them.' These women were found by mistake, and short of searching through each list of voters, it is almost impossible to find them any other way. Hirst too shows examples of female property owners of Aylesbury and Gatton making returns for their boroughs in the later sixteenth-century. What both Hirst and Larmine evidence is that women were indeed present within the voting record however difficult to find, especially as there does not seem to be any categorisation of men or women within the lists of voters. Historians are basing their judgements on either other's comments – usually for negative reasons – on the gender of voters, or notoriously difficultly, and sometimes unreliably, based off their names – and assuming gender from that.

It is important to stress that whilst women's voting was most often tolerated, it was certainly not uncontroversial. Upon hearing of women's efforts to vote in elections Sir Simonds D'Ewes, the invigilating sheriff of Suffolk in 1640 stated that he

'instantlie sent to forbid the same, conceiving it a matter verie unworthie of any gentleman and most dishonourable in such an election to make use of their voices although they might in law have been allowed.'

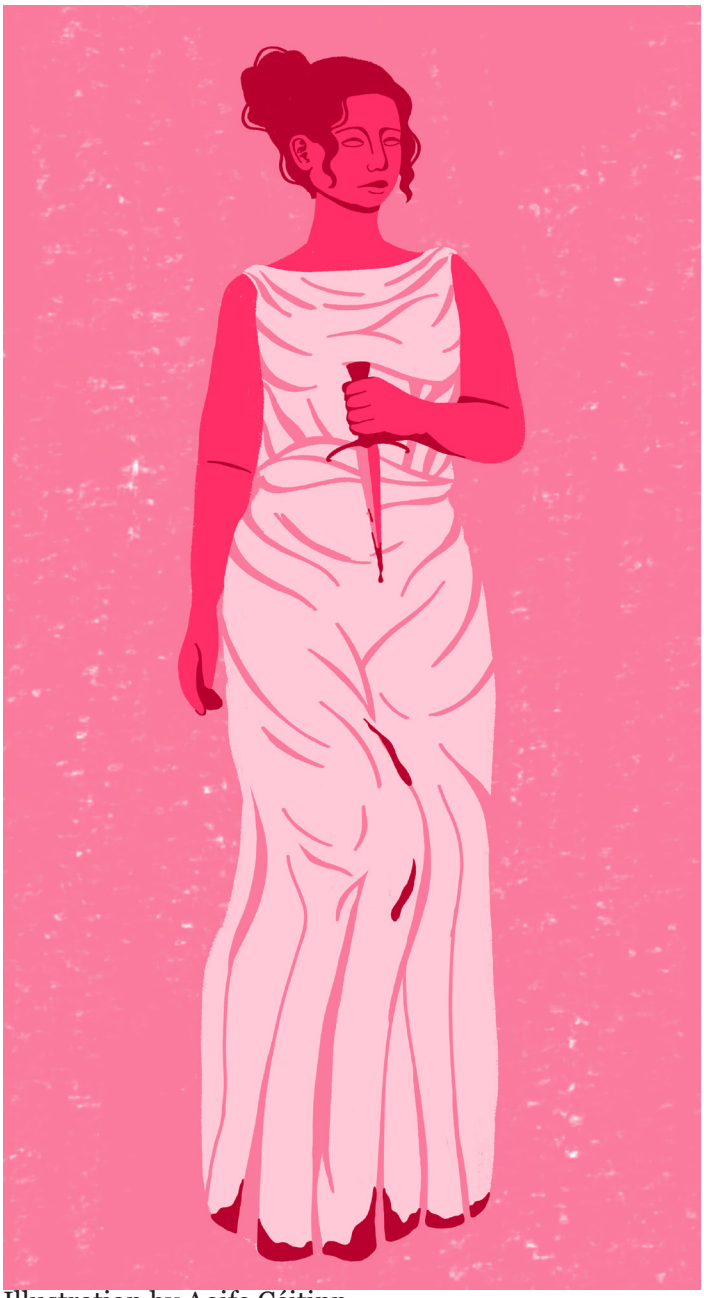


Illustration by Aoife Céitinn

It is clear from D'Ewes' statement that women were allowed to vote, in law, however he prohibits them from accessing this right in person. As is often the case with women stepping out of line, dishonour is brought up as a fundamental justification of why their power should be limited. What D'Ewes illustrates however is that the disconnect between legislation, public opinion, and in this case, the opinion of law enforcers should not be understated – after all it does not matter if women are not banned from voting if none of the sheriffs allow them to participate in elections.

In contrast, while the 1832 Great Reform Act did mark a move backwards in the position of women within society, it did mark a move forward for men. The Great Reform Act, according to the UK parliament's website rectified 'the unequal distribution of seats, the extension of the franchise and "rotten boroughs"'. The act disenfranchised 56 broughs in England and Wales and reduced another 31 to having only one MP. This meant there was a more equal distribution of MPs across the population, as the act also created 67 new constituencies. Most importantly, in the wider legacy of peoples rights to vote it broadened the property qualification in the counties to include small landowners, tenant farmers and shopkeepers, and within the boroughs gave the vote to 'all householders who paid a yearly rental of £10 or more and some lodgers'. Clearly, the enfranchisement of more men was a great step forwards in the march for universal suffrage. It can also be seen as a direct response to protest including the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, in which eighteen people died when a crowd of around 60,000 protested, unified for their demand of universal suffrage. Universal suffrage in their terms referred to men's right to vote.

However, it is important to note that whilst there were clear improvements, these developments also marked a deterioration in female enfranchisement. It codified the view of individuals such as Simond D'Ewes that whilst there was nothing legally stopping women from voting, their doing so would be 'dishonourable'. The tale of women's voting before 1832, is by no means one of smooth progress and development, it is one of controversy, and slipping between the boundaries between what is illegal and what is frowned upon. It is also a tale which is greatly under-researched and deserves to have a great deal more attention given to it. The story of female suffrage does not start with 1918.

"Who do I want to be?": The Bicycle and Camera as Mediums of Agency in British India, c. 1850-1950.

By Boryana Ivanova

Both symbols of the colonial paternalism inclusive of Western modernity and development, the camera and the bicycle were initially transported to India in a deterministic attempt to entrench superiority through technological innovation. However, viewing this relationship between technology and colonialism from the Indian perspective grants an important narrative of agency to the indigenous population. The complex reshaping of these technologies by the indigenous population collapsed the teleological narrative of Western development and modernity, and in its wake a new understanding of Indian self-determination arose.

The bicycle and the camera were uniquely adapted and combined to support anti-colonial movements in a variety of ways which will be further expanded upon throughout this article. Examining their uses both together and separately highlights the redevelopment of technology that was made possible through Indian hands and minds, and the innovative ways the population was able to reframe the narrative and enact powerful anti-colonial change. Furthermore, and as a force which was able to permeate across social and gender identities in Indian society, the extent of the bicycle and camera's transformation to support cultural and gender identity can be highlighted through a gendered historical framework.

This article will argue, therefore, that the camera and the bicycle – which were brought to colonial India by the British authorities specifically to enforce imperialism – were transformed by the Indian population into tools for shaping self-identity, anti-colonialism, and independent agency. The proposed idea of Western domination and modernity exemplified by the bicycle and the camera collapsed through a complex system of subversive ownership by the Indian people, and a new medium of anti-colonialism took its place. As such, this article examines the gradual and convoluted process of symbolic deterioration and transformation which took place in the hands of the Indian population. I shall firstly explore interaction with and access to the camera by both women and men, before considering their interactions with the bicycle, and finally examining the connections between these two technologies. Importantly, the Indian men and women who interacted with these technologies were, as Christopher Pinney states, asking themselves, 'Who do I want to be?' and in the process, were able to re-fashion the meaning and power of their colonial master's tools.

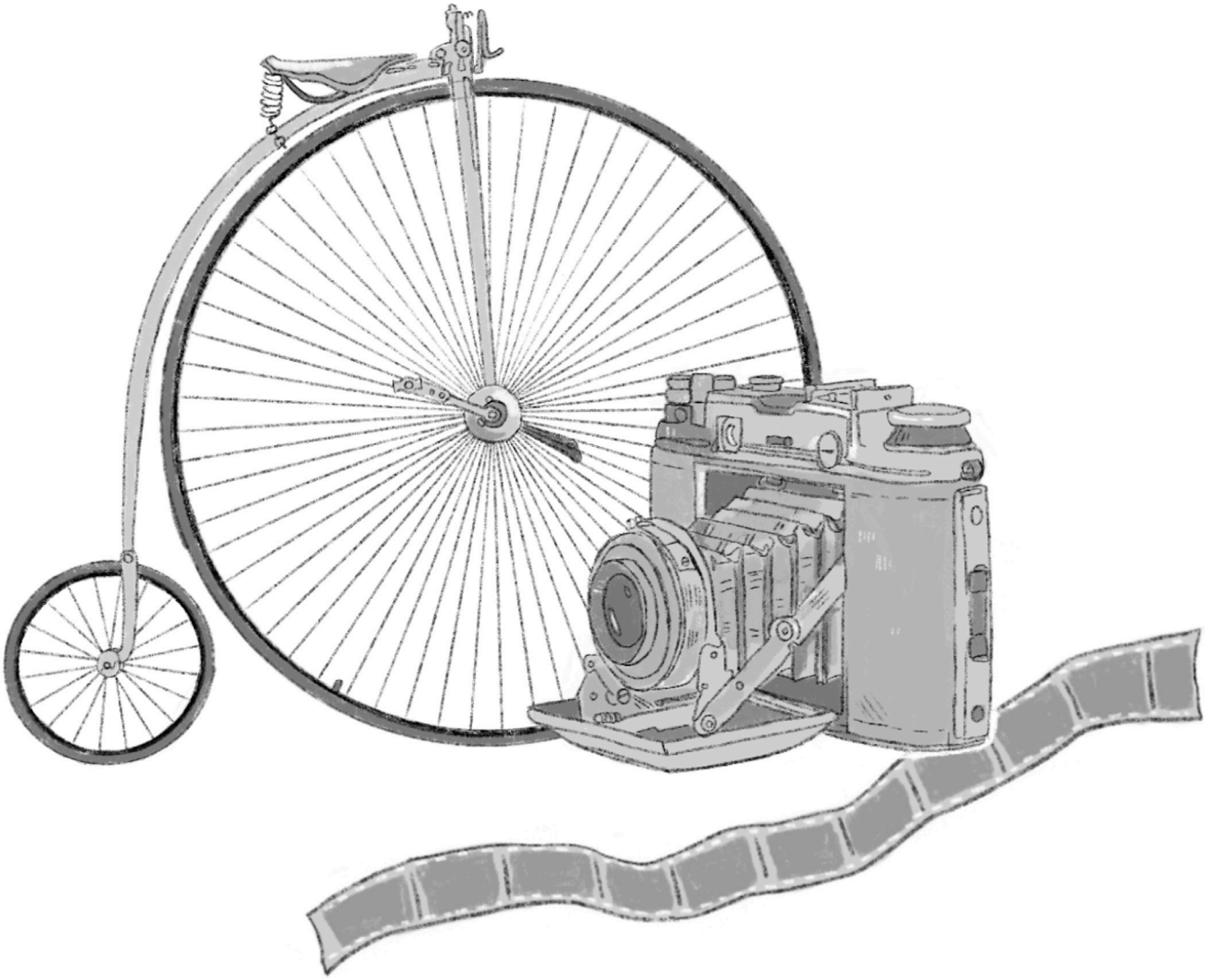
As increasing numbers of Indian-owned and operated photography studios opened from the 1850s, native women were able to access and use the photographic process to construct new images of selfhood and challenge ideas of domesticity. Increasing access to photography in popular media encouraged women to shape their own aesthetic and taste. When looking at contemporary images of middle-class Indian women, the distinctiveness of a reformed self-identity becomes clear. The relaxed and glamourous images indicate a 'new' Indian woman who is exploring the limits of personal taste, individuality, and emancipation by challenging ideas of female seclusion and private domestication. In a subtle way, women's access to cameras and photography studios offered new ideas of freedom through fashion, and independence from highly posed colonial portraiture. The same can be said when looking at lower-class women's interaction with photography. Although more often photographed with their husbands or families, societal status did not stop the expression of this novel conception of a woman's role in the public and private. The physical act of photographing women outside of the home represented a newfound turn towards exploring spatial freedoms. Here, marriage is enforced as a conjugality – both husband and wife – rather than an alliance between families or an eroticisation of the female 'Other'. As such, women were able to express themselves more in photographs through their pose and physical proximity to the husband.

