Retrospect

Haves and Have Nots

HISTORY SOCIETY PRESIDENT

DEBORAH ELIZABETH BRITLAND

WELCOME TO the 'Haves and Have-nots' issue of Retrospect. This semester has seen the History Society go from strength to strength. The annual History Society Ball was a tremendous success and the popularity of our historic Scotland trips has once again been great. One of the main events alongside the extremely popular and somewhat embarrassing pyjama party bar crawl was the Staff vs. Students quiz. The quiz enabled students to compete against many of the department's staff from all disciplines of history. I would personally like to thank all members of staff who participated in the quiz. It would not have been as successful if you were not involved, and the society looks forwards to working with you again in the future.

As this is my last editorial as President of the History Society, I would like to take this opportunity to say thank you to everyone who has made my time as President extremely fun and enjoyable. As President I have tried my hardest to keep up the good reputation of the History Society whilst also trying to create a better environment between staff and students. I have been overwhelmed by the help and support of my committee, many of whom are graduating this summer. I wish them good luck in whatever path they have chosen. I would also like to say a big thank you to all members of the History Society. Their participation in our many bar crawls, historic Scotland trips and lectures, showed great commitment to the society, and is leaving me with many memories.

Being President of the society has been a great honour, yet I could not be happier to pass on the position to Felicity Loughlin, our former academic secretary. I have had the privilege of working closely with Felicity this past year and I know that she will do an amazing job as the new President. Felicity has some fantastic ideas for the society and I am looking forward to supporting her through my new role as Vice President.

RETROSPECT EDITOR

CATHERINE MC GLOIN

SOCIAL INEQUALITY, political oppression and economic disadvantage has created great states of disparity between nations and communities for centuries. Our tenth edition of *Retrospect*, 'Haves and Have-Nots' will hopefully provoke debate regarding continued inequalities.

Privilege has recently come under attack as our political leaders choose to publicly deride unfair advantage due to familial background or association, rather hypocritically. The imminent Royal Wedding, the happy matrimony of Prince William and Kate Middleton will be eagerly watched by thousands of people around the world. Yet only a handful of wealthy couples willl be able to match them in celebratory extravagance.

This issue discusses the danger of disparate medical care, a poignant observation in light of recent debate surrounding the privatisation of our own NHS system. Academic articles examine the legacies of Russian serfdom and Chinese calligraphy. We also report in a special news feature on the recent discovery of documents detailing Mau Mau torture by the British government. Our Reviews section analyses historians' lastest interpretations on subjects ranging from the Haitian Revolution to Africans in Renaissance Europe. August Sander's latest exhibition at the Dean Gallery in Edinburgh is also critically discussed. We have our usual update on History Society events, a review of this semester's lecture series and some exciting news about next year's committee.

As the summer approaches and exams loom, I must also consider my graduation after four happy years at Edinburgh University, three of which were spent working as part of the *Retrospect* team. It has been challenging and at times frustrating, but overwhelmingly rewarding. I would like to thank all of my fellow editors, writers and History Society members, without whose interest in past and present this publication would flounder. I wish next year's committee the best of luck.

Retrospect

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The History Society wants to ensure that history students get the best education possible at the University of Edinburgh. On the committee we have a dedicated Staff Student Liaison Officer who is there to represent you before the staff at official meetings. If you want to raise any issues you have with the department or have any suggestions on how to improve the department get in touch with the history society.

Society

Deborah Elizabeth Britland is proud to report that the History Society has a brand new committee

The time came once again for the History Society to select a new committee for the next academic year. There were a range of positions available, and as normal the elections attracted many candidates. The evening began with a short presentation highlighting the achievements of the current committee. The presentation included photographs from the society's various events, with members dressed in everything from ball gowns to pyjamas. The night was then handed over to the current committee members, each saying a few words about their experience of the role they held, and what they had enjoyed most about being a part of the History Society.

The election kicked off with President Deborah Britland introducing each candidate, and asking them to step forward and explain their suitability for the role. To make sure that the vote was fair, only members of the history society could vote for the new committee, and each member was given one vote per position.

The presidency of the History Society was handed over to Felicity Loughlin, former Academic Secretary to the committee. Felicity won the overall majority; her experience of the committee as well as her innovative ideas on how to both sustain and improve the society winning her the vote. The position of Vice President was uncontested, going directly to former President Deborah Britland. A third member of the History Society committee to be re-elected was third year Laura Johnson, who will continue her role as treasurer, with the much needed experience of how to keep the history society accounts in order.

> 'The night was a great success, and a brand new committee was selected by students from all years across the university'

The role of Staff Student Liaison Officer was won by Declan Murphy, whilst Academic Secretary was allocated to first year Cassandra Cameron. The two demanding roles of Social Secretary were won by Megan Clark and Abi Harris. Megan, despite being unable to attend due to her Erasmus year in Portugal, sent her election speech to be read out, containing many tales of her drunken debauchery, making her perfect for the role of social secretary.

In a twist to normal proceedings in this year's AGM, the position of Sports Captain, normally held by an individual, was won by a partnership. This year's newly elected sports captains are TJ Alexander and Iolo James. Both are keen to get the History Society involved in more sports asides from football, which TJ has been an active part of, scoring many goals on its behalf. The final position was for Editor of the History Society's journal, Retrospect. This was awarded to Deputy Editor Rebecca Monks, with three years experience writing for Retrospect making her perfect for the job.

The History Society faced a challenge on the evening of the AGM, with the role of secretary having no candidates. The vote was open to all previous candidates as well as members who attended the AGM, and was ultimately won by third year Sileas Wood.

The night was a great success, and a brand new committee was selected by students from all years across the university. The evening was closed by President Deborah Britland saying a word of thanks to the current committee for all of their help and support, whilst wishing the new committee luck for the coming academic year.

Sports Roundup

You're History FC were a team transformed as they took to the field for the 2011 season. The traditional festive turkey and trimmings had clearly been avoided by many of the players over the Christmas break, and with the team further bolstered by new players TJ, Andy and the two Toms, confidence was high as the famous sky blue strips were pulled on for the first game of the term against Inter Edinburgh.

A controversial late goal denied the side what would have been a well-deserved victory, but an encouraging performance made this a promising start to the year.

The team dominated much of their next match with Geology, but a side who had clearly set out their stall to defend hit History with 4 sucker-punches and snatched victory.

A further point was gained against Grant Greats, before You're History played what was to be their final game against the league leaders, Business. Injuries and essays left the side severely depleted for this crucial match. However, despite playing with 8 men for the entire match, they battled hard before going down 5-2 .

To everyone who has played this year, I hope you've all enjoyed it as much as I have, and all the best for next year.

A New Home For History

The move is complete. The School of History, Classics and Archaeology has a new home in the stunning west wing of the historic Edinburgh medical school. The Grade-A listed building has been beautifully restored and provides an impressive and inspiring environment in which to study.

The move has, to a great extent, achieved its original aim. It has successfully achieved a greater sense of community between the History, Classics and Archaeology departments that constitute one of Edinburgh University's most flourishing schools. As graduating members of the History Society, we hope this will continue to grow in years to come to the benefit of students and staff.

The new building has considerably improved teaching and administrative spaces. Staff offices are noticeably more aesthetically pleasing than those that were previously occupied in the William Robertson building. However, this beauty has come at a price. The offices are generally smaller, especially in terms of shelving space, due to the constrictions imposed on developers by the listed building status. As a result, development could not dramatically modify the outside of the building, meaning some staff have windows which rise a few feet off the floor, restricting the amount of natural light in the offices.

'Some of the staff have endeavoured to make some home improvements of their own'

Nonetheless, some staff have endeavoured to make some home improvements of their own. The beauty of the building has been enhanced by Doctor Stana Nenedic who has put the school's collection of statues and artefacts to good use. However, old meets new in the seminar rooms of the old medical building. These spaces are adequately equipped with the latest modern technology, allowing seminars to reach new heights and standards in teaching excellence. The specialist archaeology labs and teaching facilities are added assets to the school. New spacious, lecture theatres, such as the Meadows Lecture Theatre, have already proven themselves indispensible. These areas have been utilised by both the school and associated societies. The History Society is amongst those to have immediately benefitted, as a number of our academic lectures have taken place here.

'There is less disparity between postgraduate and undergrate study space.'

After being misinformed on our tour of the uncompleted building in February 2010, we have since learnt that there is less disparity between postgraduate and undergraduate study space. Only two, not four, of the postgraduate study rooms in the building, are used by the school. These two postgraduate rooms are well-organised, with individual assigned desk space. Whilst one can't help but feel that certain opportunities may have been missed with regards to undergraduate study space, many admit that areas available are used well. These are a welcome resource given the increasing difficulty in finding a suitable study space in the library, particularly as exams loom.

The consolidation of the different school libraries, including the Classics library, the Social and Economic History library, and the Scottish History library in the study space, has been well received. School librarian Margaret Forrest has worked tirelessly, organising the student volunteers who run the lending system, and the library itself. Their efforts are visible and much appreciated.

