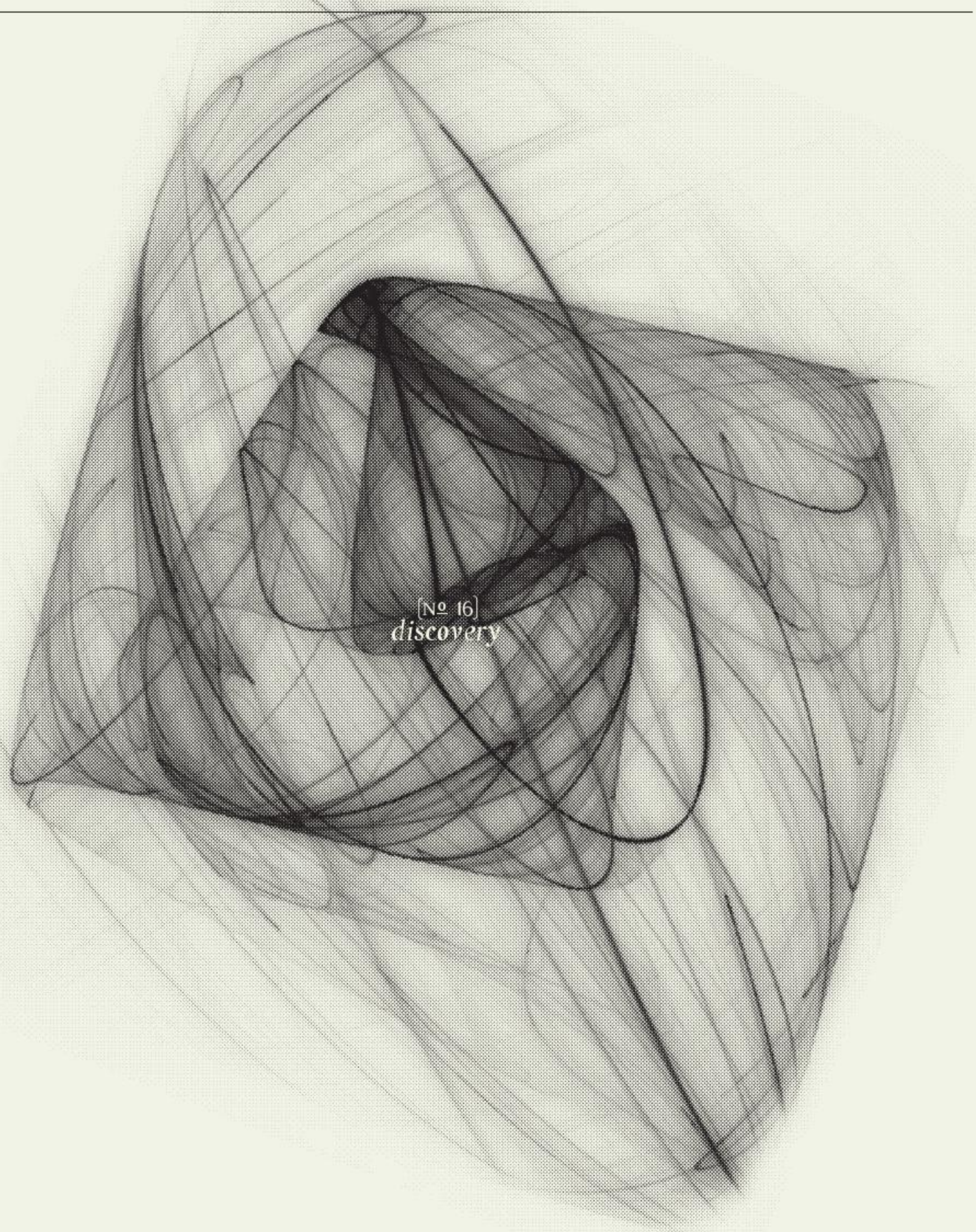
HISTORY
CLASSICS
ARCHAEOLOGY

EDINBURGH

WINTER 2014

ISSUE 16

Retrospect Journal.



[№ 16]
discovery

contents

04 - 06 **Societies**

History
Classics
Archaeology
Retrospect

07 **Ballie Gifford: A Research Career for HCA Students**

08 - 23 **Academic**

Howard Hughes: An American Hero
Discover Peace of Mind: An Examination of Lucretius' Argument That "Death is Nothing to us"
Re-Discovering the European Left
Discover the truth about the Castra Praetoria
The Avenging Angel and the Nurturing Mother: Uncovering the role of women in Hindu nationalism
West Ferry: The Discovery of a Maritime site on the River Clyde using non-invasive archaeology techniques
"That Magic Strain" The Problem of Orpheus
William Hogarth's 'An Election Entertainment': An Illustration of Eighteenth-Century England's Public Drinking Culture

24 - 27 **Features**

Armchair Adventures of the Middle Ages: The Book of John Mandeville
From "Coal, Air and Water": The Discovery of Nylon
The Year of the Wolf: Discovering Cromwell
An Echo From Exile: Re-Discovering the Career of John Enoch Powell