The notion that women had the possibility to self-realise and self-conceptualise through photography highlights the increasing possibility of re-shaping the definitions of the uses of the camera, granting them new powers of agency and determinism. As women are often contained by social boundaries and norms, the fact that they had access to such a technology and used it to their advantage indicates how transformative this change in meaning and use of the photographic medium was. It becomes evident that this newfound accessibility to photography facilitated a turn towards freedom of self-expression, and a gradual break with social boundaries. In this way, photography – once a symbol of empire – was shaped by Indian women's agency and transformed. Similarly, this trend can be found when looking at men's interactions with the medium.

As photography became more widespread throughout India, via handheld devices – especially The Brownie camera released in 1900 - Indian men transformed the understanding of technology from one of empire to one of Indian self-rule. Simply by owning and using cameras, Indian men threatened the power

of the British authorities. As more Indian men used cameras to document their lives and outlook, they were able to construct a unique Indian perspective and identity through photography. A 1919 photograph of the nationalist Indian leader Bal Tilak with his hand placed upon an anti-British newspaper: the Kesari by N. K. Virkar situates the camera as a medium wielding authority. This image exhibits the customary use of photography in anti-colonial politics and the willingness of Indian people to shape and create their own image with the camera. What becomes clear is not only the increased use of photography, but also the democratisation of an aesthetic previously only wielded by colonial authorities. Tilak poses in an authoritative and proud manner, something which is usually socially assigned to British leaders. However, by appropriating the camera, Virkar is also able to adapt this symbol and construct a new Indian national aesthetic. In this light, Indian men are no longer alienated or excluded outright from the photographic process as before. As such, in a profound way, photography gave Indian men the autonomy to construct images of *themselves*, mirroring the agency photography also gave to Indian women. The development of the bicycle follows a similar path towards anti-colonial uses.

Initially, the bicycle was imported and used by the colonial authorities, but by 1915, with nearly 3,500 coming into the country annually, the bicycle became assimilated into Indian society. This increasingly widespread use allowed the Indian population to develop a new sense of mobile freedom and control. This expanded mobility allowed Indian working men to gather at rallies and political events, and bicycles were also used to spread anti-colonial rhetoric through the means of a loudspeaker or the handing out of pamphlets. In this way, it can be said that the increasing use of the bicycle was coupled with the increase in Indian national agency. Indian people were able to buy and use the bicycle not only as a method of transportation for the physical body, but also to transfer and disseminate ideas of self-identity and nationalism. Bicycles were also common among striking workers by the 1930s, as evidenced in the Bombay general strike of 1937, where strikers were photographed carrying placards whilst riding bicycles. Alongside the new Indian control over photography, print, and visual media: newspaper images, amateur photographs, and



Illustrated by Lydia Wiernik

postcards were able to have their meanings dictated by Indian people, spreading messages of anti-colonialism faster and across wider locations. Photographs of these mass protests were now able to be captured using the camera; filled with cycling Indians protesting, a clear message of anti-Britishness and Indian control was gradually formed and disseminated.

Although it is harder to identify women's interaction with the bicycle, this does not indicate that they were invisible in the democratising process. There were cases of women workers having access to and using the bicycle: the 1946–1951 Telangana Rebellion included both male and female cyclists-cum-activists. Though female students frequently used the bicycle as a means of travelling around campuses, women were less likely to work in industrial sectors and have therefore not attracted the same historical or indeed contemporary attention as compared to Indian men. Opportunities for work and education were limited for women and are less represented in relation to cycling than they are in photography. As such, the re-definition of these technologies may have been faced with broader societal gender barriers, however, the wider transformation and assimilation of these technologies should evidence the radical break with past Indian cultural boundaries and the continual development towards a collective identity transgressing social norms. The bicycle helped to establish a newfound sense of material empowerment and collective identity; through the physical form of gathering but also through the emotional collective identity created. The widespread use of the bicycle and the camera reconfigured the technology from one of empire to one of Indian identity. The process of development and deterioration of both technologies is evident when looking at the process of assimilation into Indian society by the twentieth century; once colonial tools transformed into beacons through which Indian people could illuminate their national and individual identities.

The Trade Union Movement: A Story of Sustained Survival?

By Sophia Aiello

Before the 1980s, trade unions were considered an essential part of the British social fabric, a way for the 'every day' worker's voice to be heard and for government policies to favour the working class. However, after the 1980s the role of trade unions in Britain significantly deteriorated. Since Thatcher's anti-union legislation, union action has not resulted in any significant changes to government legislation, wages, or pricing. However, this decline is not necessarily permanent. The position of trade unions has always, by its very nature, been one of almost simultaneous development and deterioration, as governments and corporate leaders have attempted to reduce their power. Yet trade unions have remained resilient. Even if their impact has fallen, they have not disappeared. Therefore, while there was the trend of development until the 1980s has been followed by subsequent deterioration, the true picture of trade unions is not so black and white.

British trade unions began in the eighteenth century, but due to suppression by the government and employers, their power and influence remained sporadic and short-lived through most of the nineteenth century. British unionism received its legal foundation in the Trade Union Act of 1871. However, it was not until 1905 that unionism seriously developed. The years 1905–1914 witnessed serious industrial unrest, resulting in a significant increase in trade union membership. The industries in which membership rose most significantly were transportation, coal mining, and textiles. For example, the Miner's Federation of Great Britain (1888) had 600,000 members by 1908. Trade unions developed rapidly as a force to protect worker's wages and working conditions. They did not only develop in industrial contexts (the 'old unions') but new unions of semiskilled workers like the Firemen's Union and the National Sailors' Union also emerged. New unions took more direct action, organising strike action in port cities across Britain. Therefore, before World War I the role, power, and influence of trade unions was growing.

However, the role of trade unions changed during First World War. Instead of campaigning for better wages or jobs, unions began to support the war effort, cutting back on strikes and restrictive practices. Moreover, as industrial production of armaments was a central feature of the war, jobs were created, and membership doubled from 1.4 million in 1914 to 8.3 million by 1920. Despite this, unions were less political during the First World War which was, to some extent, the result of new anti-trade union legislation. Acts such as the Munitions of War Act of 1915 forbade strikes and lockouts and were designed to control labour mobility which therefore restricted the actions of trade unions. During the war, union actions such as strikes and wage bargaining were restricted by the government as they were deemed unpatriotic, and many union members volunteered to fight while others wanted to support the war effort. Between the wars, unions continued to decline, with emphasis placed on recovery rather than equality. For example, the 1927 Trade Disputes and Trade Union Act imposed major curbs on union power, preceding later Thatcher legislation which outlawed strikes and picketing. This deteriorating role continued into the Second World War. The same war-time pressures experienced in the First World War were replicated in this one. It was not until the Labour Party won its first clear election victory in 1945 that the trade union movement really developed.

Trade unions reached the peak of their political power, membership, prestige, and visibility in the post-war era. Following the war, the partnership between the trade unions and their influence and sponsorship of the Labour government's agenda was clear. This is evidenced in the creation of the National Health Service, education reforms and the nationalisation of the coal, rail, and dock industries. Trade unions not only addressed job protection, wages, and working conditions, but also influenced and helped to create radical government policies. Moreover, with male workers leaving the armed forces and entering employment upon the end of the Second World War, union membership offered some stability to those trying to find work. Additionally, the years following the wars were recovery years resulting in relative stability in union membership. In times of recovery and insecure employment, unions offer appealing protection. As a result, unions were heavily represented in leadership roles in the Labour Party. Even though the Conservative Party did not welcome trade unions and their members, they regarded them as necessary and essential parts of British social fabric.

Membership continued to increase into the 1970s, reaching eleven million, but the prestige of the unions continued to decline and the post-war consensus had disappeared. Strike action increased, and in 1970 over ten million working days were lost, despite Labour's attempt to prevent unofficial strikes through Barbara Castle's paper 'In Place of Strife'. Such events show that even before Edward Heath's Conservative

government came into power, unions were becoming increasingly unpopular and difficult to work with. This period saw deterioration and development occurring almost simultaneously. The government passed acts to limit union powers such as the Industrial Relations Act (1971) which made prestrike ballots compulsory, outlawed the closed shop, and set up an Industrial Relations Court to judge broken agreements. Notwithstanding the new legislation, trade unions took part in some of their most significant industrial action in this period. The 1972 coal strike demonstrated miners' solidarity and power as fly pickets were able to strangle the movement of coal to power stations. Consequently, they were able to reject the eight percent wage rise and, after six weeks, won complete victory. They received £116 million from their employers and the average miner's wage rose by between seventeen to twenty-four percent.

However, the development and demonstration of trade union power and influence through successful industrial action ultimately led to their downfall. When in 1976 James Callaghan became the prime minister of a Labour government, the country was in serious financial difficulties, and cuts to spending were deemed necessary. This was unpopular with unions. As a result, Callaghan faced strikes from health workers, local government employees, and teachers, and the prospect of a new pay demand from the miners. This period, November 1978 to February 1979, is known as the Winter of Discontent. It forced Callaghan to call another election. The Winter of Discontent led to widespread hostility towards the trade union movement and the desire for a government that would reduce union power and control the radicals. This resulted in the Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher.

Following her election, Thatcher introduced new union laws and restrictive legislation to combat the industrial unrest that had plagued the previous Callaghan and Wilson governments. She viewed strong trade unions as an obstacle to economic growth. Her legislation curbed their power and privatised state-owned industries. The trade unions therefore became her enemies. Although laws against trade unions came into force from the beginning of her session in parliament, Thatcher's actions to reduce the role of trade unions really came to a head in the 1984–85 miner's strike. On 6 March 1984, the National Coal Board announced its plans to cut the national coal output by four million tons. At this time, the coal industry employed more than 190,000 people and it was estimated that the Coal Board's plan would mean the loss of 20,000 jobs. While not all miners took strike action, striking miners managed to shut down pits across Britain. However, unlike in the 1970s, Thatcher had taken steps to stockpile enough coal and coke to keep the country supplied for six months in case of a strike. She had also made a secret deal with non-union drivers to transport coal, so there were no outages. Thatcher's government held firm throughout the strike and gradually across the country miners returned to work. After 362 days, the strike ended on 3 March 1985. There was no settlement and Thatcher's government had not made a single concession. This event had major implications for the future of trade unions. It really saw the end of their power as a vehicle of political change. Membership declined from 13 million in 1979 to around 8 million by the early 1990s.

Despite the 1997 Labour Party win, the deterioration of unions continued. Blair's "New Labour" was less influenced by the unions than previous Labour governments had been. In fact, it has been argued that he personally disdained British trade unionism. Blair's government also refused to repeal many anti-union laws, despite the unions providing most of the funds for his campaign. This might indicate a period of further decay for trade unions. However, the demise of trade unionism may be overstated. In 2011, for example, public sector workers went on strike for 24 hours over pension cuts. This strike massively affected the country with an equivalent of 1.39 million working days lost because of the strike, sixty-two percent of schools being forced to close entirely, and 30,000 routine operations cancelled. This recent example shows that while trade union membership has more than halved since 1979, the role of trade unions, even after a massive deterioration, can still significantly affect the country. Although no trade union event has caused significant governmental change since Thatcher, the unions still have power to rally the people and make a stance. The trade union movement provides us with an example of a resilient form of organisation and process that exists and operates within an inevitable process of deterioration and development.