In general the move seems to have been largely a success. Despite the lack of undergraduate awareness of the new study space, those who do use it certainly feel it is beneficial to their academic experience. However, some are concerned about what will happen once more students become aware of its existence and greater numbers crowd the area.

Nonetheless, this should not detract from the success of moving the formally separate departments into one larger communal space. The departments now have a home that will hopefully allow a sense of academic community to flourish in such a beautiful setting.

Kate Cranston-Turner and **Brittany Harbidge** report on the successful department relocation to Teviot Medical School

SASSYBELLS

With the end of term just around the corner and essays almost completed, the *Retrospect* team found themselves cordially invited to Edinburgh's first Student Media Ball.

Held in Ghillie Dhu on Rutland Place, a stunning Grade A listed building, hosted by *Fresh Air*, the university's student radio station, the night proved to be a wonderful opportunity for all those involved in student media to network and celebrate its vibrancy over the last twelve months. It was also a special chance to raise some money for Waverley Care, a remarkable charity that does some extraordinary work for people living with HIV and Hepititis C and their families.

The evening began with a grand champagne reception, which the *Retrospect* team unfortunately arrived too late for; however, we made up lost ground with the free bottles of wine that accompanied dinner. After having the opportunity to mingle amongst fellow writers and editors from *The Student*, *The Journal*, *PublishED* and *The List* to name but a few of the arts groups invited, we were seated for dinner.

Half of our team sat with *The Journal* whilst the others dined with members of *Fresh Air*, including a competition winner who had been lucky enough to grab a free ticket to the event from the radio station. The food, including haggis, sea bass and chocolate pot for pudding, was delicious and all plates were cleared. This is when the night could begin in earnest.

After a dubious guest speaker, we were treated to a live ceilidh band who directed the majority of novice dancers. Inevitably most dances ended in a crushing heap, a personal favourite being the Orcadian Strip the Willow. Guests were then allowed to recollect their dignitiy, and shoes, and dance the rest of the night away to *Fresh Air*'s DJs.

Our committee thoroughly enjoyed the evening. We would like to thank *Fresh Air* for organising it and look forward to next year's event.

Catherine Mc Gloin and *Retrospect* editors raise a glass to Edinburgh's student media scene and help raise money for Waverley Care

Celebrating success

Witches: presented with the past

Felicity Loughlin reports back from Dr. Julian Goodare's lecture on pardoning witches

On February 2nd, members of the History Society braved the horrific Edinburgh weather to attend a lecture by Dr Julian Goodare entitled 'Pardoning Witches: Changing the Past?'. Dr Goodare specializes in Early Modern Scottish history, and one of his current research interests is the witch-hunt in Scotland and Europe. The lecture focused on certain cases where witches have recently been pardoned, or where pardons have been sought. The case studies included a discussion of Anna Goldi, the last witch to be executed in 1782 who was pardoned in 2008, 81 witches from Prestonpans in Scotland pardoned by a baron court in 2004, and the various attempts made to seek pardon for Helen Duncan; imprisoned in 1944 under the Witchcraft Act of 1736. Dr Goodare also discussed the recent petition to the Scottish Parliament in 2008 to par+don all Scottish witches.

The lecture questioned whether these pardons change the past and if not, what do they do? Dr Goodare encouraged a debate over this complex and intriguing question, citing the poignant lines of the poet Omar Khayyam, "the moving finger writes; and having writ, moves on: nor all your piety nor wit, shall lure it back to cancel half a line, nor all your tears wash out a word of it."

It was suggested that a memorial may be more appropriate than a pardon, keeping alive the memory of those who were condemned whilst creating a visual reminder for posterity. The History Society would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr Goodare for kindly giving his time to provide such a great event.

CREATIVE COMMONS

History in the News

Biological warfare site unearthed in Tokyo

In late February it was reported that a former medical school in Japan was the suspected site of medical experimentation on prisoners during World War II.

These allegations emerged after a retired nurse from the site in western Tokyo came forward with her claims in 2006. Toyo Ishii, 88 years of age, recalls having to hurriedly bury hundreds of bodies after Japanese surrender at the end of the war. However, she had no direct knowledge of experiments actually taking place in the school.

'Japan's government has never officially recognised the work of Unit 731'

The old medical school is associated with Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army, infamous for carrying out biological warfare experimentation. Former soldiers were stationed in eastern Heilongjiang in China, then within the borders of Japanese Manchuria. At least three thousand people were killed at this station, the centre for Japanese germ warfare between 1936 and 1945. Others may have been frozen to death as part of endurance tests. However, Japan's government has never officially recognised the work of Unit 731 and no compensation has been received by the surviving relatives of their victims. Nonetheless, the nurse's account combined with the site's known associations gives weight to accusations.

The Tokyo site currently under scrutiny lies close to location where bone fragments were found in 1989. Despite requests for DNA testing to identify the victims, they remain unknown, the casualties of "medical education" according to the Japanese health ministry.

Britain's oldest written work released

The newly refurbished Roman Vindolanda museum is set to become the home of the oldest recorded handwritten works in Britain, the Vindolanda Tablets. Currently housed in the British Museum, the tablets are being returned to Vindolanda, their original point of excavation.

The tablets, originally excavated in 1973, are believed to be from around AD 121, placing them amongst the oldest surviving handwritten record on earth. Constructed the year before Hadrian's Wall was built, the tablets feature military correspondence engraved on wood, food orders and accomodation requests from Roman soldiers. Amongst the most significant of the tablets is the renuntia report, a document delivered directly to Flavius Cerialis from a fellow officer.

The newly refurbished museum has a temperature controlled room built especially for the tablets. Their return to the museum marks a return to their place in Roman history, and is featured prominently in the re-opening of both the Roman Vindolanda museum and the Roman Army's Museum. Approximately 1890 years after their creation, the works are restored to their former glory, and are proudly displayed at their rightful home.
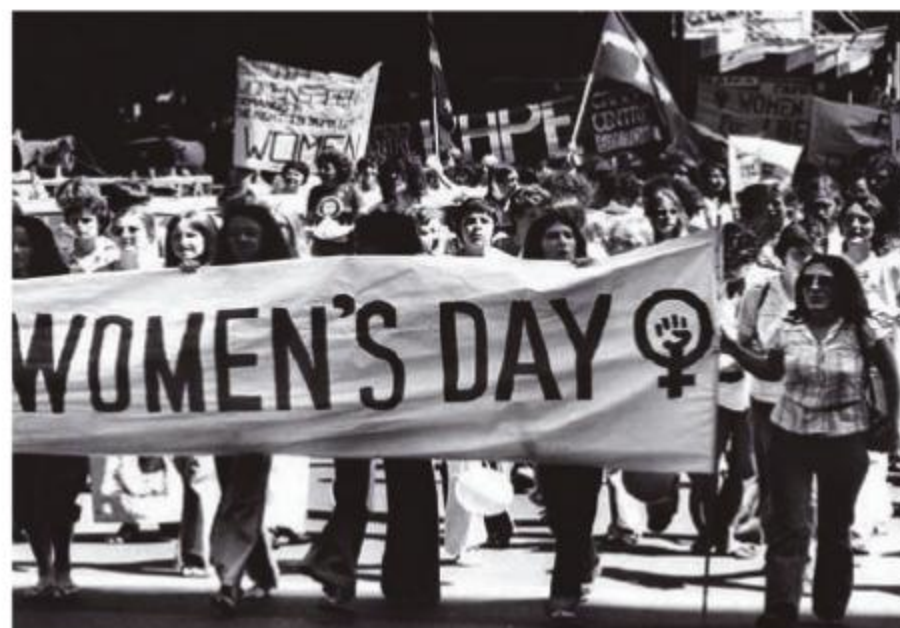
Last American WWII veteran dies

March witnessed the sad departuree of the last known American World War I veteran. Frank W. Buckles died in his home in West Virginia, aged 110.

Frank was born on February 1st in Missouri. After leaving school at the age of just sixteen, he enlisted in the American armed forces in August, 1917. A mere four months later he travelled to Europe aboard the British liners, *Carpathia*, and was employed as an ambulance driver on the Western Front.

Following the armistice he worked as a purser on commercial ships. During the 1930s and 1940s Frank bravely journeyed to Nazi Germany and had the opportunity to witness Hitler first-hand at the 1936 Summer Olympics. However, after the Japanese invasion of the Philipines in 1941, Frank was captured and held prisoner for over two and a half years, suffering extreme conditions.

In later life he was awarded the French Legion of Honour from President Chirac in 1999. Frank's death brings the number of surviving First World War soldiers down to only two; both are British.