28 - 31 **Reviews**

'71: A Bloody Truth
Jungle Atlantis: Angkor Wat's Hidden Megacity
Massacre in the City of Life and Death
Frankenstein: The Ethics of Discovery

CONTRIBUTORS

Jessica L. Leeper
William Kloverod Griffiths
Petra Balazic
Guy Parker
Geetikia Raman
Lisa Bird
Christabel Barrowman
Charlotte Bassett
Katherine Dixon
Dawn-Fleur Charman
Kerry Gilsenan
Nicol Ogston
Frances Roe
Lucy Hughes
Pablo Perez Ruiz
Anna McKay

PROFESSOR IAN RALSTON

Head of School

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

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

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

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

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

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

IR

ELLIE BRYNE

Editor

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

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

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

The diversity of articles we have received for this theme, Discovery, has shown me that we are able to push the boundaries with HCA subjects and bring our readers some very interesting pieces. I would finally like to thank our fantastic design editor who is new to the team this year, Lucas Clauser, but who has done an unimaginably fantastic job at turning plain word documents into the journal you see before you.

Thank you for reading and we hope you enjoy.

EB

www.retrospectjournal.co.uk
Edition of 1000

societies

HISTORY

TOM NASH
President

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

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

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

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

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

CLASSICS

MIA ALLEN
Play Co-Ordinator

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

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

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

A

Archaeology

ZACK HIGHAM

President

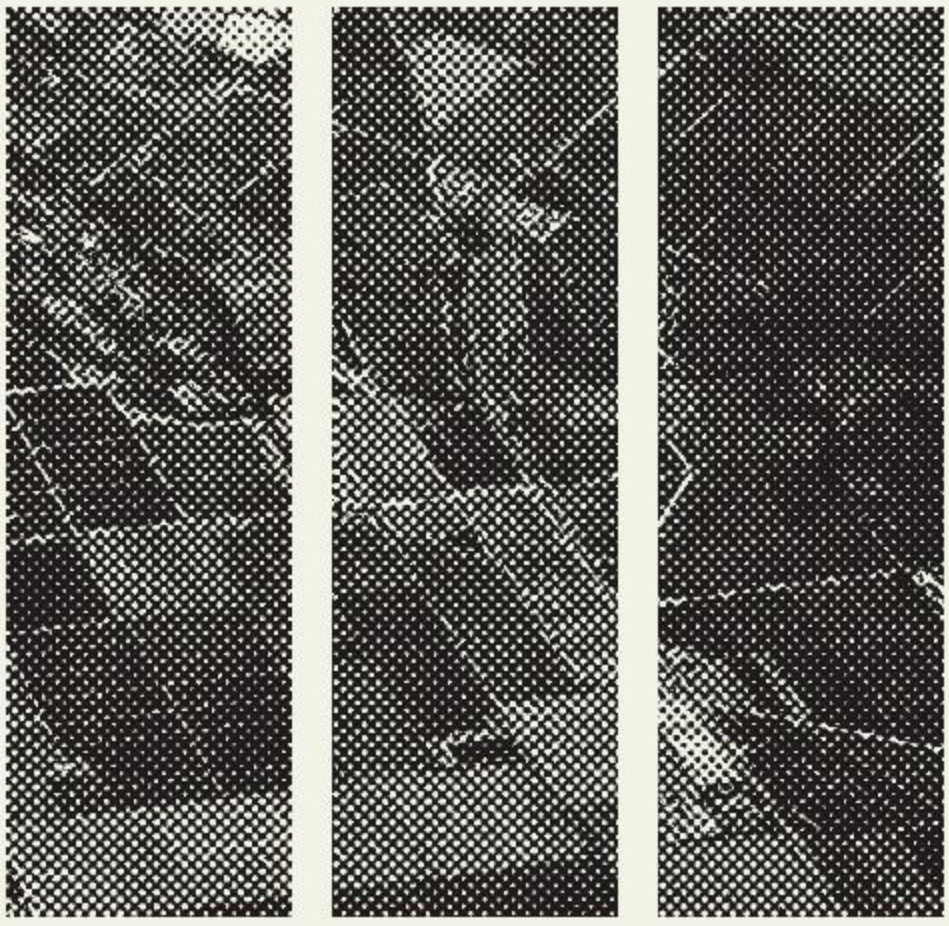
Hi everyone! As always Retrospect has given Archsoc the great opportunity of telling you all about the exciting things we've been doing, and a taste of what is to come! Our first pub crawl of the year was 'druid' themed, and resulted in plenty of drunken hijinks. Then, in September we teamed up with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

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

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

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

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



Folkert Gorter

RETROSPECT

KERRY GILSENAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A RESEARCH CAREER FOR HCA STUDENTS

BAILLIE GIFFORD

If you are interested in a career based on reading, research and thinking then consider applying to Baillie Gifford. 45% of the investors at Baillie Gifford have Arts degrees and the highest percentage of these is historians and classicists.