The End of Whig History?

By Angus Forbes-Cable

A conventional teaching of historiography would prescribe that Whig history is dead, and rightly so. The idea that history can be described as a long march of progress, typically with the West leading the charge, to a more enlightened and civilised future has been long associated with a roster of triumphalist nineteenth century historians such as Macaulay, Ranke and Acton. The movement, we are taught, was profoundly shaken when the West drowned its pretensions to civilisation in the mud of the Somme. Such was the subsequent decline that Herbert Butterfield's seminal The Whig Interpretation of History, published in 1931, was less a philippic against a prevailing norm and more an autopsy of an already dead genre. New generations of cultural, social and intellectual historians began to dominate the universities by the second half of the twentieth century. Whig history became ever more antiquated, even abhorrent, as its brash simplifications, its focus on 'great men', its blatant Eurocentrism, and its justification of imperialism were further exposed and dissected on the academic cutting board. To be called a Whig, noted J. G. A. Pocock, is a charge which every historian dreads.

Of course, the picture is not that simple. As Butterfield outlines, Whig history is not just the narrowly defined 'tendency in many historians to write on the side of Protestants and Whigs,' typical of the nineteenth century scholars he takes to task. Applied more widely, Whig history is the attempt 'to emphasise certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present.' The Whig historian measures the past in terms of the present, identifying 'friends' and 'enemies' of progress, and imagining 'that he has discovered a 'root' or an 'anticipation' of the twentieth century, when in reality he is in a world of different connotations altogether.' Why, then, are we presented with such a Whiggish view of Whig history? Butterfield's account, which paints Acton and his acolytes as pedlars of an outmoded method, inimical to the progress of historiography, seems to apply precisely the same principles he criticises. Nor could his later works adhere to the strict regimen he prescribes. Butterfield's later book, The Englishman and His History, attempts to explain the relative stability of the English political system, praising in all-too-familiar paeans the Whigs and their propensity to work 'in co-operation with' the 'historical progress' and the 'ordinances of Providence,' so much so that Butterfield's colleague John P. Kenyon described it as a 'conversion to Whiggism.'

How can we imagine that Whig history is dead if even its most famous critic could not stray from it? The historiography of science perhaps best exemplifies this problem. By definition, it takes a relatively modern term, science, and Whiggishly applies it to historical periods and characters who would not have seen it as we do. Physicist and Nobel laureate Steven Weinberg has argued that histories of science should be permitted to be Whiggish because, he believes, science can identify objective truth, and its history has ultimately been an endeavour of correcting what is 'wrong' with what is 'right'. Whereas it is difficult to argue for objective progress or truth in other fields, Weinberg argues that 'the history of science is not merely a tale of intellectual fashions, succeeding one another without direction, but a history of progress toward truth.' For him, the overturning of the geocentric model of the universe was progress, as was the development of germ theory, or the splitting of the atom. When studying the history of science in terms of the accumulation of knowledge, it is difficult not to speak in terms of totemic progress. Weinberg's sentiment is shared by other scientist-cum-historians including Howard Stein, who argued that we must understand certain scientists and their theories using modern, anachronistic concepts, as the scientists in question were 'trying to articulate ideas for which there was as yet no available vocabulary.'

Social history is likewise rife with attempts to reach back into the past and find antecedents for modern movements, applying to them modern terms which they would not have recognised. Many feminist historians see their task as being ethical as well as intellectual, underpinned as much by 'emotional and political passions' as it is by 'intellectual imperatives,' in the words of Susan Pedersen. Such passions include the desire to correct a gender imbalance in historical study and to fight for women's rights in the modern day. A feminist interpretation tends to colour history in a way that can be described as Whiggish, as it is difficult for a feminist scholar to look back at the past two hundred years and not to see a positive trajectory of women winning educational, legal and political rights—a trajectory which one may even venture to call progress. Historical characters are often discussed in terms of whether they helped or hindered the cause of women's rights. Feminist historians have reached back and found precursors in Astell, Behn, and even Christine de Pizan, plucking them from the labyrinthine conversations of the past and painting a narrative which connects their lives with modern feminist movements, though of course these women would not have recognised such a connection. Likewise, Marxist historians have looked to movements such as the Apostolic Brethren, the Anabaptists, and the Diggers in the search for proto-socialist societies. It has been coloured by Marx's Whiggish notion that history naturally progresses through a succession of social systems which will terminate with socialism. Economic historians often trace the origins of capitalism to Smith, though the reality of capitalism has changed significantly since the eighteenth century.

We should not be too harsh on Butterfield, who admits in The Whig Interpretation 'there is a tendency for all history to veer over into Whig history,' as historians by nature seek to abridge and simplify the vast quantities of information they deal with. In attempting to answer his question What is History?, E. H. Carr argued that we can never truly detach our own morals

from our historical judgements, hoping 'to show how closely the work of the historian mirrors the society in which he works.' In this light, we can postulate that Butterfield's earlier Whig Interpretation reflected a time when Whig history was increasingly unpopular among young academics such as himself, whereas The Englishman and His History, written during the Second World War, retreated to the comfort of self-affirming narratives. We can learn so much about a period from the biases and interests of its historians, and it is pure arrogance to assume that our own writings will be free from the scrutiny of future generations. The biases of the nineteenth-century Whigs are so apparent to us only because of our cultural distance from the world in which they lived. As our world recedes into the past, and the history books written today become historical documents, our fallible theories and contrivances will be seen in the same nakedness. 'We are all of us exultant and unrepentant Whigs,' Butterfield concedes, 'Those who, perhaps in the misguided austerity of youth, wish to drive out that Whig interpretation… are sweeping a room which humanly speaking cannot long remain empty.'

But why is Whig history so unavoidable? Because, it seems, it is asking too much of the historian to be a truly neutral and impassive observer. We are by nature biased and our historical judgements are necessarily informed by our own worldviews, so when making historical assessments, historians necessarily judge the past in terms of the present—or, more specifically, their present. The historian cannot hope to escape the enquiry of future generations by attempting to be objective and neutral. Even if this were possible, so much could still be gleaned from what was included and omitted from the narrative, for in this we deem what is considered important by the historian, reflecting the standards and interests of the day. The nineteenth century is full of stirring narratives, Whiggish triumphalism and great men because such histories reflected the wants of their time, when newly emerging nation states were seeking identities and legitimacy. The modern rise in feminist studies, and more recently black studies, is quite plainly reflective of social and political change in the modern day. Weinberg advocates his Whiggish history of science because it reflects science as he sees it, as a progressive force for good. The past is an incredibly confusing mess, a maze full of dead ends, and the historian has the distinction of being able to step back and make sense of it by understanding it in hindsight. If we are ever to make any sense of such a vast quantity of information, let alone teach it to others, we must draw up artificial categories and contrived connections. There is no history "as it actually was", as Ranke claimed, only what we choose to discuss and how we choose to present it. Thus, as a lens through which we view the present, history is not only profoundly shaped by it; it is written to serve it.

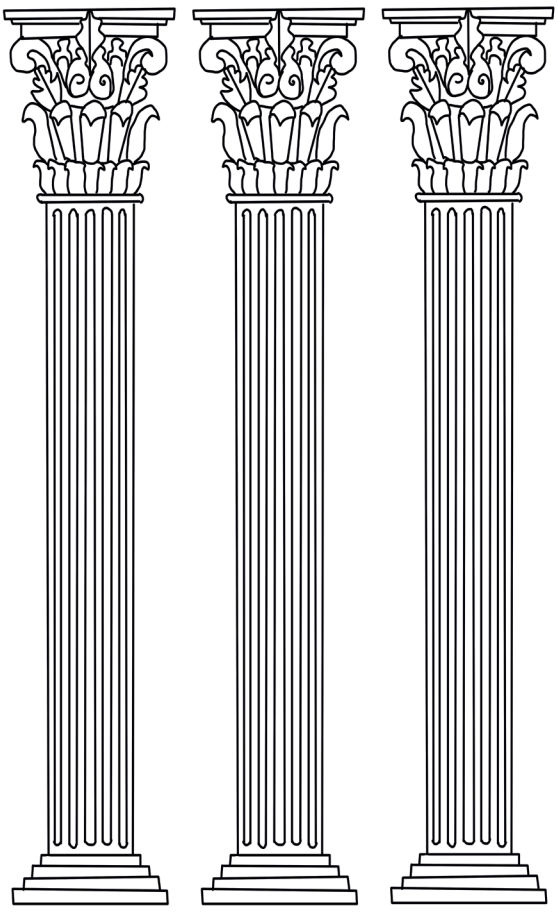


Illustration by Emily Geeson

Developing gender – the 'Invention of Women' in nineteenth century Yorubaland

By Martha Stutchbury

Feminist movements in the Western world have often drawn on themes of universality to advance their aims. Emmeline Pankhurst implored her followers to assist in 'free[ing] half of the human race' during the struggle for suffrage in the United Kingdom, insinuating that her specific vision for female emancipation included women around the world. In such narratives, women are liberating themselves - one nation-state at a time - from archaic and static mechanisms of patriarchy. Second-wave feminist discourse holds that women's contributions have always been governed by rigid public-private sphere distinctions, and that egalitarian development looks like the gradual reduction of barriers into the global workplace. In this view, European suffrage movements have become the case studies for development, and the Global South can use Western blueprints of progress and emancipation to 'catch up' with Western women's freedom attainments. In 'The Invention of Women', Oyěwùmí takes a hammer to this conceptualisation of a 'universal' gender struggle, dismissing the assumption that gender is an a-historical mechanism for the timeless subjugation of women across the world. Women are not always, as many Western academics would have us believe, taking a linear pilgrimage from oppression to liberation, the latter stage of which is characterised by the 'shaking off' of longstanding cultural and legal barriers to their participation in a 'man's world'. Instead, Oyěwùmí argues that gender as a primary 'organisational principle' – capable of shaping and dictating social hierarchies – is a distinctly Western invention, imported and institutionalised by colonialists throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Oyěwùmì's text analyses the southwestern Nigerian state of Yorubaland and its colonisation by the British from 1862-1960. She attributes the creation of a 'gendered consciousness' for Yoruba's citizens to the arrival of colonisers, claiming that colonial powers were responsible for embedding hierarchical conceptions of gender. This was made possible through multiple avenues of colonial intervention, including the creation of a 'public sphere' of privatised property from which women were excluded, and the construction of an education system that institutionalised and reproduced Western gender roles.

Oyěwùmì argues that Western gender roles are produced by a theory of body that is inextricably influenced by Cartesian dualism – a philosophy which posits a complete separation between mind and matter. British philosophy asks us to consider the body as an 'expression of the interior', a kind of unruly prison from which rationalised expression - untainted by bodily 'instinct and affect' - can ultimately emerge through rational self-cultivation. Throughout history, various groups have been depicted as being 'dominated' by the instincts of the body and therefore unable to attain these purified and mind-orientated insights. These groups include those who are sexed female, as well as 'primitives' and people with disabilities. This tradition has entrenched a permeating 'bio-logic' in the West, whereby 'physical bodies [become] social bodies' and visual indicators come to provide the dominant rationale for determining the capabilities and capacities of individuals. Oyěwùmì argues that Westerners disproportionately privilege the sense of sight in their constructions of meaning and hierarchy, using visualisations to reinforce 'biological foundationalism' and generate restrictive understandings about gender.