Anniversaries

- 10 years since the heir to the Nepalese throne, Crown Prince Dipendra, murdered his father, King Birendra, mother and brother

- 15 years since the Atlanta Olympics were bombed, killing 2 and injuring 200 attending the event in Georgia, America

- 25 years sine the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in Ukraine

- 25 years since Operation El Dorado Canyon, a US airstrike on the Libyan capital of Tripoli, killed fifteen people

- 45 years since Ian Brady and Myra Hindley were jailed for life in Britain

- 50 years since The Beatles first performed at the Cavern Club, Liverpool

- 65 years since the 'Battle of Alcatraz', riots following the unsuccessful attempt by six in mates to escape the Californian prison

- 72 years since King Zog abdicated the Albanian throne following Italian occupation

- 75 years since Leo Tolstoy died

- 100 years since International Women's day was first celebrated

- 100 years since the birth of Tennessee Williams
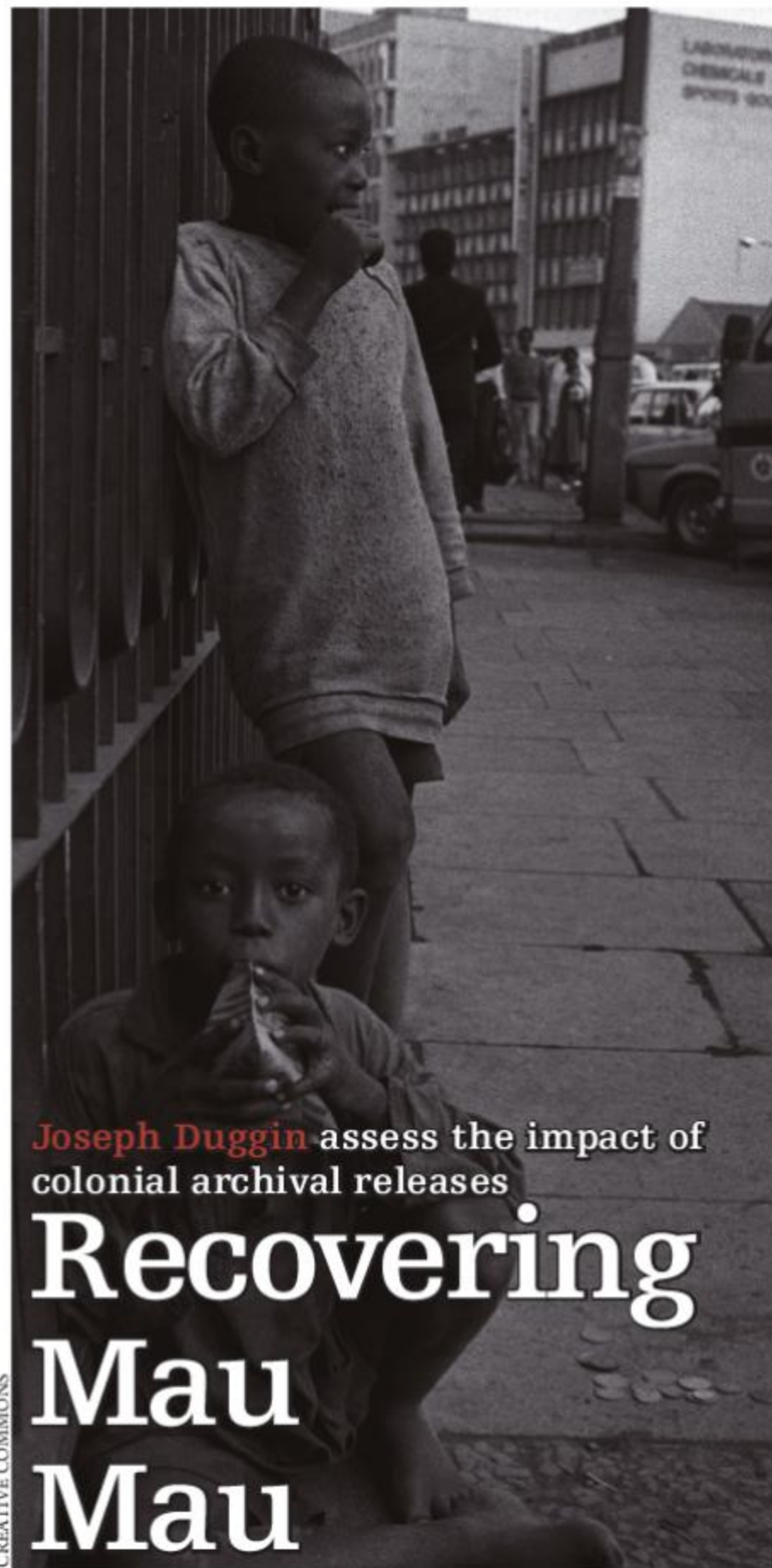
Joseph Duggin assess the impact of colonial archival releases

Recovering Mau Mau

The recent release of secret files held by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office relating to the treatment of Mau Mau detainees during the 1960s are doubtlessly the most significant archival discovery of the past few years; not only historically, but politically and legally.

The recovery of some 2,000 colonial administration files from Hanslope Park in Buckinghamshire was the result of the belief of Edward Inglett, a Kenya desk office in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, that important documents relating to the Mau Mau rebellion were missing. His intrigue in these missing files stemmed from the ongoing claim against the Government by four Mau Mau activists for abuses during the 1950s. Inglett's long quest to discover the documents resulted in him turning up at Hanslope Park in person to search through the hundreds of boxes of files that the Foreign Office's record-keeping unit insisted did not exist.

David Anderson, professor of politics at the University of Oxford, who has been involved in the Mau Mau case has said that the recovered files contain "a significant amount of new information" relation to the Government's Mau Mau policy. No doubt such a large release of potentially controversial documents will have historians of colonial Africa excited at the prospect of new twists in the tale of the colonial rule and indigenous resistance in the mid-twentieth century.

From a historical perspective, the release of these files will be welcomed as an opportunity to expand our understanding of the Mau Mau rebellion and to further explore the tensions, conflicts and peculiarities associated with Britain's colonial past. Politically, however, the secret files could become explosive. The context of the release of documents pertaining to abuse and torture of Mau Mau explains the contentiousness of the issue and the need for the Government to handle the situation with care.

Following the 2008 elections 1,500 Kenyans were killed in inter-ethnic violence after both the candidates – the incumbent President Kibaki (a Kikuyu) and the opposition leader Ralia Odinga (a Luo) - claimed to have won. Furthermore some 300,000 people were displaced as a consequence of the armed conflict – a situation reminiscent of the large-scale population movements that characterised the European imperial rule of Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A power-sharing deal was eventually reached with Kibaki retaining the presidency and Odinga taking the role of prime minister, with the National Rainbow Coalition (Narc) and Orange Democratic Movement each contributing twenty ministers each to the cabinet. Although it has received scant attention in the British media the deal has almost collapsed twice: first, in 2009 when Odinga boycotted cabinet meetings; the second time, earlier this year when Odinga accused to Narc ministers of corruption.

The present-day ethnic tensions in Kenya are better understood when the Mau Mau rebellion is studied in closer detail, which reveals it to be a Kikuyu-centric, minority revolt as opposed to a nationalist call-to-arms as Kenyan nation-builders have depicted in the past. Exemplifying the point is the murder of Ambrose Ofafa in 1953 by the Mau Mau. Ofafa was a popular figure within the nationalist Kenyan African Union, but it was his status as a member of the Luo ethnic-group that made him a target for the predominately Kikuyu Mau Mau. Indeed, many Luo along with Kipsigi, Embu and Meru were killed by Mau Mau insurgents. Historical studies of Mau Mau culture, iconography and song also indicate the ethnic exclusiveness of the movement.

The political fault lines continue to be defined by ethnicity, the fatal consequences of which were demonstrated by the 2008 post-election violence. Thus the revival of Kenya's history of Mau Mau and its 'Kikuyu versus non-Kikuyu' nature have the potential to refuel the flames of ethnic conflict in a time when Kenya is still trying to salvage its status as one of post-colonial Africa's success stories.

One of the potentialities that will be feared most by diplomats will be an exoneration of Mau Mau activism and a public memory lapse whereby the numerous atrocities committed against their fellow colonial subjects, as well as the climate of fear and terror during the rebellion, are forgotten. If this were to happen and the political situation does not resolve itself properly the chances of more inter-ethnic violence and population displacements will increase.

The legal consequences of the release of these files is another area that must be treated with a great deal of tact. Aside from the case from whence these files have come, there are already demands from lawyers acting on behalf of the relatives of Malayan victims of colonial mistreatment in 1948 to make further investigations into administrative files that are unaccounted for. There is no doubt that there will be many valid claims brought against the Government for acts of unjustified brutality against subjects of imperial rule, but there are numerous complications in any judicial process or compensation claims.

Closely linked to this process is the broader historical issue of judging the past by present-day norms and morals. In the rush to condemn colonial violence observers may be quick to forget that these offences occurred in a time when capital punishment still existed in Great Britain and the use of force was often taken to excesses by the police, as well as a time when national service was a rite of passage for young men. Any evidence that indicates anti-Mau Mau brutality should be viewed in the context of Britain's domestic attitudes towards violence and authority.