We are long-term investors who buy stakes in companies with the potential to grow significantly in the next five to ten years. On our training scheme you will be using your creativity and research skills to find new opportunities for investment, searching out companies or angles that others may have overlooked. It's about trying to imagine what the world could be like in five to ten years' time and trying to understand if an innovation or idea is likely to succeed.

A wide range of factors can affect a company's performance such as people, politics, culture and geography. Numbers and accounts are a relatively small part of our research.

We offer a three-year training programme, where you will receive an extensive induction, ongoing on-the-job training and the opportunity to work alongside peers, senior investors and partners. Baillie Gifford are not a subsidiary of a larger organisation or listed, so we don't have to show even returns every quarter. This creates organisational stability and an environment where our investors are free to follow their interests and ideas.

On a day-to-day basis you will be based in our Edinburgh office, where you will read, research, analyse and write reports. You will discuss these reports with colleagues and meet with companies in which the team invests or are considering as an investment. Further into the programme you may have the opportunity to travel to meet companies and explore ideas around the globe.

To apply you should be on target to achieve a 2:1 or above in any subject, but more important than what you know is how you think. We want to find out what interests you and drives you? How do you find out about things and make decisions? We're looking for intellectual curiosity, a strong desire to learn and clarity of thinking. Our application process involves two interviews where we will discuss the choices you have made in your education and life so far. There are no lengthy application forms, assessment centres or psychometric tests.

If you would like to find out more about us please visit **www.baillie gifford.com/graduates**

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

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

~ Michael Pye, *Investment Analyst, Classics graduate*

« This is a research role. You are trained to research harder and deeper, and get to speak to and meet leading experts from around the world. There are lots of extremely intelligent people at Baillie Gifford, who are keen to share their knowledge and insights with you. »

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

academic

Howard Hughes: An American Hero

Superfamous

Jessica L. Leeper

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

His ground crew informed him then that he had indeed broken the land speed record, which made him instantly the fastest flyer in the world at 352 miles an hour, despite the messy landing. Hughes grinned as he responded to Odekirk, "she'll do better than this, Ode. She'll do three-sixty five; I just know it". Hughes had beaten the new land speed record at 352.39 miles per hour,

nearly 40 marks better than the previous record, and he nicknamed the H-1 the Flying Bullet. News reporters and spectators gathered around, eager to see the young, dashing aviator. To them "he was an emerging hero in a depression-racked country hungry for heroes".

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

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

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

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

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

« safe and down in Newark.

Love, Howard »

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

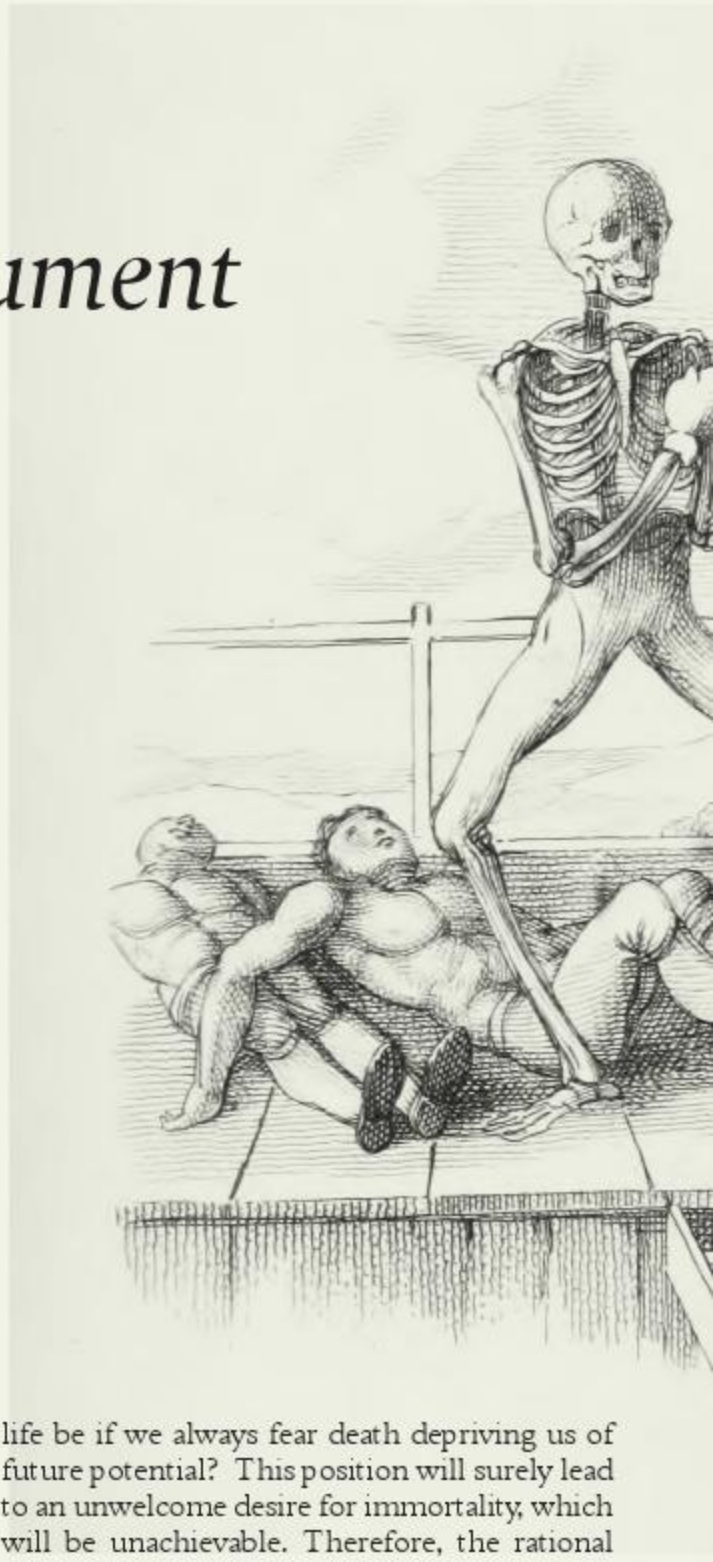
Despite all of the misfortunes of the 1937 flight, Hughes still somehow managed to break his own record from the previous year, eliminating about 119 minutes from the 1936 flight. His newest record would stand unbroken for the next seven years. The discoveries Hughes made on his various flights with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