It is difficult to imagine a societal system of meaning and knowledge derivation that is different from one's own. In meditation, a common practice is to close one's eyes and systematically bring one's attention to the sensations in different parts of the body. When I do this, I can feel my eyes involuntarily following my attentional focus. I bring my left ankle to mind, and my eyes shift behind closed lids to 'look' towards my bottom left – to visually confirm what I 'feel' sensationally. This is futile, as the foot in question is excluded from my visual field, and my attempts to stop myself divert my attention from the exercise at hand – the observation of sensations, rather than sights. This difficulty with meditation has been cited much more frequently amongst Western practitioners than by those who have grown up and practised in meditation's regions of origin – namely Japan and India. For me, this provides a clear, unrelated example of how the internalisation of cultural specificities might result in the privileging of different kinds of insight and knowledge. In the case of Yorubaland, Oyěwùmì argues that British preoccupations with the visual as a means of categorisation were enforced on the Yoruba people, despite Yorubaland's history of using entirely different mechanisms for deriving meaning.

This privileging of sight over other senses is not geographically universal, argues Oyěwùmì, and the sexed 'physicalities' of maleness and femaleness didn't have social implications in pre-colonial Yorubaland. Instead, Yorubaland's hierarchies were constructed around a 'highly relational' system in which and age and seniority, often determined by audio cues, were the central determiners of societal roles. Anatomic

males and females were occasionally referred to in pre-colonial Yoruba culture and language, such as in discussions about childbirth, but these categorisations didn't 'have much social significance and…[didn't] project into the social realm'. The 'domestic sphere' - a central tenet of Western feminist conversation – was also not a rigid category in this pre-colonial context. Instead, 'male and female bodies' were both involved in 'gainful employment' when it was seen to benefit their families and communities. Work and home life were therefore not defined by the confirmation of 'femininities' or 'masculinities' within distinct private and public spheres.

The development of Western historiography in Yorubaland was another key means through which gender roles were internalised and entrenched by colonial 'developments.' Reverend Johnson was one of the first translators of Oyo into English. In his description of one Crown Prince's daughter, Johnson depicts events within distinctly Western paradigms. Omosun, 'though a female, was masculine in character, and she considered the rank and privileges of the…Crown Prince her own'. Johnson's masculinisation of authority is evident here – he relays Yorubaland's history through a Western framework which understands power as being 'naturally' masculine, thereby attributing the category of 'other' to authoritative bodies (such as Omosun) that are sexed female. It is through such culturally tainted historicisations, which have been adopted by many historians and sociologists in their discussion of non-Western subjects, that the idea of 'universal' gender roles take root in political and academic discussions about the development of societies.

This piece does not negate the significance of the gender-based hierarchies currently in place across the world. Indeed, Oyěwùmì highlights that gender has become a significant category of social organisation in Yorubaland. The colonial enforcement of laws, curriculums, and wage labour systems that disadvantage female bodies has created new inequalities and an increasingly binarised understandings of gender roles amongst the Yoruba people. However, the article does aim to suggest that Western presuppositions of gender's 'universality' ignores the malleability - and even insignificance – of gender categories in cultures where social meaning and organisation is derived from other sources. Presupposing that biologically determined gender roles have always existed, everywhere, is to undermine the extent to which they were introduced to serve the political and economic aims of colonisers. It is also to ignore the potential for radically restructuring gender roles in the present day.

'Able-Bodied-ness' and the Abolitionist Movement

By Scarlett Kiaras-Attari

On April 23rd 1792, Henry Dundas stood before Parliament to present his plan for a gradual abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. The key word, however, is 'gradual' as Dundas argued that an immediate abolition of the slave trade would be ruinous for the merchants and plantation owners in the British colonies. He proposed that the merchants and planters should be given time to encourage the 'rearing [of] a sufficient number of native [enslaved people] to answer the purpose of cultivating the plantations…' He then proposed regulations to limit the upper age of the enslaved people being transported and to increase the numbers of women being imported proportional to men. Dundas' suggestions were part of a wider conversation taking root in the early 1790s that advocated for plantation owners in the British Caribbean to focus on reproduction in order to maintain and develop their enslaved population rather than rely on the slave trade.

This article will explore the intersections of new reproduction policies in the British Caribbean with concepts of disability to examine how, during the development of abolition policies, colonialists used disability to place value and to conceptualise the reproductive role of their captives. In doing so, it is imperative to note that this article focuses on the self-serving narratives of colonialists when discussing female reproduction. Importantly, such notions should not be conflated with the real experiences of enslaved women and their relationships to pregnancy.

What constitutes disability is not a fixed definition. Rather, as Boster points out, disability is 'defined by interactions between bodies and their physical, social, cultural and aesthetic environments.' Kennedy has similarly pointed out that it is societal barriers that restrict one's access to their environment, rather than the impairment itself. The social model of disability employed by these scholars then suggests that what was perceived as 'able-bodied' for an enslaved person was dependent on certain factors: the location, the period, the economy, and culture. As Jennifer Morgan has pointed out, 'to be enslaved meant to be locked into a productive relationship whereby all that your body could do was harnessed to accumulate capital for another.' In the context of a capitalist slave society then, what was considered a 'disabled body' would be one that could not turn a profit.

Turner has previously pointed out the main concern for planters was purchasing able-bodied workers who would be 'able to quickly return the investment.' In this sense, prior to pro-natal policies, pregnancy seems to be described as a limiting condition, with many slave owners believing it took women away from reaping maximal gain. Several planters of the Caribbean attested to the preference for men over women because of the risk of pregnancy. Robert Hibbert, a merchant in Jamaica accounted that the Jamaica report of 1788 demonstrated that imported enslaved men outnumbered enslaved women by five to three, and generally men exceed women by twenty-five percent on sugar estates. John Terry, a manager of an estate in Grenada reported that he 'never received any directions about attention to pregnant women' and 'has heard managers say it was cheaper to buy African slaves than to breed: that they wished the children to die, for they lost much of the mothers work' during their pregnancy and early stages of the child's life. William Macintosh, Commander of an East India Company's ship reported that less than half of his 400 enslaved people were women He noted that the men cost between £16-£18 and the women were about £4 less. It seems as though the mere possibility of women becoming pregnant was perceived by the white colonialists as a disability that limited enslaved women's work capacity and therefore placed a lower economic value on them. In conversations linking able-bodied-ness and reproduction, the sources indicate that pregnancy was seen as a condition that affected labour profitability and sale prices. As a result, pregnant captives were treated as if they were expendable. William Fitzmaurice, an overseer in Jamaica reported that pregnant women were 'very often flogged… and frequently miscarried from severe whippings.' Morgan has previously argued that in order perpetuate institutional slavery white colonialist in effect erased the enslaved person's connections to 'structures of community' including that of kinship and motherhood. Sources indicate that such stripping away of the chance of maternity was justified and conceptualised through notions of what was considered able-bodied-ness and value.

After policies for gradual abolishment of the slave trade started to develop, there was a shift in the way enslaved women's reproductive capabilities were regarded. With growing abolitionist sentiments and Henry Dundas' advocacy of importing childbearing women, an enslaved women's fecundity became valuable, and the protection of fertility became a major concern amongst parliamentarians, doctors, and slave holders. This assertion is confirmed by David Collins, a doctor in the West Indies, who notes that 'it is much cheaper to breed than to purchase; the price of new [enslaved people] being three times as much as it was forty years ago' and advocates that plantation owners should 'procure

[women]' and 'prevent their sterility' to 'present [the plantation] with a sufficient number of annual recruits.' Doctors began to recommend that fertile women should be given priority for transportation from Africa and for purchase. And thus, the notion of an enslaved woman being considered as dis-able-bodied because of the possibility of her becoming pregnant was now considered as an able-bodied asset. Dr Collins goes as far to suggest the invaluableness of enslaved women to 'ascend to a higher motive' by bearing children and uses phrases such as 'susceptible of labour' to speak of the alleged soundness of investment in them. It is significant that terms particularly in relation to the fecundity of a women could now impact the value positively or used to attract buyers. Correspondence from that time confirms the association of notions of 'able-bodied-ness' with enslaved women's reproductive capabilities. Conversely, infertile and barren women were spoken about as disabled. For example, Dr James Grainger states that those who suffer from 'incurable obstructions to the meses, whence proceed barrenness' should not be bought. Additionally, Dr. Collins, and planter Simon Taylor advised against the purchasing of 'Angola and Mandingo' people as they were viewed as 'soft' and lazy' as well as being particularly infertile and 'no chance of the women breeding.' Any sign of potential infertility could be seen as an 'uncurable obstruction' and could render the enslaved woman as unsound or less valuable. Such rhetoric shifted at the same time as a where capital could be generated. This indicates the way in which notions of able-bodied-ness were used to determine the value reproductive capabilities.

Within these pro-natal reproductive policies, the rhetoric of disability was still wielded, now to create an ideal labour force. Doctors and traders viewed certain African ethnicities as superior breeders based on characteristics such as physical build and intellect. Collins, alongside others like Phillips and Taylor sought to purposefully match certain ethnicities to produce the ideal offspring for labour, a practice that prefigured eugenics. For example, Igbo women, described by Collins as 'stubborn' and 'addicted to suicide' with more domestic tendences were paired with men from the Gold Coast who were 'the most hardy and robust; yet, bringing with them into slavery lofty ideas of independence…' Planters hoped that the sexual pairing would 'calm' the mind of the Gold Coast man and maintain the physicality and reproductively strong bodies of their parents while also reducing the alleged suicidal tendences. As Morgan highlights, the forced couplings of enslaved people was an 'unspeakably violent intrusion of the market into the intimate lives of the enslaved' for the purchaser's 'strategic investment strategies.' Although it is difficult to discern whether such ideas of pairing certain ethnicities came to fruition, it seems clear that the distinction between 'able-bodied' or 'disabled' enslaved person was central to the white colonialists' ideals of sound management and generation of economic profit. The shift in sentiment from eschewing women of childbearing age due to their perceived weakness to prioritising women and certain ethnicities for the purpose of reproducing the ideal labour force, provides evidence that the notion of what was deemed as a "disability" remained in flux and was mouldable to the demands of the slave society.

The evidence suggests that assigning the label of 'able bodied' or 'disabled' to enslaved women because of their reproductive capacity was an attempt by the white colonialists to reduce them to quantifiable sources of profit. As such, during the slave trade, an infertile enslaved women would be regarded as 'able bodied' and a fertile woman of childbearing age would be thought of as 'disabled'. Whereas, as the abolition of the slave trade developed, a fertile woman of childbearing age would be a most desirable asset and regraded as 'able bodied". The concept of 'Disability' therefore, was a fluid definition that changed depending on the developing economic situation of the slave trade. The precarious conditions under which disability was assigned to women's bodies served not only to maximise economic profit but also to protect the illusion of control over institutional slavery.

Lost Cause Revisionism: The Deterioration of the Confederacy, the Development of Revisionism, and the Debate over Memorialization

By Sam Marks

On March 21, 1861, on the stage of the Athenaeum theater in Savannah, Georgia, the Vice President of the Confederate States of America, Alexander H. Stephens, delivered what has come to be known as the 'Cornerstone Speech'. He proclaimed:

'Our new government['s] foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery--subordination to the superior race--is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.'

Since his utterance of these words at the dawn of the Confederacy, tremendous lengths have been taken to change the perception of the cornerstone of the Confederacy, including by Stephens himself.

The short-lived Confederate States of America lay defeated following the Civil War. The eleven states that seceded underwent Reconstruction to rejoin the Union and had to accept defeat, the abolition of slavery, and enfranchisement of African Americans. But immediately after the Civil War, the legacy of the Confederacy was given avenues for fluidity. President Andrew Johnson, a Democrat who took office following the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, issued pardons for top Confederate officials and generals, undermined the work of the Freedmen's Bureau and allowed for southern states to establish segregationist laws known as Black Codes. His official position was one of unionism, but he also believed that the rights of African Americans were best left to states.