The study of imperial history often reveals stories that are uncomfortable for British politicians, but the release of these files - and William Hague's pledge to increase the transparency of Britain's colonial practices by recording these documents fully and clearly – can help people to move on and find closure from the past. For our part as historians, further study of the contentious episodes – or the 'darker moments' - of Britain's imperial past will hopefully advance our understanding of our past and drown out the jingoism that continues to taint popular histories of imperial Britain.

Features

The Italian Divide

Alex Denvir illustrates the roots of the ever-present rift between the Italian north and south

"We have made Italy, now we must make Italians." remarked Piedmontese politician Massimo d'Azeglio at the first meeting of the new Italian parliament in 1861. His remark identified the central issue of numerous problemss faced by Italy in its first 150 years, namely the inabilityto identify with a national identity despite unification. The state also failed to deliver on its promises, lurching from crisis to crisis with embarrassing colonial adventures in Ethiopia followed by entanglements in world wars, the second due to a fascist dictatorship. Economically there is the north-south divide, exacerbated by the post-war 'economic miracle': in 1957 at the signing of the Treaty of Rome, the Po Valley was one of the wealthiest regions of the nascent European Economic Community, but il mezzogiorno (the south) was the poorest. Decades of economic policies meant to solve the 'southern question' and the re-emergence of regional parties, like Silvio Berlusconi's current coalition of the Lega Nord and the Movement for Autonomy, show how regional issues have come to the fore again and how, clearly, 150 years have not been sufficient to fully 'make' Italians. There are numerous factors, but much of the blame must lie with the process of unification itself.

Today it is hard to travel far in Italy without coming across a Via Cavour, a Piazza Mazzini, or a Corso Garibaldi – named for the three figures seen as the brains, the soul and the sword of a national movement that was far from heroic. Giuseppe Mazzini's ephemeral glory as leader of the transitory Roman Republic in 1849 was crushed by French and Papal forces and subsequent failed rebellions, so that he was a discredited figure by the key events of 1860-1. An ardent Republican dismayed that Italy became a kingdom; he later refused a seat in the Chamber of Deputies.

The less radical Count Camillo di Cavour, Prime Minister of Piedmont,

was the force behind unification, but he was certainly no nationalist, speaking better French than Italian and never travelling further south than Tuscany. Before 1860 Cavour had no grand plans to unite the peninsula, only to liberate Lombardy and Venetia from Austrian rule, achieving this with the help of French Emperor Napoleon III, as the Piedmontese army was not strong enough. The failure of the 1848 revolutions demonstrated that Italian unification would be dependent on foreign intervention. Allied to France, Piedmont warred with Austria in 1859, but the bloodiness of the battles convinced Napoleon III to make peace behind Cavour's back. Only Lombardy was given to Piedmont; it was not until 1866 that Venetia was freed from Austria. In return for Napoleon's assistance, Nice and Savoy were ceded to France, much to the chagrin of nationalists, particularly Nice-born Giuseppe Garibaldi, who did personify the few heroic aspects of unification. It was his conquest of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with only a thousand red-shirted volunteers, which ultimately united the country. His success in this madcap adventure surprised everyone – indeed Cavour had attempted to hamper Garibaldi at every step.

But eventually the magnanimous Garibaldi was persuaded to hand over southern Italy to Vittorio Emanuele II, consigning the south to Piedmont. Garibaldi was revered as a populist patriot, inspiring many nationalists to hope that a federation could be formed with a national assembly and American-style constitution. Instead, Piedmontese laws and institutions were arbitrarily implemented throughout the kingdom, coming into conflict with local customs. Opening the underdeveloped south to market forces did not have the improving effect the liberal politicians had intended, for it further benefited the landowning over the peasants. The burden of taxes fell greater on the poor: for example, donkeys, tra-

ditionally peasant-owned, were taxed higher than cattle belonging typically to large landowners. An Italian prime minister at the turn of the century bemoaned that "Italian unity was the result of a mere aggregation of seven states, and not of a revolution," like in France and Germany. Disillusion grew against the 'Piedmonticisation' of Italy, and resentment was such that the first decade of unity was characterised by a state of near civil war in the formerly Bourbon south. At its peak, 100,000 Italian soldiers were deployed to keep the peace during the so-called Brigand Wars that broke out almost as soon as the new kingdom was formed in March 1861, in which an estimated 150,000 Italians died. Politicians denied the truth of these events, for Italy was supposed to be founded on popular nationalist outpouring; thus, violent outbreaks were blamed on locals' backward barbarism and it was even common for northerners to describe the south as 'African'—Cavour himself considered the region rotten "to the very marrow of its bones."

> 'Disillusion grew against the 'Piedmonticisation' of Italy, and resentment was such that the first decade of unity was characterised by a state of near civil war in the formerly Bourbon south.'

The scars from the south's initial experience of a unified Italy did not heal easily, for distrust of the government continued into the twentieth century. Just as southerners had resisted the distant liberal state, Mussolini's fascist ideology and regime were ignored, making little more than a superficial impact on their lives. But southern towns and villages under-

went massive depopulation: at its peak, 1900-1914, nearly nine million Italians emigrated. The majority of this diaspora were peasants coming from the south where rural poverty was as widespread as the allure of the New World; entire villages emptied as inhabitants left to seek a better quality of life, meaning that nowadays more than 70 million persons of Italian heritage live abroad, with significant populations in Argentina, Brazil, and America. Emigration levels slowed with the 'economic miracle' of the 1950s and '60s, and modernisation of industry and economy improved southern conditions, but it is telling that one of the most popular and critically hailed works of modern Italian literature, Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's Il Gattopardo, chronicles the dashed hopes of Sicilians at the time of the Risorgimento. Published a century after unification, the novel struck a chord with Italians uneasy with their own national identity. Today the south is a modern society, but it remains distinct—and poorer—from the north. In the 1990s, its GDP was 59% of the national average. Widespread organised crime and corruption, particularly in Campania and Sicily, hamper the ability to implement policies. With the arrival of the Second Republic in 1992, regional divides have re-entered the political spotlight. Southern autonomy parties demand greater independence whereas the northern Lega Nord rose to prominence in the 1992 elections by venting popular frustrations that hard-working northerners' taxes were being squandered on the south. Many on both sides say that unification was beneficial for neither region. Italy therefore continues to struggle with the 'southern question,' which appears no closer to a solution than it did 150 years ago. As Lampedusa's protagonist Don Fabrizio tells a representative from the new government, "all this shouldn't last; but it will."

Recent work conducted by the psychiatrist and historian, Allan Beveridge, has provided a unique insight into patient life and experiences in the Royal Edinburgh Asylum (REA) during the reign of Thomas Clouston, Superintendent from 1873-1908. Through the study of certain patient letters and correspondence, which were withheld by medical staff for various reasons, it is now possible to gage an understanding of the patient perspective of asylum life. It allows a unique glimpse into the mind, routine and dejection of daily life for the inmates.

The REA was opened in 1813 in Morningside and was considered to be Scotland's leading lunatic asylum by the mid 19th century. The letters that remain tend to come from a minority of male, literate and upper class patients,

instances reveal that patients were told they would be visiting Holyrood Palace, whilst one writer, James K. became the victim of an ill-fated shopping trip. James B. a 23-year old law student wrote to his mother shortly after arriving, "I have only just realised that I am actually in a lunatic asylum. Who on earth ordered the cabman to drive me here?" Some patients were admitted under much more physical force and were traumatised by their extraction from normal life to the asylum.

The most common theme in the content of the letters was the urge to get out of the asylum as quickly as possible. Letters were usually addressed to family, medical staff or Clouston and are suggestive of the disbelief and humiliation of being publically labelled as mentally deficient. What is revealing

their attendants as their insults and bullying undermined their social status. What emerged was a sense of powerlessness as patients became trapped in the life of the asylum; a world apart from that which they had come from.

> 'I will soon go mad in reality if I am kept here amongst a couple of hundred lunatics of all descriptions.'

One striking feature from the letters is the feeling of imprisonment due to strict routine. The REA sought to bring order to the frayed

wish to live any longer…If you do not come and take me out here tomorrow, you will not see me alive again." Peter McM., to his father, "I cry to you from the very inmost depths of my soul to use every means to get me out of this place… My heart is breaking, and I will soon go mad in reality if I am kept here amongst a couple of hundred lunatics of all descriptions." A lot of patients complained of wrongful confinement and pleaded their sanity which typically fell on deaf ears. Clearly life at the asylum was highly traumatic and an incredibly emotional experience

The highlight of asylum life was the dances, where men and women, usually segregated, could socialise. Sexual relationships were strictly forbidden in the asylum but letters are suggestive of repressed desires

The patient perspective

Charlotte Helen Ross looks into the Royal Edinburgh Asylum and patient life through various letters

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and not pauper patients who made up three-quarters of the inmates. Whilst the sources do not provide a universal patient perspective, they give an alternative perspective of Victorian mental health care. In 1866, under the Scottish Lunacy Act of 1857, a further clause allowed for the medical staff at asylums to read all patient correspondence and had the right to prevent the sending of letters that were deemed to be inappropriate. Letters were highly valued by psychiatrists of the era who believed them to be integral to understanding the degree of mental deficiency of that particular patient. Close examination of the content of these letters reveals a glimpse into the tormented realities of asylum care and daily routine.