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

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

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

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



William Kloverod Griffiths

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

«peace of mind is the highest form of pleasure »

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

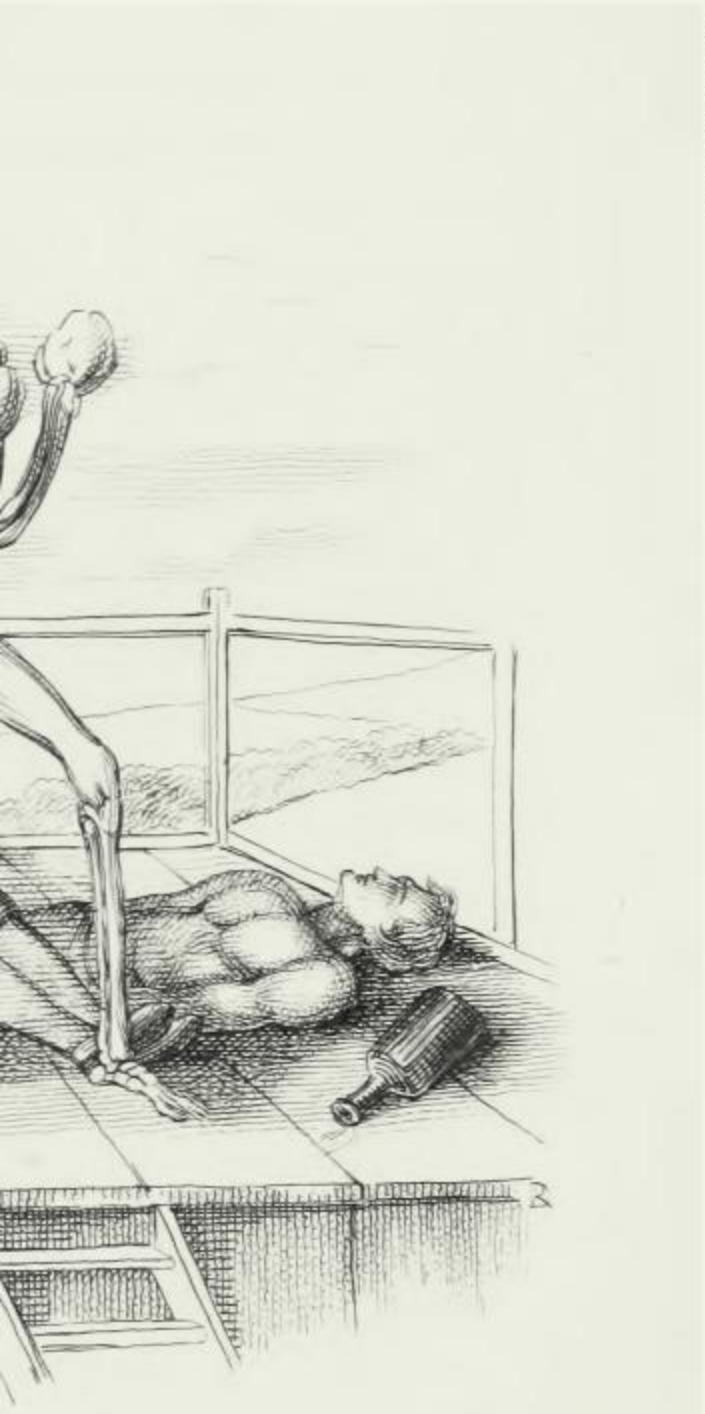
However, I will resist the conclusion Lucretius draws that this makes "death nothing to us", even though I accept the basic premise that the soul is mortal. Despite having accepted his arguments that the soul is mortal, it is not immediately apparent that this would lead us to not fearing death. One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

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

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

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

However, there are several problems with these arguments to defend Lucretius' position. Firstly, something can be harmful to us even though we are not there to experience it. For instance, Nagel uses the example of something