Johnson's agenda, however, was abruptly stopped with the election of Republican Ulysses S. Grant in 1868. In contrast to Johnson, Grant pursued far more racially equitable policies at the expense of states' rights. The Fifteenth Amendment was passed to protect the right to vote regardless of race, and Grant suspended the judicial practice of habeas corpus to destroy the growing Ku Klux Klan at its near inception and provided greater protections for newly freed citizens from slavery. Grant's reconstruction took on forms that were similar to Lincoln's plans, but it was not to last indefinitely.

Corruption within Grant's administration, the financial panic of 1873, and the restoration of power to pardoned Confederates saw the Republicans lose ground in Congress and a resurgence of the Democratic Party. Frequently, skirmishes were now fought between southern militias and federal troops as the citizens of the former Confederate states began to detest their federal oversight. America looked like it was on the brink of a second Civil War.

The election of 1876 saw a revitalised Democratic Party and a popular presidential candidate in Samuel J. Tilden emerging on the political scene. Tilden won the majority of the popular vote, but his fate lay in the hands of the electoral college. The vote in all remaining states was contested as the Republican state electoral commissions rejected enough Democratic votes to award the election to Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes by just one electoral vote. To calm Democrats who claimed fraud in the election, Hayes removed all remaining federal troops from the southern states. This marked the end of Reconstruction, allowing southern sectionalism to establish itself once again in the name of Unionism.

For two decades, the federal government continued to pursue more racially equitable policies. However, the re-emancipated southern state governments had more leeway to pass their own laws and reflect on their own history. The loss of the Civil War, abolition of slavery, and the Reconstruction Era were economically and emotionally devastating for the southern establishment. In order to deal with the various traumas following the conflict, several southern organisations were formed based on Lost Cause historical revisionism to justify what was fought for. Men like Alexander H. Stephens, who previously justified and promoted the institution of slavery would soon argue against the 'misquotations' assigned to them while simultaneously defending their actions regarding secession.

In sharp contrast to the 'Cornerstone Speech', former Confederate leaders attempted to distance the importance slavery played in causing the war. Groups like the United Daughters of the Confederacy, a group that still exists today, institutionalised neo-Confederate ideals of defending states' rights by memorialising and glorifying former leaders. Throughout the 1890s, statues of former generals and statesmen were built all over the south and school textbooks were written with sympathy towards the failed Confederacy, having little to say on racial issues and justifying racial hierarchy. The Lost

Cause remained sectional as they developed but would soon enter the national discussion.

The 1896 presidential election saw the election of Republican William McKinley. Being the last president to have fought in the Civil War, a high priority for McKinley was merging southern patriotic values with the patriotism of the Union once more. His aim to defeat sectionalism did not just bring Unionist ideas to the south, it brought southern ideals into the national spectrum. The federal government, which had prioritised African American rights in previous decades, saw a gradual decline in its focus on civil rights starting with McKinley and, ironically, throughout the Progressive Era. McKinley's focus on ending sectionalism saw him pay less attention to the lynching of Africans Americans in the south than previous presidents had. Still, McKinley continued to appoint African Americans to high-level positions and believed in racial equality personally. The downplayed focus on civil rights under McKinley only got worse over the next two decades. The influence that the Lost Cause had held over the south now spread to the steps of Congress and the White House.

Following McKinley, racial progress continued to slow under other Republicans as Lost Cause influences became more prominent. Theodore Roosevelt personally doubted racial equality. William Howard Taft stopped appointing African Americans to federal jobs and put federal funds towards Confederate monuments. Democratic President Woodrow Wilson served as the final president of the Progressive Era, which culminating in significant downgrades to African American rights. Fully segregated departments of the federal government and military segregation were made even more prominent, and prominent race riots were ignored.

During the 1910s, under both Taft and Wilson, the Ku Klux Klan re-emerged after having been defeated by the Grant administration in the 1870s. The 1915 film Birth of a Nation, depicting Klan members as heroes, was the highest-grossing film of all time until 1940 (it was then overtaken by Gone with the Wind, representing the southern plantation lifestyle). In 1926, 30,000 Klan members marched down the streets of Washington to broadcast their messages of white supremacy. It was not until the 1940s when much of the regressive impacts of Lost Cause Revisionism were diminished. The Democratic presidencies of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman were far more active on racial issues, but the impacts of Lost Cause Revisionism still played a major role in the political world.

During the 1948 presidential election, southern Democrats who were disillusioned with the more racially equitable policies of President Harry Truman walked out of the Democratic National Convention and formed a third party. The States' Rights Democratic Party ('Dixiecrats') preached principles of white supremacy and supported segregationist policies. This party was defeated in the election and subsequently dissolved following their loss. It served as one of the last major bastions of neo-confederate views in US politics. But the Lost Cause was permanently ingrained into American society.

Over time, the focus on segregation dwindled as the Civil Rights Era saw school desegregation and various Civil Rights Acts passed to promote minority rights saw the tide turn against revisionist voices. Still, symbols of Lost Cause Revisionism persisted. Presidents continued to pardon various high-ranking Confederates and attend celebratory ceremonies as symbolic gestures. The statues and monuments that were built from the 1890s to the 1940s, nearly eight decades after the Confederacy was defeated, have largely remained standing with little debate. While all Americans do not take pride in the Confederacy, it has nonetheless seemed to stay within the range of acceptability for most American discussion. This was the status until recently.

Debates regarding the memorialisation of the Confederacy have dominated American debate in recent years. The murder of George Floyd was a flashbulb event that saw Confederate monuments come under increasing discussions of racial issues within the United States. Statues that have been well-established since the 1890s have started to come down as Americans not only try to deal with how to judge the figures immortalised by the statues, but how those statues were put up in the first place. Monuments Avenue in Richmond, Virginia, which once served as a centerpiece for Confederate memorialisation, now hosts empty pedestals. Even with greater acknowledgement of the debate to take down Confederate statues, the decisions to remove certain statues do not have clear-cut sides or solutions on what should be done with them. Should all the statues be taken down? Who should have the authority to do so? Should they be in a museum? Should they be replaced? Are these actions addressing or obscuring US history?

Whatever the answer to these questions may be, the Confederacy and how it has been remembered are vital to understanding American history.

Causes of and Challenges to Southern Supremacism in the Antebellum Period

By Alex Condie

Supremacist cultures are often convinced of their own permanence. As such, the antebellum South believed their empire of white cotton and white supremacy, built on the forced labour of Black slaves, could not fall. In their histories, supremacists often emphasise the ostensibly inherent attributes that facilitated their rise to power, justify their current rule, and will secure their supremacy indefinitely. These narratives are, of course, rarely accurate. Publishing Ozymandias in 1818, Pierce Bysshe Shelley warned the new, 'modern' empires of Europe and America that their success would not last, that their confidence was misplaced. It seems that white, American Southerners did not read Shelley very closely. Ultimately, Southern narratives of supremacy contributed to the decline they supposedly precluded. To further understand supremacism itself, historians must understand how supremacist self-perceptions develop, and how this development can be bound together with the emergence of challenges to those perceptions.

The white antebellum South held two interwoven supremacist beliefs that influenced their self-perceptions: that white people were racially superior to Black people, and that white Southerners were culturally superior to white Northerners. Black Northerners, some of whom were free and affluent, were often intentionally absent from white Southern worldviews, precisely because they challenged these supremacist notions. Over the course of the first half of the 19th century, white Southern experiences moulded and validated these self-perceptions, generating a rigid confidence in their culture, society and economic system that would ultimately lead to challenges to their fundamental beliefs.

White Southern self-perceptions were governed by one's adherence to certain principles that were deemed acceptable by one's community and broader society. As Bertram Wyatt-Brown explores in Southern Honour (1982) and The Shaping of Southern Culture (2001), Southerners understood themselves as moral or immoral, 'Southern' or 'un-Southern', by the extent to which they adhered to the principles of 'honour' (largely for men) and 'grace' (largely for women). 'Honour' and 'grace' were adaptations of earlier principles drawn from a host of traditional sources of moral guidance. Wyatt-Brown finds influences of English common law, British conceptions of nobility, early modern gender roles, Protestant and sometimes Catholic teachings, and so on. Honour required of white Southern men a (pseudo-) chivalrous attitude toward women, piety, gentility and virility, an extreme sensitivity to the judgement of others, willingness to perform violent vengeance upon enemies, and loyalty to family, community, and state. Grace required of white Southern women many similar characteristics, subtracting violent and vengeful ones, and including further requirements such as sexual 'purity', motherly attentiveness and subjugation to patriarchal figures like father or husband.

Self-perceptions were also moulded by group dynamics. The seminal work of social psychologist Henri Tajfel revealed a truth long intuited — that identity and self-perception are heavily influenced by and even dependent on one's position in or out of social groupings. Or, as Tajfel better described, 'the most important principle of the subjective social order we construct for ourselves is the classification of groups as 'they' and 'we''.
White Southern self-perceptions were dependent on this separation and ranking of groups, which were informed by the experience of a society heavily involved in the maintenance of slavery. And slavery had expanded enormously by the turn of the 19th century. Though it had existed on the American continent as early as 1619, the invention of the cotton gin had vastly increased the profitability of slave-labour agriculture. Though only a quarter of Southerners owned slaves, and only a tenth owned more than six, nearly all white Southerners contributed to the eternal vigilance and constant violence required to maintain control. To incentivise the participation of non-slave owning white Southerners, cultural leaders promoted the concept of a 'herrenvolk democracy'. In this image of Southern society, the 'honour' of white men — their inherent nature, behaviour and culture — became dependent on their supremacy over Black men. One such way that Black men impeached white honour was by supposedly threatening white women. White men were thus compelled to surveil slaves and capture runaways. Many lynchings before and after the Civil War came consequent to fabricated claims of rape. The new scale of slavery required new forms of control, which in turn required white Southerners to adhere to principles of grace, honour and racial allegiance.

In this, white Southern self-perceptions were moulded by the experience of slave society, and racial supremacy became a central tenet of their identities. Toward the end of the antebellum period, however, another supremacist belief emerged. This regarded the cultural supremacy of the South, especially in comparison to the North. The agrarian Southern society and economy — sometimes Jeffersonian, always slave-laboured — became idealised as the natural order of a multiracial nation. Senators boasted that 'cotton is king', an allusion to the enormous wealth derived from slave-harvested cotton. Religious

leaders preached the sanctity of the master-slave relationship, highlighting its Biblical precedents and going so far as to claim the slave was an essential part of the Christian family. Pseudo-scientists conjectured that Black Southerners were variously deficient and needed guidance from paternalistic white Southerners. The white South, in a sense, considered itself a shining and unique example of how to structure a society. In many ways, the North stood in contrast. It was largely, though certainly not exclusively, free. It was industrialising rapidly and increasing numbers of families were moving to cities. During the antebellum period, McPherson identifies how the North and South diverged in this regard quite significantly. 68% of Northern labour worked in agriculture in 1800, declining to 40% by 1860. In the South, the proportion of agricultural labour actually increased from 82% to 84% in the same period. Northern cities and their factories were anathema to many Southerners. To them, industrialisation was the symptom of a sick civilisation that mistreated white Americans and was addicted to exploitative, capitalist wealth creation. The irony need not be discussed in detail here. Cultural supremacism emerged in response to the divergence of Northern and Southern societies.

An image forms, then, of how white Southerners came to perceive themselves as superior to the Black Americans they enslaved, and the Northerners they disdained. These supremacist self-perceptions were supposedly predicated on unimpeachable, permanent truths about the natural order of human societies. Of course, as discussed, they were actually predicated on traditional belief structures, warped by particular experiences of slave society. And slave society, as would be demonstrated by the events of the Civil War, could be destroyed. What is more, those supremacist self-perceptions actually contributed to this destruction, and thus contributed to the emergence of significant challenges to the premises of those perceptions.