The majority of patients admitted to REA did not arrive out of free will. In most cases the family organised for their incarceration and in many cases, patients were tricked or physically manhandled into coming to the asylum. Some

about the letters are the allegations of physical brutality and mistreatment of the medical attendants. "Fancy a fellow of my age being thrashed with a walking stick and dragged off suddenly of a morning and pitched headforemost into a bath and held down. A bath does one good but to be kicked like a football and twisted like a wet cloth is too much of a good thing."

> 'The majority of patients admitted to the REA did not arrive out of free will…'

Although it would be wrong to suggest all attendants were physically intimidating to patients, significant instances of violence were recorded in patient letters. Upper class inmates tended to dislike

mind of the patient: routine and daily exercise, healthy eating, early starts and bedtime were enforced. Clouston was a firm believer in physical labour as part of therapy. Asylum life was dull, monotonous and uninspiring; Alex Y. wrote, "It is difficult to keep out of mischief with nothing to do…this has been an insufferably dull week." The strict routine and control of patients bred delinquency and a desire to rebel against authority out of sheer boredom. By confiscating the letters of patients who would do damage to the status and credibility of asylum care by showcasing their misgivings medical staff were as much protecting themselves and their own profession as they were their patients.

Aside from these complaints, many of the letters are desperate attempts by patients to implore their families to come and get them. Some entries included threats of suicide to force release, "I do not

and urges. They reveal excitement in anticipation of the dances and hopes of nice looking girls to look at. Love letters were written to staff and fellow patients. Many male patients became infatuated with their female nurse whereas female patients often took a fancy to their male medical staff. Victorian moral values condemned open sexual urges, which does account to some degree why letters were not more explicit. But the sexual hints do provide some clues to an undiscovered sex life of patients.

The patient perspective, provided by the numerous withheld letters at the REA, alight to a history of the asylum world which does not focus on psychiatrists and statistics. Rather they are a reflection a group who were disregarded by society. Through these letters, the individual is remembered; the have-nots whom so often become lost in the course of history.

The Beautiful Game

Joseph Duggin reconsiders mid-century football

Half centenaries and centenaries, twenty-fifth and seventy-fifth anniversaries as well as decennials seem to be good excuses for historical enquiries. Around such occasions bookshops' shelves fill up with memoirs and popular histories and - if it is an important enough event – there will probably be an Andrew Marr-looking-pensive-and-philosophical type documentary to intrigue the nation. 2011 is an such an annus anniversarius especially for American politics: thus far we have celebrated the 50th anniversary of JFK's inauguration and the 150th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's re-election and – providing less cause for celebration – it's ten years since George 'Dubya' Bush took residency in the White House.

These historical anniversaries are largely unnecessary; most people do not need the excuse of an anniversary to appreciate the historical importance of American presidents. However, the mentality behind the historical anniversary does bring niche topics out into the open. If you are not someone who immediately turns to the back pages of your daily newspaper then one such event that will probably have escaped your attention is the 50th anniversary of the abolition of the salary cap in professional football.

Fifty years ago the average wage of a top-level English footballer was a mere £20 a week. This all changed when the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA) Chairman, Jimmy Hill, took on the club and league associations and successfully forced them to abolish the salary cap in January 1961. Brian Clough, then at Middlesbrough, legitimately argued that, "I would expect the right to negotiate my contract the same as any other profession." Gordon Taylor (PFA Chief Executive) stated that the removal of the maximum wage, "changed the history of football." The sentiment is no less true for its unoriginality. Taylor's remark works on another, probably unintended, level as well; our memory of the history of football itself has been warped by the wage cap removal.

Contrary to the general belief that the 1950s was a time when footballers were paid a pittance and lived in abject poverty – forced to run a pub or head down the coal mines after training – footballers were a privileged section of working class society. As is still the case now, the vast majority of professional footballers came from the lower stratum of the socio-economic pyramid. £750 was the average salary of a skilled worker (such as carpenters, bricklayers etc.), which means that footballers were almost £400 a year better off than the average tradesman (about £7,000 of spending power today). Furthermore, when you consider that the majority of footballers were under the age of 30 their average salary was even higher for their age-group.

Not only were footballers better off in financial terms, but their quality of life was doubtlessly better in comparison to the majority of their old school friends. A few hours of training a day, one match a week, the opportunity to travel and the affection of thousands of adoring fans were just few of the benefits of being a professional footballer. They also did not have to put up with a voyeuristic newspaper press and cigarettes and alcohol were acceptable half-time and post-match pursuits respectively.

> 'Gordon Taylor (PFA Chief Executive) stated that the removal of the maximum wage 'changed the face of football.'

One of the main forces behind the move to remove the wage cap was the 'economic miracle' of the late 1950s. The post-war years were marked by economic investment in infrastructure and technology largely financed by the Marshall Plan from America that provided huge loans to regenerate post-war Europe. By the late 1950s the benefits of such economic schemes were being enjoyed by the general population, providing unparalleled employment opportunities and benefits. Technological developments and job security increased leisure opportunities. With the end of the war football league and cup games could be scheduled without being interrupted by the Luftwaffe, meaning clubs could make plans based on a stable source of matchday income. The return of soldiers facilitated an increase in crowd sizes that were not circumscribed by the inconvenience of public safety and seating. Thus, football clubs had a sound financial footing to exploit the commercial opportunities of sport.

> 'Technological developments and job security increased leisure opportunities'

As clubs, the Football Association and the Football League all benefited from the growth of commercialism players were still unable to demand a fair, market-determined wage. Social studies of professionalism in sport often refer to this as some sort of class warfare between the working-class players and 'bourgeois' governing bodies, but such pseudo-Marxist interpretations are nonsense. Instead, footballers were demanding that the growing commercialism of football should be extended to ensure that they were part of it and that they received a wage that was equal to their worth in a nascent, capitalistic industry.

Sporting economics is a subject that is often over-simplified and is tainted by the nostalgia of sporting fans. The abolition of the football wage cap is a point in case. Although footballers of the salary cap era lived very different lifestyles to the likes of Wayne Rooney and John Terry they were by no means an underprivileged profession.

There is a tendency today to view the removal of the cap as the start of the descent of footballers turning into playboyish, media-courting prima donnas, but the abolition needs to be looked at in the context of the post-war economic boom of the 1950s. Footballers were just one group attempting to cash in on the rewards of a remarkable period of affluence. Unlike the wage bills of present-day football clubs, the money that clubs were forking out for their players after the removal of the salary cap was based on a fair market-salary that was effectively 'capped' by the financial situation of the club – a lesson of 'living within your means' that Portsmouth, Crystal Palace and Plymouth Argyle should have taken heed of.

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Disparate disease control

Sam Duncan reveals the inconsistent colonial response to disease epidemics in sub-Saharan Africa

Examining the histories of disease epidemics can reveal important aspects of social history. The sleeping sickness epidemics in sub-Saharan Africa during the early twentieth century provoked debate over adequate disease control and its availability.

Millions have died from the Gambian and Rhodesian forms of sleeping sickness throughout the last century. The Gambian strain is considered chronic, whilst the Rhodesian type is deemed terminally acute. Death inevitably proceeds the absence of treatment, typically after five to ten years with the chronic strain or within a year suffering with an acute form. Sleeping sickness was first recorded in 1721 by the naval surgeon John Atkins, but later described in greater depth by the physician Thomas Winterbottom in 1792.

As physician to the colony of Sierra Leone, Winterbottom described the first symptoms of "negro lethargy" in infected slaves; the swelling of cervical lymph nodes. This is know more commonly referred to as 'Winterbottom's sign' in reverence of the physician's discovery. However, this served only as a basis to reject slaves from transport abroad. Fifty years later, the damaging nature of Tsetse fly bites was documented by Dr. Livingstone when he described them as "poisonous insects to ox, horse and dog." His observations recognised certain aspects of the disease, yet it remained poorly understood.

Colonisation swept through sub-Saharan Africa, completely transforming social, environmental and economic systems of the region duringt the early twentieth century. Upheaval and disruption inevitably led to the spread of disease and large-scale epidemics which the colonial powers documented. The majority of the disease's victims were those who toiled in fields and jungle.The resulting economic impact to trade and labour-led industry provoked colonial powers to intervene and adopt disease control measures.

However, initial practices were largely inadequate. In 1894, Uganda came under the control of the British Empire and cotton cultivation was encouraged to fund the massive railway developments. Money flowed freely, but cotton farmers soon began dying in huge numbers. By 1908 over 300,000 people had died from the Rhodesian strain of the disease.