The British Library

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

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

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

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

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

Re-Discovering the European Left

Petra Balazic

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

State Library Queensland

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

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

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

Meanwhile social democratic parties across Europe held a rather mixed record of success in the post-war 20th century Europe. The most impressive achievement of European social democrats must have been in Scandinavia. Given the almost non-stop support of Swedish social democrats, and to a lesser extent in other Scandinavian countries, they were able to implement significant social reforms which, although they were based on the support of the middle classes and were as such going against the traditional leftist loyalty to the working class, created what social policy

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

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

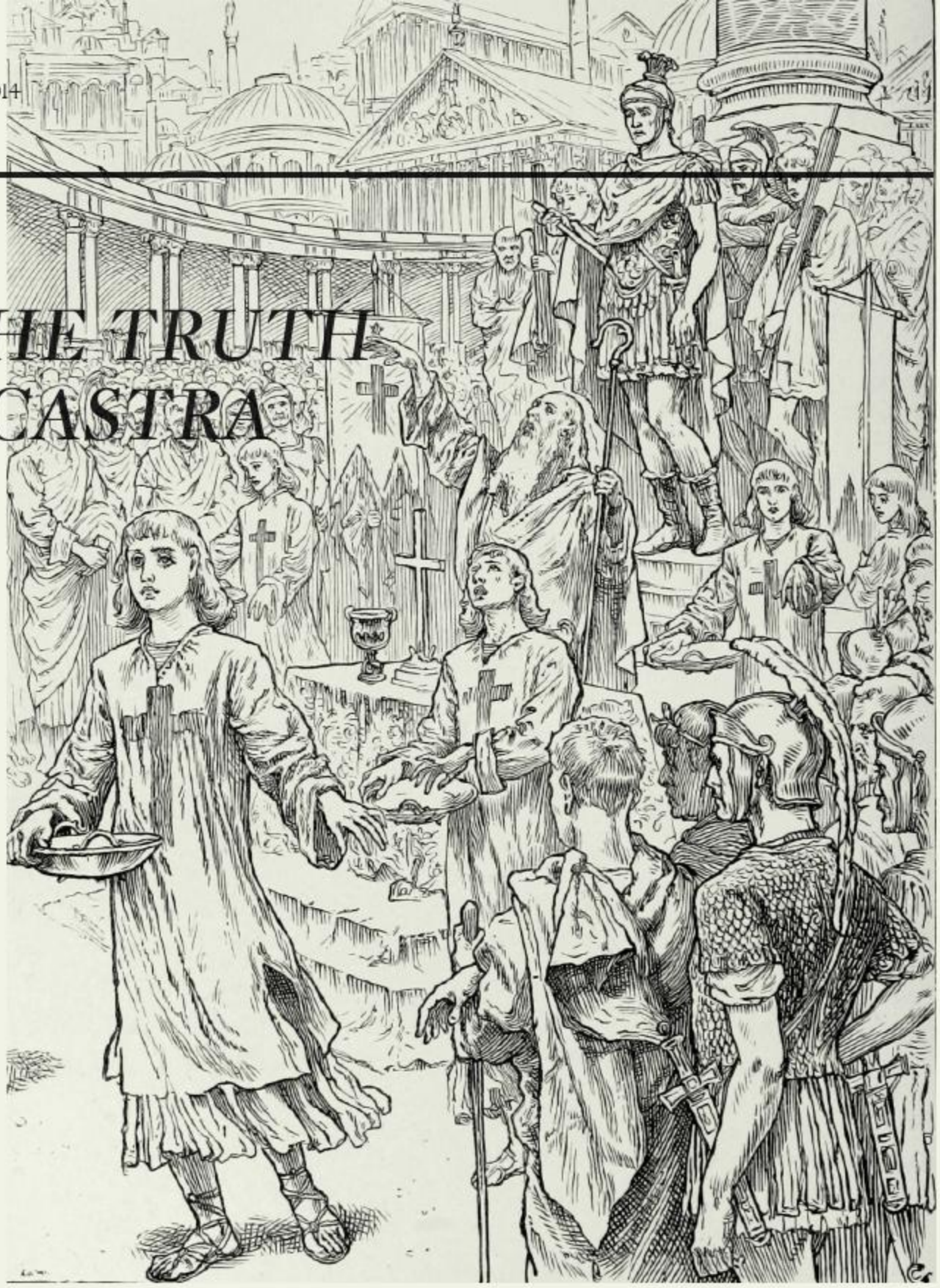
But to say that people have abandoned leftist ideas would go against what we have seen on our television screens as the crisis deepened. Anti-austerity protests – especially dramatic in the peripheral states of the EU, notably Greece and Spain, but also present throughout other EU countries –, the Occupy!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