Supremacist self-perceptions could not accommodate challenge. Southern honour was the manifestation of white Southern supremacy over Black slaves and amoral Northerners, so central to the maintenance of slavery. uThis significantly limited the options available to Southerners reacting to Northern provocation. Every challenge to the racial and cultural supremacist perceptions of the South thus necessitated an escalation of sectional tensions. The defining example of this was 'Bleeding Sumner', when Rep. Preston Brooks beat Senator Charles Sumner nearly to death with his cane on the floor of the Senate. Sumner had given a vituperative speech denigrating Southerners for their infatuation with 'the harlot, slavery', singling out Brooks' relative Senator Andrew Butler. Brooks had acted to defend the honour of his family and, by extension, he had 'stood forth so nobly in defence of... the honour of South Carolinians', as the Charleston Courier put it. Bleeding Sumner was considered by many to be the

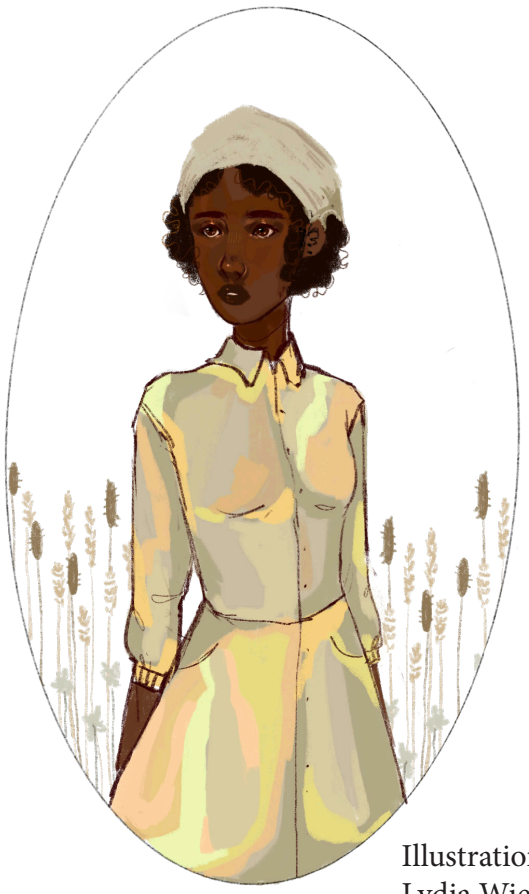


Illustration by Lydia Wiernik

'opening skirmish of the war'. This defining moment represents an apex of tensions that had been building across the antebellum period, in part due to the incendiary responses necessitated by Southern honour. White, Southern, supremacist perceptions required intense maintenance. They incentivised conformity and rewarded violent defence of their principles. Ultimately, the rigid frameworks Southerners used to justify their participation in the systems of slave society would contribute to the downfall of those same systems.

Shelley's 'traveller' notes that around the fallen statue of Rameses II, monument to the enslaver Pharaoh, 'nothing beside remains'. Plenty of supremacism remained in the South after the Civil War; plenty remains today. This only makes understanding the historical origins of supremacist beliefs a more vital subject of inquiry. The first indication this analysis offers is resounding — supremacist self-perceptions are often developed to rationalise and justify systems of exploitation that are beneficial to one group over another. That is not to say their adherents do not truly believe them, or that single actors are consciously, overtly lying (though some are). But rather, these beliefs systems develop over generations, through the involvement of entire societies. What is more, the development of belief systems can be intimately connected to the emergence of challenges to those systems. Analyses must consider these processes as integrated, and move beyond conventional understanding of historical change as rise and fall.

Reconstruction's Impact on the Development and Deterioration of African American Rights

By Amy Hendrie

The end of the Civil War in 1865 saw a watershed in the development of African American rights. The ratification of the 13th Amendment formally freed African American slaves and forced the integration of free black people into American society. Over the next decade, African American rights were constitutionally enshrined; the 14th Amendment granted them citizenship, and the 15th granted them the right to vote. Despite these developments, the end of 'Radical Reconstruction' in 1877 saw the near total deterioration of African American voting rights through the manipulation of requirements and intimidation in the form of brutal lynching. Ida B. Wells served as a strong voice against this deterioration. An eloquent journalist and a powerful activist, Wells provides us with contemporary accounts of lynchings and narrates the loss of voting opportunities as the nineteenth century progressed. By focusing on the impact of the 25th amendment and examining Well's influential writings, this article will examine the extent of the developments made towards African American rights during the period known as 'Radical Reconstruction' and will emphasise that the deterioration of these rights at the hands of white supremacy rendered developments in black rights almost ineffectual by the early twentieth century.

Described as 'the flower of the nineteenth century civilization for the American people' by Wells, the 15th Amendment granted African Americans the right to vote: 'The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied of abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude'. Passed during the period of American history known as Reconstruction, this amendment was a response to the growing question of how to integrate freed African Americans into society while simultaneously balancing public opinion in the formerly confederate South. The radical nature of the Reconstruction Amendments necessitated the presence of several thousand Northern troops in the South, enforcing the inclusion attempts of African Americans into Southern society. Indeed, the enforcement of African American enfranchisement saw 2000 African Americans in public office and not just at a local level. Hiram Revels, for example, was the first African American elected to the US senate as a representative of Mississippi in 1870. He was followed by the election of Blanche K. Bruce as Mississippi's senate representative in 1875. On a political level, the developments made during Reconstruction had tangible impacts, and African Americans were able to rise to heights previously unavailable to them. However, the end of the Reconstruction era in 1877 saw challenges to previous developments. Wells, in How Enfranchisement Stops Lynchings, emphasises the end of Reconstruction as the trigger for the deterioration of African American voting rights. During this time the South ceased to be supervised, and this removal of Northern troops from the South opened opportunities for the South to revert to previous discriminatory actions. The key legal developments accomplished during Reconstruction were quickly taken advantage of, and made into 'playthings', according to Wells. The wording of the 15th Amendment, which was integral in African American enfranchisement, made it clear that the vote was not to be denied to anyone based on their race. However, the amendment did not specify any additional criteria. This loophole was swiftly taken advantage of by Southern states following the end of Reconstruction. Indeed, V.O. Key has emphasised that Southern states phrased their restricting laws 'to exclude from franchise not Negros, as such, but persons with certain characteristics most of whom would be Negro'. In this way, The South, avoided true development in African American rights, instead they merely adhered to northern rules for as long as necessary due to the threat of northern aggression.

A key example of the removal of African American voting rights can be seen in Louisiana's new state constitution in 1898. The constitution featured literacy and property requirements in order to register to vote as well as the inclusion of a poll tax. While these measures did not explicitly discriminate against African Americans, the requirements were tailored to those less likely to be literate, to own property, and to be able to afford the poll tax. Many African Americans fit this description. However, poor whites were also disfranchised as a result of these restricting laws. This resulted in a further tweaking of requirements specifically designed to protect the votes of poor whites and to ensure the elimination of African American votes in the state. Thus, the Grandfather Clause was introduced. While short lived, the Grandfather Clause was perhaps the most unsubtle attempt at the elimination of African American votes. The clause stipulated that one could not vote unless their grandfather had been able to vote which, in 1898, excluded African American men in their entirety, as their grandfathers had been enslaved. This exemplifies the lengths to which white Southerners were prepared to go to undo the developments made in African American rights during Reconstruction on a legislative level. One study, Suppressing Black Votes: A Historical Case Study of Voting Restrictions in Louisiana, conducted

statistical analysis of voter registration in the state that shone a new light on the impact of voting restrictions on African Americans. This study found that, after the implementation of the Grandfather Clause, the percentage of African Americans who registered to vote fell from 100% in 1886 to approximately 5% in 1900. This study reveals that the African American vote was almost eliminated entirely in the state. Michael Perman has emphasised that this process was not one merely of voting restrictions, but of voting elimination.

Louisiana was not the only state in which voting restrictions were implemented. George Cunningham in Constitutional Disenfranchisement of the Negro in Louisiana, 1898 emphasises that the 'urge' to disfranchise African Americans in Louisiana was spurred by similar successes in Mississippi and South Carolina. The elimination of the developments in African American rights swept the South with success. This further reveals the fragility of the developments made during Reconstruction. While the 15th Amendment granted African Americans the vote, this now seems provisional, and the Supreme Court did little to ensure African Americans maintained the right to vote after they had gained it. Indeed, the Supreme Court upheld the voting requirements such as literacy tests, poll taxes, and the grandfather clause found in Mississippi's 1890 constitution, and argued that these laws did not specifically discriminate against African Americans. It seems, then, that the developments made during Radical Reconstruction were weak, and constituted little change in the lives of African Americans post 1877.

Wells, in her criticism of the fragility of developments towards African American rights, highlights another factor in the elimination of the African American vote: violence. 'These rights', Wells writes, 'were first denied by violence and bloodshed, by Ku Klux Klans, who during the first years after the Civil War murdered Negroes by wholesale, for attempting to exercise rights given by these amendments.' Intimidation of both African American voters and sympathetic whites was carried out across the South with the aim of discouraging African American voting. This was practiced notable in the run up to the 1868 presidential election, as members of the Ku Klux Klan wielded the threat of violence, beatings, and lynchings to intimidate voters. Terror was a tool used to disfranchise African Americans. Indeed, more than 2,000 politically motivated murders took place in Kansas in 1868, and 1,000 African Americans were killed in Louisiana alone. According to Frederick Douglass, this aggression towards the African American vote was fuelled by fear, 'I am a good deal disturbed just now by the clamour raised for the disenfranchisement of the colored voters of the South. The cry about negro supremacy is like the old cry you and I so often heard in the old time about the negroes going to cut their masters throats. It's all humbug – There is nothing in it.' White supremacists in the South, it seems, were propelled by a fear of the advancement of African Americans in society, as any form of social equality would challenge ideas about white supremacy. Therefore, the legal developments which took place during Reconstruction not only deteriorated following its end but also failed to pursue or ensure social developments for African Americans. The 15th Amendment did not guarantee voting rights and served to facilitate an increase in violence towards African Americans.

In conclusion, while the period of Reconstruction saw developments in African American rights in the 15th Amendment, and it is important to remember that the fact that this was passed is, in itself, radical. However, this amendment to the constitution was fragile, and allowed its manipulation to the absolute detriment of African Americans and their rights. By 1900, African Americans were effectively disfranchised and were the targets of deadly, racially motivated violence. To once again quote Wells, these processes ensure that the US may 'appear a more cruel government than Russia, for her deeds are not done under the guise of democracy and in the name of liberty'.

Illustration by Emily Geeson

Inuit Voices: The Franklin Expedition and Arctic Anthropology

By Al Innes

The very first maps of the Earth had their edges marked with void. Those spaces were filled with warnings: none more familiar than 'hic sunt dracones'. No direction more so than the North. The extremis of human endeavour. Not so much a destination, the North was a portal, and so the Arctic became a realm of emptiness. Explorers of the twentieth century know of the Sami in Lapland, the Yupik, Inupiat, and the Inuit of North America. Even in the seventeenth century, sailors considered them busy lands. However, as British explorers of the long nineteenth century saw the North as a prism, refracting their efforts to the many riches of the Pacific, it became necessary to de-populate these lands of much of their richness. Science demanded an emphasis on the natural dangers, and the desolation of the Arctic was set against the heroism of Victorian mariners, becoming what Mary Louise Pratt would call in the 20th century 'seeing men'. Shaped into explorer-scientists, these navigators and their imperial contemporaries charted and mapped the cold reaches of the globe to suit their needs in what would seem an inevitable march toward development and civilisation; claiming to find that which they expected to find would establish the intellectual pedigree of biological determinism, scientific racism, and manifest destiny. The polar regions therefore became spaces into which they could order nature, erasing and silencing the inhabitants themselves.