> 'Money flowed freely, but cotton farmers soon began dying in huge numbers'

During this time, the British in Uganda and German powers in Tanzania began to realise the imperative of intervention in order to prevent further loss of life, as well as to aid the promotion a positive image of African public-health care to the European public. So began an extensive treatment regime to control sleeping sickness. This involved the formation of the Sleeping Sickness Commission in 1902 to scientifically investigate the aspects of the disease, bringing together many excellent European scientists. Sir Robert Bruce became a member in 1903 and his insight into the transmission of animal sleeping sickness through Tsetse flies concluded that the human form of the disease was also caused by trypanosome parasites transmitted via Tsetse fly bites.

Using this information the British and German governments moved people living near the heavily Tsetse infested shores of Lake Victoria to isolated sleeping sickness camps called *Lazarets*. Treatment at first was minimal, but soon better healthcare was introduced and those contained at the camps were monitored; their condition diagnosed by screening cerebrospinal fluid and eventually treated with the drug atoxyl in 1905. Though highly toxic, this drug was the first used and helped save around 30 percent of those treated.

From the first discovery of human infective trypanosomes in 1901 to the use of atoxyl four years later, tremendous progress had been made. These achievements demonstrated a rapid response to sleeping sickness epidemic. Those affected were given proper diagnostic checks and primitive, but vital, treatment. Colonial powers were forced to confront the epidemic by their need for increased farming and better infrastructure. However, the British, German and Belgian governments helped limit the terrible cost of life by implementing treatment for those affected in a logical, infowrmed way, steadily driving the numbers of infected down.

Meanwile, concurrent events in the Congo illustrate the horrifying impact on loss of life that inadequate disease control could have. From 1885 to 1908, the Democratic Republic of Congo was the 'Congo Free State', privately owned and controlled by King Leopold II of Belgium. Despite his public declarations of good will, Leopold's intentions were hardly honourable. His real motivation was the tremendous wealth of natural resources, in particular rubber and ivory, found in the Congo. King Leopold conquered the region with regular 'punishment expeditions' which quashed local resistance through murder and the capture of women and cattle. These continued as Leopold focussed on amassing his wealth by forcing local inhabitants into labour to harvest the rich resources of the land.

The result of working in densely forested areas was high levels of Tsetse fly exposure and massive infection rates. Between 1903 and 1905, sleeping sickness reached epidemic proportions with the deaths of around half a million people, but little was done to combat this. Camps similar to the *Lazarets* were set up, yet these bore greater resemblance to concentration camps as no medical treatment was given to those interned there. Instead people were left to improve or die by their own means. The latter was more likely, and compounding this high death toll was the gruesome taxation system. Workers not meeting their rubber quota had their hands severed. Therefore, the infected, who were unable to work either died from disease or taxation. Those fit to work continued to toil in the forests where infection and death was waiting for them. This barbaric system led to the deaths of as many as ten million Congolese, many of whom are estimated to have died directly from sleeping sickness and countless more as a result of infection.

The inadequate treatment and diagnosis, coupled with the government's barbarism was in stark contrast to the Ugandan and Tanzanian situation. In 1908 under pressure from the international community, Belgium took control of the Free State, forming the Belgian Congo. Health-care from then on began to improve as proper diagnostic techniques and treatments began to be implemented.

In contrasting the fate of those in Uganda and Tanzania, with that of sleeping sickness victims in the Congo, the human costs of adequate disease control is revealed. The experiences of those with suitable treatment, whilst not entirely pain-free, were notably improved. This story may be over one-hundred years old but the same ideology of disease control is as valid now as it was then.

Beneath these streets

Lauren Rhodes takes a tour of Edinburgh the underground city

In 1824 Hugh Miller described his experience of Edinburgh: "I felt that I had seen, not one, but two cities, a city of the past and of the present, set down side by side, as if for the purposes of comparison, with a picturesque valley drawn like a deep score between them, to mark off the line of division". Miller had eloquently articulated the stark difference between living conditions of the rich and poor in Edinburgh, defined by the environment that the city provided.

There has been habitation in Edinburgh since the Vottadini tribe first settled two thousand years ago. Castle Hill proved to be in an excellent defensive position, and over the following centuries the city gradually spread downwards in two rows towards Holyrood, forming what was to become the Royal Mile. In 1450 King James II granted a charter to the citizens of Edinburgh allowing them to form a defensive wall around the city, and the pastures to the north of the castle were flooded to create the Nor' Loch which served as an extra defence for the city. Following the defeat of the Scottish army at the Battle of Flodden in 1513, the King's Wall was replaced by the Flodden Wall that stretched from Castle Hill to the foot of the Grassmarket, followed down what is now Lauriston Place to Bristo Square. It then crossed the Cowgate to the Netherbow Gate, on the Royal Mile. This was the only entrance to the city, now marked by the Worlds End pub.

> **'Edinburgh, a city of palaces, or of tombs'**

The Flodden Wall confined the city of Edinburgh to an area roughly one-quarter of a mile squared. The limited amount of space had a dramatic impact on the living conditions of both the wealthy and the impoverished. Unlike the West End of London, there was no distinctive area for the wealthy and fashionable. Instead, buildings grew upwards - the first skyscrapers – and the entire social stratum could be represented in one building. One tenement building was recorded as having fourteen storeys and lower level buildings were also used to form the foundations of newer, taller buildings that cut houses off from sunlight, burying them under more buildings. New tenements were built closer together, narrowing the streets between them to only a few feet – hence the term 'close'. In one typical Edinburgh tenement in Dixons Close lived a fishmonger, a lodging house keepers, the Dowager Countess of Balcarres, milliners, labourers and tradesmen. The wealthier inhabitants lived on the comfortable middle floors, up and away from the dirty streets, but not high enough to have to climb the spiralling outdoor staircases.

As space above ground began to run out the population looked back down towards the earth. The soft sandstone allowed builders to dig cellars, creating a network of underground rooms on multiple levels linked by tunnels and passages. This created the first underground city of Edinburgh: a dark, damp underworld where the most destitute members of Edinburgh society were housed. William Hazlitt described Edinburgh as "a City of palaces, or of tombs – a quarry, rather than habitation of men". There was no sewage system in place at this time, and it seeped through the bare stone walls into the underground warren. The only heat came from tallow candles, which filled the caverns with the stench of animal fat. By the time peace came to Edinburgh in the eighteenth century it had earned the reputation of being the worst place in Europe to live.

Eventually an effort was made to expand the city. However, Edinburgh was situated between seven hills – Castle Hill and Calton Hill, which are still visible today, and also Moultrees Hill, Bunker's Hill, St Johns Hill, St Leonards Hill and Heriot Hill. These hills were engineered out of existence by the construction of five giant bridges – South Bridge, North Bridge, George VI Bridge, Regents Bridge and Kings Bridge. The bridges were integrated into the city and the gaps they spanned were filled and buildings were constructed on either side. The biggest of the bridges, South Bridge, is over one thousand feet long and has twenty giant arches standing at more than thirty feet high, which were divided into vaults and chambers, connected by tunnels. Originally designed as storage rooms for shopkeepers the vaults of the bridges quickly became the second underground slum, mopping up the wave of immigrants who had fled Ireland or been forced out of their settlements during the Highland Clearances.

The wealthy citizens of Edinburgh began to move away from the Old Town, across the North Bridge into the New Town. The Council offered people many incentives to encourage them to move there, even paying the first person to live there £20. The New Town was a completely different city; houses could be no higher than three storeys, and they were spacious and well decorated. Smaller, narrower side streets, such as Rose Street, were also included to accommodate the servants of the New Town's wealthy inhabitants.

As those who could afford to live in the New Town moved away, the Old Town was left for the poor and the tenement buildings fell into disrepair. Left unpoliced, the city that had once been home to dukes, earls and lords became the domain of thieves, prostitutes, debauched aristocrats, bodysnatchers and murderers for more than half a century. In 1861 Trotters House, which was more than 250 years old and collapsed. Thirty five people were killed and this disaster prompted the Council to review accommodation in the Old Town. Cramped, crowded buildings were pulled down and replaced, and tenants were encouraged to move out to the suburbs surrounding Edinburgh. The underground cellars were filled in, covered up or built over and forgotten about over time. It was not until the early 1990's that they were rediscovered and opened up to public access.

The tours that visit them focus on ghostly sighting and grisly stories, but in this case the truth is actually more horrific than the myth.

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Slaves of the State

Susanne Savage examines the legacy of Russian serfdom

IN 1839 in his Letters from Russia the Marquis De Custine wrote that by many the Russian serfs were considered "the happiest men in Russia". The justification for this was as follows, ""They have no cares, we take all the charge of them and their families...Assured of the necessaries of life for themselves and their children, they are a hundred times less to be pitied than the free peasants." With all "charge" taken from them and put in the hands of their owners the Russian serfs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the servants at the base of the autocratic machine that was the Russian Empire, giving their economic independence and all personal freedom in the name of service. Not only did they possess nothing, material objects, freedom, rights, but they themselves were possessions; the ultimate 'have nots'.