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

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

DISCOVER THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CASTRA PRAETORIA

Guy Parker



The British Library

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Geetikia Raman

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New Old Stock

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ⓐ
Lisa Bird

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

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

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

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

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

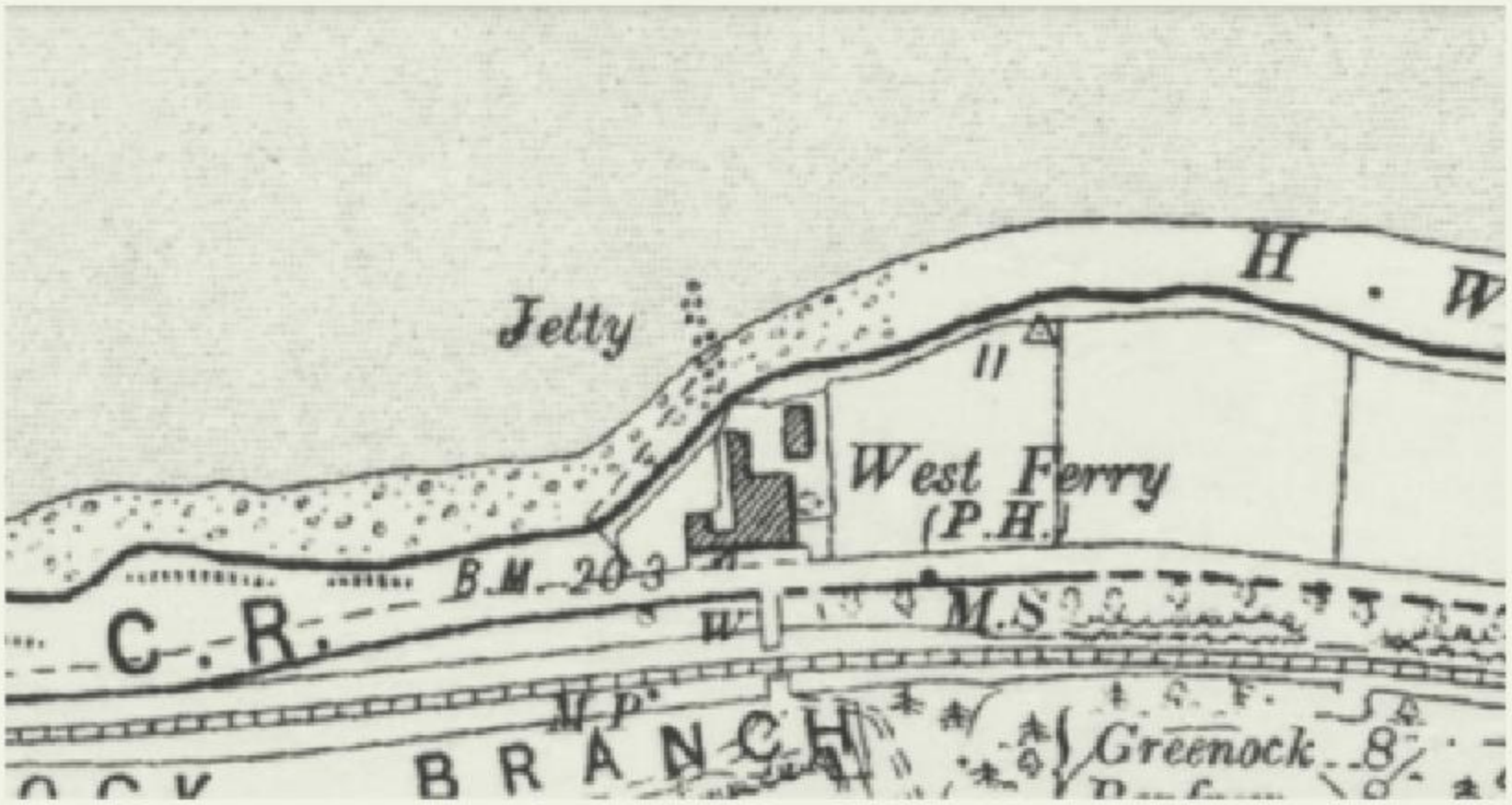
Moreover, historic maps are vital to non-invasive techniques. The documents though bias by their creator and publisher, can show the development of landscapes and environments. They can also be overlain with current aerial photography to help in the identification of sites. The NMS Map Images section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

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

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

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

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



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

spatial awareness of the mapper, however, the OS maps are readily geo-referenced as they used the ongoing OS survey framework for Great Britain.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"That Magic Strain" The Problem of Orpheus

The British Library

Christabel Barrowman

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

« Wait, now he is singing,

yes, singing -

a heldentenor! Oh, a heldentenor,

a marvel of feeling and control,

a song snatched from the throat

of an ordinary angel,

a gloria beyond imagination,

an event beyond reckoning. »

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

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

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

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

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

Charlotte Bassett

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

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

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

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

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

Soane's Museum, London, UK.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

features

Armchair Adventurers of the Middle Ages: The Book of John Mandeville

Katherine Dixon

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

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

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

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

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

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

« he ended up back where he started! »

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

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

Folkert Gorter

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

Dawn-Fleur Charman

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Year of the Wolf: Discovering Cromwell