In 1859, a number of items were discovered on the coast of King William Land, including a copy of The Vicar of Wakefield; a pair of slippers, and a few forks, along with two skeletons sheltering in a lifeboat. They hint at a hubris in the face of terrifying natural odds. The disastrous end of the Franklin Expedition of 1845, and the fate of the HMS Erebus and Terror, the final major scientific expedition of the British Admiralty to the Arctic is a microcosm of European development in the face of nature's awesome ability to kill the unprepared, to wreak desolation on the ambitious and vain. Their exact fate, however, remains unknown. Indeed, the ships themselves were only discovered in 2014 and 2016 respectively. All the might of the British Navy to firstly protect and secondly to rescue these men was rendered impotent. The 'Boat Place', as it has come to be known, bears all the hallmarks of a death march – an ultimately futile end.

In the 1820s dealing with a surfeit of men and ships following Britain's success in the Napoleonic Wars necessitated new ways of providing advancement—and of occupying fitful officers during peacetime. By 1830, the Royal Geographical Society, commonly known as the 'Discovery Service', under the command of Sir John Barrow marked a spell of measured control and development in British Arctic exploration. These stories told by Elizabethans such as Hugh Willoughby - who died in 1554 looking for a Northeast Passage) as well as those of contemporaries such as Thomas James and Martin Frobisher, were of personal narratives, feelings, desires and honest appraisals of the savagery of maritime exploration. Barrow rejected these statements – primarily through his platform in the Quarterly Review - in favour of a rational and scientific space.

In this sentiment, ideas of honour and zeal became intrinsically tied to the polar narrative. Louis Bernacchi, physicist on the HMS Discovery in 1901, described Shackleton and Scott as 'polar knights'. Each season a few more map inches would be filled in as Britain's blue-coated scientific officers stepped closer to a lucrative short-cut to the spice markets of East Asia. It did not matter that whalers like William Scoresby had already ruled the Passage as ultimately futile for maritime trade. By the early nineteenth century, the Arctic space had been largely shaped by Barrow and his generation of approved officers.

In providing the questionable policy of securing such a route before Russia turned her gimlet eye on the scene, Barry was demonstrating that only with civilizing zeal and modern British technology could the wastes of the Arctic be tamed and navigated. At the same time, this progress was hampered by racism towards the very people that knew the land they inhabited. The filling in of blanks on a map was seen as inexorable development. The idea of the Northwest Passage, and its reliance on an Open Polar Sea had been criticised widely and frequently by the mid nineteenth century. Indeed, even John Franklin had dismissed its existence prior to setting off on his final journey in 1845. But the mission called for unwavering belief in the Passage. It was a quest, and Barrow was quick to hunt down in the pages of the Quarterly anyone who might throw shade on the idea.

Franklin's final fatal expedition was an inflection point in attitudes toward Arctic exploration, and toward development itself within the Victorian psyche. Recent archaeology has confirmed for us that the Passage in Franklin's Day was at the tail-end of an ice age, and they faced unseasonably cold weather. When Sir John Franklin's 1845 expedition vanished from European eyes it would take more than a century-and-a-half for Inuit historians to be believed, and engaged, by British naval authorities. However, the moment that the 129-

man expedition and two extremely costly naval vessels disappeared, something changed profoundly for the development of Arctic spaces. So much so that Britain's navy turned away from the Passage and in doing so opened the desolate region to the fertile imagination of the reading public. Commonly-held assumptions about Imperial dominance were not so much shattered by the Franklin disaster. Instead, they were slowly crushed, as no less than twenty-nine separate expeditions tried and failed to locate the lost men and ships.

Most considered the testimony of the local Inuit to be untrustworthy. John Rae, an Orkney-born doctor and arctic explorer who found the only physical remains of the expedition, was the exception. He wore Inuit hides, used lightweight sledges, spoke the Inuktitut language, and trained his men to sleep in ice shelters. His use of these practises led to his remarkable success in traversing the terrain of the Arctic. When he returned with evidence that Franklin's crew had resorted to cannibalism at the last, these habits were used to denigrate him and his claims. He was ostracised for his adherence to Inuit practises. He was even publicly lampooned for his Scottishness—viewed as a further sign of his untrustworthiness and aversion to scientific rationalism—most dramatically by Charles Dickens and in Wilkie Collins' 1856 play The Frozen Deep.

Indeed, by the time Charles Francis Hall, an American explorer convinced that some of Franklin's men still lived, was gathering volumes of Inuit testimony while living with them in the 1860s (published in his Life among the Esquimaux ,1865), the Inuit themselves were not afforded a voice in the discourse about Franklin's journey. A debate over whether the developed men of the Erebus and Terror had succumbed to the desolation of survivor cannibalism was playing out in the presses on both sides of the Atlantic. But still Inuit testimony had to be filtered through the eyes of a 'seeing-man'. These lands lay culturally frozen to searchers, as their superiors in the admiralty demanded they be recorded only in detached scientific prose. The resources of these spaces, if we view them through the colonial prism, were not corporeally manifest. Instead, it was that which they kept hidden—written records, the bones of dead comrades—that was to be desired. The idea that peoples inhabiting them had seen and interacted with these expeditions or could know of their existence didn't occur to Victorian naval officers. Those that used Inuit testimony such as Rae, were ridiculed, slandered and snubbed. We have come to understand much of the arctic narratives now through the prism of book history, where the prejudices of audiences shaped the intentions of these authors. John Rae's reputation didn't survive the assault by Franklin supporters. He remained un-Knighted, the boon of every other Franklin searcher, and has only partly been redeemed through the work of Ken McGoogan in the twenty-first century. Even discovering a Northwest Passage proved fruitless for Rae. In 1859 Jane Franklin was able to spare her husband's involvement in the cannibalism with the discovery of the only written evidence of the expedition, through Leopold McLintock using Rae's report, that Sir John had died in the winter of 1856, before the ships were abandoned.

By the mid-1980s, anthropological studies found that pneumonia had killed some of the crew, while toxicological reports indicated lead poisoning - either from the central heating system or their poorly-soldered food cans – may also have played a part. In 1997 John Rae's account was vindicated: evidence of bone breakage, boiling and marrow extraction was found. Inuit historian Louie Kamookak, would along with David Woodman's work on Inuit testimonies compiled in the 1990s., point modern archaeologists to the wrecks of the Erebus and Terror in the 2010s, one hundred and seventy years after they disappeared to European eyes. As an Inuit historian, Kamookak had access to his own oral testimony from family members, but he was also able to confirm that the testimony of the Inuit in 1850 was correct. Imperial searchers had challenged this, and in consequence the ships and men, as well as the reality of the Passage, remained undiscovered while the search area was so broad. The remains of the expedition's last desperate moments in the Arctic; the only written records; and eventually the ships themselves, owe their discovery to the living oral history denied and abnegated by the Discovery Service itself.

Illustration by Melissa Kane

The Fading of Native Languages: The Prevalence of Nigerian Pidgin in South Nigeria

By Claudia Efemini

The development of Pidgin in Nigeria traces its origins back to early trade with Portuguese travellers, a process which required a common means of communication between the natives and the Portuguese. Pidgin can be described as a contact language that enables communication between individuals who speak different languages, often to fulfill the purpose of work or trade. Pidgin's popularity in today's Lagos, a major and diverse Nigerian city, is a given because it enables communication between people of different tribes. But Pidgin is even more prevalent in Delta and Edo regions located in South-South Nigeria. Not only is Pidgin more widely spoken there, but there is also a distinct nature to the sound of it. This has resulted in an equilibrium, where the pre-existing native languages are perishing at the expense of the vast development of Pidgin. In this case, development and deterioration are dependent on each other and thus occur simultaneously. This raises the question of 'What different factors have been monumental in shaping the current prolific use of spoken Pidgin in Southern Nigeria?' with a focus on Delta and Edo State.

As a British-Nigerian from Delta State I have always been inquisitive about why my father and paternal relatives often speak Pidgin as opposed to our native language, Urhobo. To gain a deeper understanding I engaged in an interview conversation with my father surrounding language usage in Delta State. He explained to me how Pidgin is the most common way to communicate in Delta and though his parents were fluent in Urhobo, they did not pass down the language to their children. Therefore, despite growing up in Nigeria he never learnt his native language and used Pidgin for the majority of encounters, in which he stated:

"We spoke Pidgin growing up, whether it be at the market, at home, or in Church. The only place it was not spoken so much was in school. There, English was the language used."

In sum, as my grandparents can speak Urhobo, it seems that the language was generally not passed down to 'Generation X' which has resulted in a cycle of Pidgin speakers and the gradual extinction of Urhobo. He even discussed how most of his friends from Delta State have a lower language proficiency than him in Urhobo, in which he rated his own language ability a low '3/10'. I was intrigued to find out why my dad thought that this was the case. His response was 'Pidgin is just so common in Delta State because it is nice and easy to speak and use.' Whilst this response provided evidence to support the general likability of Pidgin amongst the people of Delta, it did not suffice to explain it from a historical, social, and economic standpoint. Hence factors from these approaches will also be discussed.

The historical presence of the Benin Empire in Southern Nigeria with Edo as its capital is highly significant. It was known as 'one of the oldest and most developed states in the coastal hinterland of West Africa' as it was formed approximately during the twelfth century and fell due to annexation by the British Empire in 1897. Though its centre was in current Benin City, Edo State, as the Kingdom of Benin developed more political strength and power over parts of Nigeria, its rule extended to cover today's mid-western Nigeria, including regions such as Delta State. It was not long until Europeans discovered the economic benefit of forming trade connections with the Benin Empire after it's discovery in the 15th century by Portuguese explorer João Afonso de Aveiro. The Benin Empire sought to improve the quantity and quality of their both limited and primitive metal resources through this relationship with the Portuguese. The Edos traded slaves and natural resources such as ivory, pepper, and palm oil in exchange for European products like manillas and guns. Given that both parties spoke completely different languages, a common means of communication needed to be established. This is how Pidgin came to be. However, the type of Pidgin spoken at this time was highly influenced by the Portuguese, who benefitted from this influence as it was crucial in driving

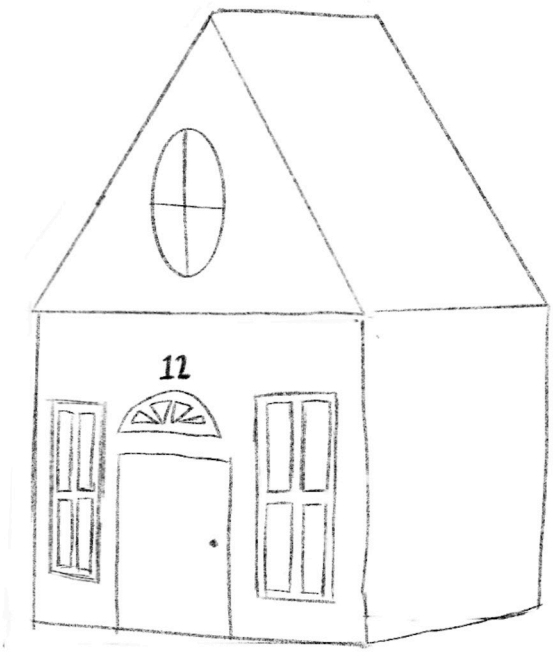


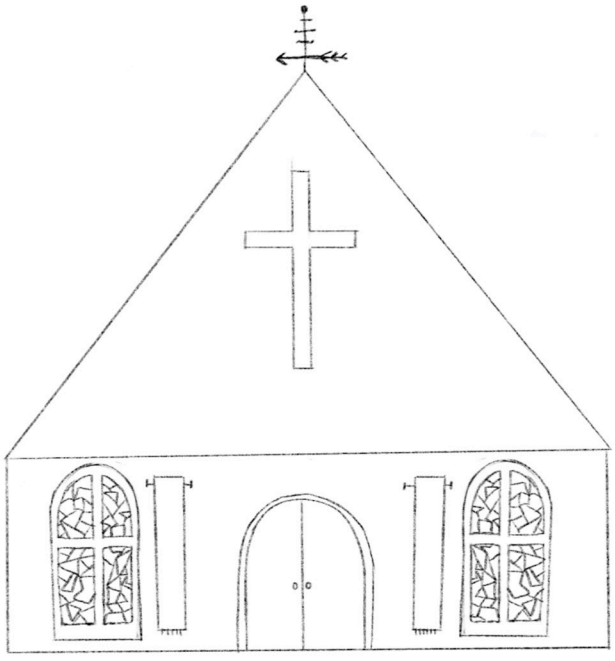
Illustration by Lydia Wiernik

their expansion. This influence remains present in Nigerian Pidgin today, in which 'sabi' means 'to know' in Portuguese. Therefore, one factor that contributed to the prolific use of Pidgin in Southern Nigeria was the geographical existence of the Benin Empire coupled with trade with the Portuguese requiring a form of communication between both counterparts.