There was, however, no tradition of Serfdom in Russia as there was in Western Europe. It was only when Serfdom became obsolete in Western Europe around the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that it took hold in the East. Peasant migration, the result of plague, and the agrarian revolution carried out by the Muscovites throughout the sixteenth saw the decline of the old feudal aristocracy and free peasant small holders, and the rise of a new land holding class of servants to the Tsar. To fulfil their service to the Tsar this new class required peasant labourers, and sought to bind them to the land and to this service. Yet gentry and peasants alike were servants to the Tsar, different cogs in the mechanism of autocracy.

However, at the beginning of the reign of Catherine the Great in 1762 compulsory service of nobles to the state was entirely abolished, and with it the justification for serfdom. Catherine the Great's reign became the Golden age of the serf-owning nobility; without restraint she rewarded her favourites with "gifts" of populated villages in regions such as the

Ukraine, creating a further 2 million serfs before the practice was abolished at the end of her reign in 1796. From 1762 onwards the number of Serfs increased but the conditions in which they lived deteriorated rapidly. Lazar Volin, noted Russian historian, emphasised the the growing ascendancy of the landed gentry as a privileged class in the 18th century was parallel to the degradation of the peasantry to the status of human chattel.

The estates represented microcosms of the Russian Empire, in which the landlord ruled despotically over his serfs, much like the absolutist Tsar. As master, he could dispose arbitrarily of labour, property and punishment: although the serf owner did not have the right to kill his serfs almost every other means of punishment, including exile in Siberia and forced service in the army, was permitted. The landlord even controlled the marriages of his serfs, charging a fee for one of his serfs to marry a serf from another estate. To complain about one's master was prohibited, and even where complaints were legitimately made the serfs rarely received justice. What class-bias, self-interest, or fear of offending the powerful and rich did not accomplish in undermining judicial independence, rampant official corruption completed.

Of course life was not the same for all serfs across such an expansive territory. But in general three types of serf can be distinguished. In the less fertile regions, such as the north, where agriculture was more difficult the quitrent system was favoured. Serfs were encouraged to engage in other trades and were also allowed to leave the estate for work in the city. This facilitated the development of rural handcraft trades as well as the factory industry in Russia. This form of Serfdom afforded the peasants greater independence. For the serfs who worked the landlord's demesne, most of whom did have their

own land to farm, the extent of the landlord's control and often exploitation was far greater, particularly after 1762. Some of these landlords set up factories on their estates, which presented a yet greater evil to their serfs.

Those who suffered most however, were the manorial serfs. Given no land of their own to farm and placed in the manor house, their lives were entirely devoted to serving their masters. Escaping the grip of bondage was almost impossible, achievable only through payment, which happened only in rare cases, or otherwise death; and even in this Russian serfs remained the "have nots" of Russian society.

> 'What class-bias, self-interest, or the fear of offending the powerful and rich did not accomplish in undermining judicial independence, official, rampant official corruption completed'

Suicide amongst the Russian serfs was prevalent, despite having been made illegal under Peter the Great. The treatment of suicide amongst serfs demonstrates the extent to which serfs were reduced to merely slaves of the state lacking all autonomy. The high rate of suicide amongst serfs can perhaps best be attributed to maltreatment at the hands of their master. Yet in official reports the causes were most often given as "insolence, disobedience, debauchery and drunkenness".

Suicide represented the ultimate

disobedience and thus the process of judging them, and morally condemning them, re-established the proper authority. This act of disobedience not only threatened the social base of Russia but also the political. The case of the suicide of Gigoriji Miasnikov can be viewed as a political act. A serf, released from his duties to attend art school in Arzamas, but was recalled by his master Miasnikov. He later killed himself using a pistol, leaving behind a note which read, "My dear fiend Vasili Egorovich – write on my tomb that I died for freedom. Forgive me". The conclusion of the enquiry by Benckendorff, stated "With all probability, his suicide likely had the same cause as other cases – despair [due] namely to the strange and inhumane idea of some landowners to educate their serfs but then hold them in slavery". Here Benckendorff does not argue against Serfdom, but he implies that to educate a serf is to dangerously disrupt the status quo. The serf's suicide, crucially orchestrated using a pistol normally reserved for noble death, was thus considered the result of his misguided inversion of the social order, as a result of his education.

Serfs were at the base of both the social and political order. In taking his own life a serf defied the political system. Firstly, this system dictated he was duty bound to serve his master and secondly it was fundamentally based on the all powerful Tsar; only the Tsar had the power of life and death. Suicide was the last run for freedom, against and away from the despotic machine of the Russian Empire.

As described by Ignatovich, however, "Serfdom did not make out of the peasants timid, submissive slaves. In various ways, beginning with individual cases of disobedience and ending with formidable mass movements, putting the Government on its mettle, they [the peasants] protested against serfdom". Many of

the mutinies and the revolts were simply collective "disobedience" in which the serfs effectively went on strike, refusing to fulfil their duties. But these revolts often went further and were put down by the militia amidst bloodshed and recrimination, for example between 1835-1843 416 peasants were deported to Siberia for the murder of their landlords. It is important to note that these peasant rebellions were not however, almost without exception, revolutionary movements directed against the Tsar. The Russian serfs were the pillars of Russian autocracy; the product of this system which made the Tsar almost a God in the eyes of the people and of the law. For example the Marquis de Custine recounts the story of a group of serfs who took arms against their master and murdered him, believing it was the will of the Emperor that they should be liberated and that only their master stood in defiance.

The result was not liberation, but the decimation of these villages and the condemnation of the peasants to death or exile in Siberia. But the myth of the benevolent Tsar working against evil landlords continued, as incidents such as this in Russia were almost never unpublicised. The general air of secrecy in the Russian Empire was particularly well executed in terms of Serf rebellions, due to an intense paranoia of further antagonising the serfs or creating uproar from the landlords. Indeed this paranoia, already an inherent feature of the Russian Empire, was exacerbated by the Pugachev rebellion of 1773. The

end of compulsory state service for the nobility in 1762 ushered in hopes amongst the Russian peasantry that they too would be unshackled from their service of serfdom. These unfulfilled expectations fuelled the rebellion, which would become an incident etched onto the memories of all those for or against reform of serfdom over the next 100 years before the emancipation. Over the course of these 100 years the Napoleonic war in 1812 and the Crimean War further fuelled peasant agitation, with around 547 local mutinies between 1828 and 1854.

Public opinion and the government thought were strongly affected by the incidents that took place around the Crimean War. For example when the government issued calls for militia in 1854 and again in 1855, rumour spread amongst the serfs that those who enlisted would be granted their freedom. The mass numbers of serfs who rushed to enlist had to be put down by soldiers. In fact the rulers of Russia were wholly aware that, in light of the extensive agrarian reforms across the rest of Europe, Serfdom in Russia would have to come to an end eventually. For example Nicholas I said in his first statement addressing the Council of State on March 30th 1842, "Doubtless serfdom as it exists at present in our country is an evil that is generally evident; but to tamper with it now would be, of course, an even more disastrous evil". Thus reform was discussed many years before it was implemented, but always discussed under a heavy cloak of secrecy. In constant fear that public

criticism or even debate on the matter of serfdom would unbalance the delicate equilibrium of the Russian social structure it was a subject of taboo watched under the closest scrutiny by the government. One of the first abolitionists, Radischev, whose book 'Journeys from St Petersburg to Moscow' criticising serfdom, passed through the censor's office yet brought a death sentence upon his head from the enraged Catherine the Great, served as a warning to future abolitionists.

Nonetheless the early nineteenth century saw a change in attitude and attempts to push reform. Russian thinking began to feel the effects of the recent intellectual upheavals across western Europe. Serfdom seemed archaic and barbaric in the philosophical and political climate that had emerged from the enlightenment. The French revolution, the Romantic movement, utopian socialism and British utilitarianism were all events and bodies of thinking that roundly condemned serfdom. In the era of 'le droit de l'homme' such a stark contrast in Russian society within a wider European context seemed archaic and anachronistic. The altered European perspective of the nineteenth century thus created waves of opposition literature across Europe, such as that from N.I Turgenev and Herzen, as well as condemnation within Russia itself. This new attitude toward Serfdom was partly catalysed by, and simultaneous with, the peasant agitation during the Crimean war. Alexander II officially emancipated the serfs in 1861, be-

cause "It is better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait for it to abolish itself from below".

Indeed even in their emancipation the 'have nothings' of the Russian Empire were still chained by the unfair distribution of land, if land was even given (this was not the case for manorial serfs) and by the crippling redemption tax. . The Marquis de Custine a veritable child of the French revolution. motivated by principals of 'egalite and 'liberte', said of the Russian Serfs, "Russia is a cauldron of boiling water, well closed, but placed over a fire which is becoming more fiercely heated: I dread the explosion". This statement was made in 1839, but seems no less appropriate to 1861, or indeed to 1917.