Kerry Gilsenan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

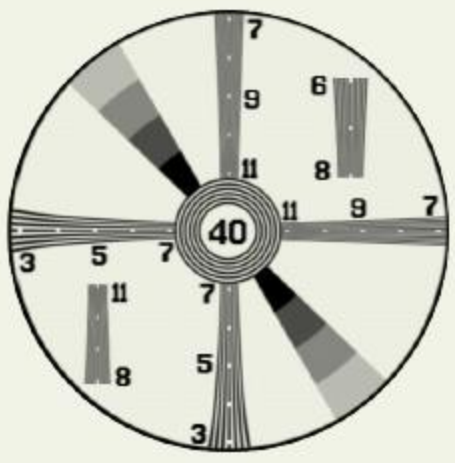
Mantel stepped in to the historiographical debate in 2009 with the first novel of a planned trilogy, *Wolf Hall*. She urged her readers to consider the humanity and talent of a figure so darkly represented, placing Cromwell in the context of the volatile, strategic tides of diplomacy that he navigated.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

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

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

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

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



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

Nicol Ogston

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

reviews

'71: A Bloody Truth

Frances Roe

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

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

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

I was completely enthralled by the drama of the film throughout. My heart was racing, and once it was over it was hard to walk through Edinburgh without expecting to see burning cars and soldiers patrolling the streets. The idea of the city as a war zone was extremely visceral. The film did not present a war between armies, but one between an army and the people: men, women and children. This was made all the more profound by the series of tragic deaths which took place throughout the narrative - no one is safe from the violence.

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

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

The 1916 Easter Rising was one of the first violent attempted revolutions of the twentieth century, and there had been many more. Dublin was the scene for this failed coup, a failure that lead to Catholic rebel executions and legendary martyrdom. The violence spread and escalated throughout the following decades, for example in the Civil War of 1922-1923, and the widespread civil unrest that followed.

'71 is not the first representation of the violence of the 1970s in popular culture. The U2 song Sunday, Bloody Sunday speaks of the horror of Bloody Sunday, a police massacre of civilians in Derry in 1972, which also appeared as a film in 2002. The fictionality of the tale within *'71* is irrelevant, the story could easily have been one of truth. The violence and cruelty of the conflict, and the futility of its origins, is brought to life in this film. It also imparts a sense of the futility of its origins - the Protestant plantations brought to Ireland by King James I of England in the early seventeenth century in order to quell the Irish Catholics.

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

National Library of Ireland

Jungle Atlantis: Angkor Wat's Hidden Megacity

Lucy Hughes

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

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

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

Massacre in the City of Life and Death

Pablo Perez Ruiz

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

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

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

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

Referenced

Howard Hughes: An American Hero

Barlett, Donald L., and Steele, James B., Howard Hughes: His Life and Madness, (New York, 2004)

Brown, Peter Harry, and Broeske, Pat H., Howard Hughes: The Untold Story, (Cambridge, 2004)

Dietrich, Noah, Howard: The Amazing Mr. Hughes, Fawcett Publications Inc., (Greenwich, 1972)

Hack, Richard, Hughes: The Private Diaries, Memos, and Letters, (Beverly Hills, 2001)

Romanowski, David A, Official Guide to the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, Third Edition, (Washington D.C., 2009)

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

Annas, J., The Morality of Happiness, (Oxford 1993)

Blank, D., 'Removing Fear: the Gods and Death' in Warren, J. (ed), The Cambridge Companion to Epicureanism, (Cambridge, 2009)

Dudley, D. R. (ed.), Lucretius, (London, 1965)

Kenney, E. J. (ed.), Lucretius: De Rerum Natura: Book III, (Cambridge, 1971)

Long, A. A., Hellenistic Philosophy Second Edition, (Avon, 1986)

Lucretius in Smith, M. F. (trans.), On the Nature of Things, (Indianapolis, 2001)

Nussbaum, M. C., The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics, (Princeton, 1994)

Rosenbaum, S. E., 'Epicurus on Pleasure and the Complete Life', The Monist , 73, (1990), pp. 21-41

Rosenbaum, S. E., 'How to Be Dead and Not Care: A Defense of Epicurus', American Philosophical Quarterly , 23, (1986), pp. 217-225

Warren, J., Facing death: Epicurus and His Critics, (Oxford, 2004)

Discover the truth about the Castra Praetoria

Bingham, S., The Praetorian Guard: A History of Rome's Elite Special Forces, (London, 2012)

Bunsen, M., Encyclopaedia of the Roman Empire, (New York, 2009)

Fields, N., The Walls of Rome, (Oxford, 2008)

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

Anand, Dibyesh, 'Anxious Sexualities: Masculinity, Nationalism and Violence', British Journal of Politics & International Relations, 9 (2007), pp. 257-269

Banerjee, Sikata, 'The Feminization of Violence in Bombay: Women in the Politics of the Shiv Sena', Asian Survey, 36 (1996), pp. 1213-1225

Bharucha, Rustom, 'Dismantling Men: Crisis of Male Identity in 'Father, Son and Holy War'', Economic and Political Weekly, 30 (1995), pp. 1610-1616

Chatterjee, Partha, 'Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonized Women: The Contest in India', American Ethnologist, 16 (1989), pp. 622-633

De Alwis, Malathi and Jayawardena, Kumari, 'Embodied Violence: Communalising Women's Sexuality in South Asia', Reproductive Health Matters, 4 (1996), pp. 162-166

Kishwar, Madhu, 'Safety is Indivisible: The Warning from Bombay Riots', Manushi, 74-75 (1995).