If one were to listen to the Pidgin spoken today, it differs immensely from the Pidgin that was spoken during the period of trade with the Portuguese. After the Portuguese left Nigeria, British colonial settlement began in the early twentieth century not only involving colonial rule but also missionary initiatives. In the Benin Empire specifically, the Benin Walls were destroyed by the British in 1897 in an event that has been referred to as the 'Punitive Expedition'. Remnants of the walls can be found in Edo State today. Therefore, English provides the bulk of the vocabulary of current Nigerian Pidgin due to British colonial rule in Nigeria. The impact of English on Pidgin vocabulary can be seen in contemporary international relations in how Nigeria is both a commonwealth country and maintains close ties to Britain through its highly populated diaspora living in the UK. With regards to Southern Nigeria, economic factors were also key in driving the commonality of speaking Pidgin with British influence. This is because of South-South Nigeria's close proximity to the sea. But most importantly, the discovery of oil in Delta State meant that its rich oil reserves attracted British colonial presence, facilitating trading with the British and eventual exploitation. Just as when the Portuguese traded with the Kingdom of Benin, the British needed a way to communicate with the locals.

All of these reasons have contributed to the deficit in the prevalence of native languages in Southern Nigeria, particularly in Delta State. What separates the Pidgin spoken in these regions as opposed to the rest of Nigeria is its diversity. There, Pidgin is often regarded as a creole due to its use as a mother tongue rather than a supplementary language. In this case, the vocabulary of Pidgin expands to meet the needs of a well-rounded form of communication. In comparison to other areas that reject the use of Pidgin within sectors such as government, administration, and mass media and turn to English or native languages such as Yoruba and Igbo in those spaces. Studies conducted have also shown that Nigerian Pidgin may be considered to be a creole in places like Warri and Sapale in Delta State. The conclusions researchers derived from their studies were that Pidgin was spoken by a range of people irrespective of literacy and that it is used in a variety of settings: at home, in religious places of worship, the streets, and political gatherings. The top three cities that speak the best Pidgin are considered to be Warri, Benin, and Asaba, two of which are situated in Delta State and the other in Edo State.

In conclusion, the rife use of Nigerian Pidgin in Southern Nigeria is due to various factors. Firstly, the historical presence of the Benin Empire which led to trade with the Portuguese in the fifteenth century making Pidgin at that time highly shaped by the Portuguese language. Later on, British colonialism in Nigeria brought about the need for communication in Southern Nigeria due to its geographical location near the sea enabling trading and the subsequent discovered oil reserves in Delta State which attracted the British as a means of fulfilling their exploitative and expansionist objectives. All of which explain my dad's experience of the decreased use of native languages and his extensive use of Pidgin, growing up in Delta State and visiting there recurrently. Whilst his view on the use of Pidgin and Urhobo displays the common appeal to Pidgin, delving further into the historical, social, and economic explanations aids us in highlighting the process of the formation of language use in Southern Nigeria.



'Diametrical Realities: The Complex Historical Relationship between Social Progression and Political Reaction'

By Georgia Smith

History is the narrative we forge of our reality. The innate subjectivity of that reality is what makes history deeply contentious. The complexity inherent in this relationship between history and our present reality is embodied in Faulkner's mediation that 'the past is never dead. It's not even past'. In so eloquently signifying the saliency of the past for perceptions of and responses to our present, Faulkner alludes to a phenomenon of immense social and political importance: the transhistorical tendency for political nostalgia and the use of history to construct a present reality. The histories of North American social and political development offer a striking example of such a tendency in which diametrical realities and their associated histories, mainly those of conservative reactionism and progressivist liberalism, clash violently, igniting any consensus on a shared public reality.

In line with contemporary commentary, historiographical treatment of reactionism is at best dismissive, if not completely misdirecting focus to elite theoreticians. Popular culture decries the recklessness of action and the miseducation that is perceived to drive the mobbish violence of reactionaries, allowing them to become cartoons of visual culture. While critiques of the antiquated and extreme views held by individuals attracted to reactionary sentiments are abundantly necessary, studies of the complexities of their claims and appeal as political agents should be considered essential. Even if this is only to ensure the efficacy of progressivist social movements - the American precedent of conservative convulsions in response to perceived social progression are as systematic as the injustices which drive such desire for equality.

Outlining the nature of political reaction should be simplistic if the generalised perceptions of reactionism as "rooted in ignorance and intransigence" are truthful. However, navigating the present through what is traditional, continual, eternal, and often historic sustains the realities of many people, across disparate regions and temporal moments in the American psyche. Various historical epochs show evidence of the same reliance on misinformation, essentialised images and falsified historical narratives. Reactionism is thus most potent when images of social progression provoke a visceral response through perceived threats to established status and identity, based on the above modes of navigating the contemporary.

Construction of reality is naturally a deeply personal phenomenon. This is where reactionism is most evocative; it combines the depths of personality, memory, and emotionality. In this view the ideological history of political reaction is in fact a history of emotion. Perhaps, this is where our disdain as a society emanates, as certain individuals act in this way given our human vulnerability. Political nostalgia, as defined by Svetlana Boym, can be both reconstructive and reflective. Considerations of memory and literature often involve forays into reflective nostalgia, arguably an essential component of the human condition. However, reconstructive nostalgic tendencies often offer grounds for political mobilisation, with a basis in history not historical fact. Political nostalgia is not irrefutable, it is a construct that can drive its believers to violence and insurrection in search of a fabricated reality.

The exceptionalist tendency within historiography in the United States is largely responsible for the continued seductivity of political nostalgia. Trump's principal slogan 'Make America Great Again' would have not reverberated with such potency if there was not a widely romanticised narrative of a glorious American past of which to return. Such narratives of exceptionalism are reliant on historically selective accounts of the American past. As Sullivan defines it, American exceptionalism is 'the idea that the United States has a set of characteristics that gives it a unique capacity and responsibility' within global development. This myth permeates discussions of every notable event in American developmental history. To give an example, the War of Independence and conception of American democracy were moments of profound significance for global intellectual history, yet they can be overshadowed by inherent contradictions within the fundamental organisation of American society, namely the system of enslavement on which a nascent American democracy was reliant. The ratification of the three-fifths compromise, identifying enslaved peoples as three-fifths human in terms of political representation, just a decade after the War of Independence, underlines the contradiction inherent within the supposed inviolability of new American liberty. While these narratives may be historically inaccurate, they should not be underestimated in their power to dictate perceptions of reality and associated identities. Instead, their inaccuracy should be read into – narratives of glory are much easier to confront.

Exceptionalist narratives are equally as significant in the way they deny structural inequalities. Beyond dramatically underplaying narratives of enslavement, they perpetually dismiss the continued harm done physically and psychologically to Black Americans. Narratives of race in the United States are amongst the most complex, carrying an innate political quality. The visceral racism of conservative reactionaries may appear irrational but is often underlined by complex interactions between perceptions of identity and masculinity. Angela Davis demonstrates the saliency of 'the myth of the Black rapist', the supposed need to defend white womanhood historically allowed for an expression of masculinity, one which is protective, honourable and powerful. Discourses of alterity between black and white men can be sourced in racial ideologies which have developed from the late 1600s to the present. In adhering to such notions of alterity, white men play a role in which they conform to their role as protector, saviour, provider, and arguably ruler. Historical narratives which support this continued alterity are consequently worth protecting vehemently in the reactionary mind, as they maintain a certain perception of white manhood. Thus, offering an alternative view on reactionary investment in racist ideology and the associated violence, from mass lynchings at the start of the twentieth century to present anti-Black violence in response to Black political mobilisation and protest.

The intrinsic link between masculinity and reaction has fostered a culture of violence in which anger is the only acceptable political response. This thesis is supported by Lilla's suggestion that modern life is like 'the psychological equivalent of permanent revolution' offering a reasoning for the seductive pull of authoritarianism, conspiracy and tribalistic ideologies in which political life is simplistic and uniform. The development of conservatism within American Presidential politics is essential to this discussion. The American conservative tradition is underlined by a fundamental desire for societal homogeneity. The manipulation of socio-economic instability amongst southern whites amidst the gains of civil rights, was a technique employed by the Republican party. It appeared during Nixon's presidential race in 1968 and was fully institutionalised by Reagan in the 1980 election, to secure a new white majority for presidential elections and thus maintain a certain image of America. This manipulation of southern political psychology had been conservative policy since slavery, drawing focus to the supposed superiority of racial identification over shared socio-economic interest with African Americans to ensure the continual predominance of white supremacy in the face of Black agency.

The politics of fact, and the ability to think critically within complex information climates are key considerations. Recent studies have noted that educational attainment, not economic precarity, is the key indicator of electoral support for Trump. It is often suggested that wells of misinformation and conspiracy spring from dark corners of the internet. While reactionary social media communities may rapidly disseminate false information, as highlighted above, popular narratives of American history taught in schools are equally as misleading. How are we to divert the appeal of reactionary sentiment if the narratives which sustain it formulate perceptions of reality from the youth? This highlights the primacy of education and the need to commit to a media and information climate that prides facts over political misconstructions.

Rodney Tiffin, in his essay for the Griffith Review has highlighted the relationship between rhetoric, offence and authenticity. Many reactionary conservatives have come to equate offence and authenticity. In an age of cancel culture, in which language is strictly monitored and minor slips in political correctness can equate to blacklisting, we are not short of offence. Language has an illustrious history in forming reactionary narratives. During the 1960s and following decades, 'racially sanitized rhetoric' was employed to condition conservative responses to images of Black agency, blackness, and criminality as synonymous, further solidifying the reactionary narrative that racial others represent an existential threat to 'the' American narrative.

Populist conspiracies of betrayal are a consistent feature of reactionary rhetoric. These narratives mutate, the treasonous subject changes based on current social and political enemies. Over America's 245-year history, the reactionary has variously blamed Black Americans, Communists, Feminists, members of the LGBTQ+ community, and most recently, the institutions of the American state itself for betraying their perception of history and reality.

The past is not dead. Its stories continue to animate every encounter within the American political sphere, as Montesquieu explained using the term 'reaction' for the first time in the eighteenth century, perpetual oscillations will occur between social development and the deterioration of reactionary response as a constant process of action and reaction.

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"Who do I want to be?": The Bicycle and Camera as Mediums of Agency in British India, c. 1850-1950 | **Boryana Ivanova**

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Lost Cause Revisionism: The Fall of the Confederacy, the Rise of Revisionism, and the Debate over Memorialization | **Sam Marks**

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The fading of Native Languages: The prevalence of Nigerian Pidgin in South-South Nigeria | **Claudia Efemini**

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'Diametrical Realities: The Complex Historical Relationship between Social Progression and Political Reaction' | **Georgia Smith**

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