Mazumdar, Sucheta, 'Women on the March: Right-Wing Mobilization in Contemporary India', Feminist Review, 49 (1995), pp. 1-28

Mehta, Deepak, 'Collective Violence, Public Spaces, and the Unmaking of Men', Men and Masculinities, 9 (2006), pp. 204-225

Sethi, Manisha, 'Avenging Angels and Nurturing Mothers: Women in Hindu Nationalism', Economic and Political Weekly, 37 (2002), pp. 1545-1552

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

Bailey, G. N. and Flemming, N. C., 'Archaeology of the Continental Shelf: Marine Resources, Submerged Landscapes and Underwater Archaeology', Quaternary Science Review, 27 (2008), pp. 2153-2165

Bewley, R.H., 'Aerial Survey for Archaeology', Photogrammetric Record 18, 104 (2003) pp. 273-292.

Brown, A. G., 'Geoarchaeology the fourth

Frankenstein: The Ethics of Discovery

Anna McKay

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

dimensional (4D) fluvial matrix and climatic causality', Geomorphology 101 (2008) pp. 278-297
Catsambis, A., Ford, B. and Hamilton, D.L., The Oxford Handbook of Maritime Archaeology (Oxford, 2013)
Cox, C., 'Satillite Imagery, Aerial Photography and Wetland Archaeology', World Archaeology, 24 (1992), pp. 249-267
Howard, P., Archaeological Surveying and Mapping: Recording and Depicting the Landscape (London, 2007)
NLS, 'Why Geo-reference historical maps?' <www.maps.nls.uk/projects/georeferencer/why.html> ; accessed on 20/10/2014
Riddel, J.F., Clyde Navigation: A History of the Development and Deepening of the River Clyde (Edinburgh, 1979)
Stewart, Reverend W., 'Parish of Erskine', Statistical Accounts of Scotland, 2 (1842), pp. 500-511
Young, Reverend W., 'Parish of Erskine', Old Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-1997) pp. 58-76

"That Magic Strain" The Problem of Orpheus

Barbier, P., The World of the Castrati: the History of an Extraordinary Operatic Phenomenon, (London, 1989)
Freitas, R. F., "The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato", The Journal of Musicology, 20, (2003), pp. 196-249
Mitchells, K., "Operatic Characters and Voice Type", Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, 97, (1971), pp. 47-58
Peschel, E. R. and Peschel, R. E., "Medical Insights into the Castrati in Opera", American Scientist, 75, (1987), pp. 578-583
Loewenberg, A., "Gluck's "Orfeo" on the Stage: With Some Notes on Other Orpheus Operas", The Musical Quarterly, 26, (1940), pp. 311-339

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

Achilleos, Stella. '2: The Anacreontea and a Tradition of Refined Male Sociability,' in Adam Smyth (ed.) A Pleasing Sin: Drink and Conviviality in 17th-Century England, (Cambridge, 2004)
Brown, Cedrick C. '1: Sons of beer and sons of Ben: Drink as a Social Marker in Seventeenth-Century England,' in Adam Smyth (ed.) A Pleasing Sin: Drink and Conviviality in 17th-Century England, (Cambridge, 2004)
Brown, Sanborn C., Wines & Beers of Old New England: A How-To-Do-It History, (New Hampshire, 1978)
Curth, Louise Hill and Cassidy Tanya M., '9: 'Health, Strength and Happiness': Medical Constructions of Wine and Beer in Early Modern England,' in Adam Smyth (ed.) A Pleasing Sin: Drink and Conviviality in 17th-Century England, (Cambridge, 2004)
Hodgetts, Lisa M., 'Feast or Famine? Seventeenth-Century English Colonial Diet and Ferryland, Newfoundland,' Historical Archaeology, 40, (2006), pp. 125- 138.
Meacham, Sarah Hand, Every Home a Distillery: Alcohol, Gender, and Technology in the Colonial Chesapeake, (Baltimore, 2009)
O'Callaghan, Michelle. '3: Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London' in Adam Smyth (ed.) A Pleasing Sin: Drink and Conviviality in 17th-Century England, (Cambridge, 2004)
Salinger, Sharon V., Taverns and Drinking in Early America, (Baltimore, 2002)
Sir John Soane's Museum, '"An Election": William Hogarth (1697-1764). An Election (1754-1755)'; accessed 15 March 2014 <www.soane.org/collections_legacy/the_soane_hogarths/an_election>
Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher, 'The Ways of Her Household', in Linda K. Kerber, Jane Sherron de Hart and Cornelia Hughes Dayton, (ed.) Women's America: Refocusing the Past, Seventh Edition, (New York, 2011)