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'A Fish Trap is For Catching Fish'

Sarah Boulton examines the manner in which Beijing artists reappropriated modernity in late nineteenth century China

The particular period of Chinese history that I will discuss in this article will be 1850 - 1950: a turbulent era characterised by tension and conflict both in society and indeed Art. The tumultuous events of the late 19th and early 20th century in China were characterised by social tension and conflict. This in turn was reflected and refracted in the contemporary art produced in China at the time. Shanghai was at the centre of much of the massive social and cultural dislocation which was to typify this period of Chinese art history, and can be seen as a microcosm of wider trends and patterns.

After their defeat in the first Opium War, 1839-42, China was dealt a 'treaty port' by Britain, allowing the opening of several major trading ports and routes, particularly in Shanghai. Inevitably this attracted vast numbers of people to the new, up-and-coming port city. Many large foreign trading companies, for example, Dent & Co., Gibb and Livingston begun to settle under the protection of the treaty. In addition, a foreign municipality was set up, encouraging French, British and Russians to move to Shanghai. Many of these in fact, constructed their own buildings and churches, created newspapers, and set up schools in Western languages. Furthermore, there was an influx of native Chinese immigrants, coming from cities nearby such as Canton, into Shanghai's new and emerging 'cultural mosaic'.

The period undoubtedly fostered tensions concerning individual and communal identity.

The phrase 'haves and have nots' therefore, is an accurate label of growing socio-economic fractures and the difficulty for the artist in confronting these problems. It is also demonstrative of the push and pull nature of the time in artistic culture: the preservation or letting go of tradition, the embracing or holding back towards the contemporary development into a more 'Westernised' culture and society. Such issues, one could argue have been prevalent throughout history, and are still pertinent today. These issues are most clearly demonstrated by changes in the Shanghai painting and calligraphy traditions.

When looking at nineteenth and twentieth century paintings it is difficult to see a significant push towards any sort of 'modernism'. Much of the forms, styles and subject matters remained persistently orthodox. Landscape painting is where we see the most obvious desire to sustain the orthodox tradition. Tao Qui was one of many landscape painters of orthodox lineage. He was a member of the 'Duckweed Society', an association set up for the gathering of well established local and national artists, and took part in discussions regarding the principles of painting with prestigious connoisseurs and collectors. His painting Landscape reveals his belief in orthodoxy.

The inscription above the image criticises those painters who have attempted to emulate the ancient masters. He even criticises his own endeavours in this particular painting, suggesting that the orthodox tradition of the past centuries can not be justifiably reproduced. He puts a prestige upon the visual practise of orthodox painting, as well as the concept of tradition behind it. Contemporary critic Li Xiuyi tells us of the 'approaching to the archaic' nature of Tao Qui's paintings. In addition, artists also followed the Wu school tradition of Suzhou Characteristics such as poetic sensitivity peaceful intimacy to the scenic images were promoted and upheld. Shen Zhuo advocated the Wu style.

He has looked back to the fifteenth century artist Wen Zhengming, the great Ming master of the Wu School. The washed mountainous background and the leaning trees of the foreground are two motifs borrowed by Shen Zhuo here. The lingering presence of both styles during the nineteenth century shows a preservation of the elite tradition despite the contemporary push for more modern, urban, popular modes of painting style that paralleled the alleged cosmopolitan society. Indeed, many tradition- supporting associations and societies were established during our period. For example, both the 'The Shanghai Tijin', an association of epigraphy and painting, and The Chinese Painting Society advocated the ancestral roots the Chinese Art was based in up until the nineteenth century.

Ren Xiong was an extraordinary artist of his time and deserves a discussion of his own. His outstanding self portrait of 1856 highlights numerous issues and stands as an archetypal example of the contemporary art landscape in Shanghai

Ren Xiong also retained elements of traditional Chinese art and reappropriated them in a more 'modern' contest. It was common for a Chinese portrait painting to compose a figure alongside some sort of attribute and also to create a 'double image', whereby the piece, although seemingly original and personal may allude to a conventional image or personage from the past. Ren Xiong's portrait has no particular attribute to it, apart from his swooping gown. James Cahill, a prominent modern art historian, interestingly calls it a 'costume'. One must assume that this was not Ren Xiong's everyday garment, it is indeed, drawn with a hard, schematic line. If we look at the garment in the context of his bare torso, we realise he is alluding to the traditional portraiture motif of the ruffian or wrestler fighter-hero. In Chinese portraiture, a brawling moral hero who has defeated a man of social superiority is recurrant. If we look at the woodblock prints of 16th Century artist Chen Hongshou, we see similarities in both the fighter-hero subject matter as well as the zigzag linear style of drawing. Here Ren Xiong is conjuring up his artistic inheritance by using the visual

associations of traditional motifs.

Ren Xiong uses these connotations to propose and exclaim his emotions and feelings. Portraits of young men were rare in China up to and during our period. Principally, young aesthetes or 'bon vivants' were portrayed: not particularly personal to the artist; not a confrontational image discussing true and raw emotion. Ren Xiong had an advanced and 'modern' view on portrait painting, and arguably all art. In 1823, he begun to study with a local portraitist, but soon recoiled because he wanted to portray people 'warts and all': moving away from the conventional stylised and idealised. Other conventions of portraiture are also broken: normal portraiture included a highly stylised background. Ren Xiong stands alone: against the contemporary world around him, against the artistic culture preceding him. The inscription on the piece is perhaps one of the most heartfelt and telling of our period. This is a man in deep disillusionment: clearly troubled and tormented.

Yet we can look further than this. He is an artist, struggling against society. One the one hand he wishes to be unconventional and free of tradition in an artistic sense; and on the other, he is bewildered at the changes taking place in Shanghai. As an artist, does he push forward stylistically, leaving behind tradition? Or does he stick by it, supporting the culture that he feels is being swallowed around him? It is this predicament that is particularly modern as a concept too: the struggle of the artist against the outside world. It is interesting that none of his other paintings are bound up with this emotion. He would perhaps have not made a living if he had produced such work constantly. Again, the need to sacrifice some artistic vision for the sake of financial security is timeless.

Calligraphy in Shanghai is especially demonstrative of this artistic trend of appropriation of the old. After the second Opium War, China initiated a self- strengthening movement where by the artists and calligraphers in particular, intentionally brought back old, antique styles in order to expand and unify the current system. Due to reasons discussed above China needed to prepare to hold its own identity, to not get lost in potential Westernisation. During the nineteenth century an abundance of archaeological finds were discovered. Many shrines, stone inscriptions and bronze miniatures were revealed and with them, a new knowledge of the history of their ancestors. What better way to secure a sort of national identity at a time of unrest and uncertainty than to use these findings and appropriate them into the modern world? Ancient ste-

lae from as early as the 2nd century enveloped in beautiful fascinating symbol carvings were found and copied and adapted. Rubbings were taken of the worn inscriptions and were transferred onto paper in different compositions. Some of the resultant images then became collages: sort of patch-work pieces of Chinese ancient heritage sewn together by a contemporary artist.

Ancient Chinese moral values, as well as asthetics, were reappropriated. Alluding to an idealised past, where civic and moral values were at their height, is not specific to this period of Chinese history. For example, Roman artistic traditions, in particular the classical columns, have always been emulated even up to the modern day to conjure up a type of balance, stability and power. The same can be said for Chinese calligraphy. Ancient scripts were considered superior because they embodied moral qualities. Interestingly, many contemporary art historians consider the style of the 'Northern School' of Chinese Art to be more artistically advanced, as it drew on these ancient archeological discoveries. Ruan Yuan commented that "although the Northern calligraphy is coarse and simple, its brushwork is strong, straight, firm and cultivated." Thus, here, embodied in both ancient and new script, is the moral virtue that the contemporary individual and community strived to achieve and reaffirm.

Can the embrace modernism and modernity in the context of Chinese art necessarily equate to the occidental and external. Can it not, particularly when we are looking at a culture at large, signify development without necessarily being a cultural import? The referral to the past, as we have seen in theory, calligraphy and painting of all genres, was a conscious decision for Chinese artists to bring their heritage, their traditions into the contemporary discourse. Yes, they did develop their art through continuation, appropriation and adaptation: they used the old as their new.

The art history of Shagnhia is particularly intellectually stimulating insofar as the art created can be so steeped in classical traditional discourse, and yet can provoke such contemporary issues? How do we look at the concept of modernism on a global scale? Can we separate art from its context and formally study the extent to which it develops stylistically or thematically? On reflectionthe way in which we judge the extent to which the art produced in and around Shanghai during our period can be deemed modern is reliant on a subjective definition of what constitutes modernity.

Winning the Peace

Sophia McNab explains the importance of the 1945 Labour electoral achievement

The size of the Labour victory in the General Election of 1945 was unprecedented. Led by Clement Attlee they won 394 seats, compared to the Conservative party's 212, which amounted to a gain of 227 seats. It remains one of the largest Conservative defeats in history and represents a profound political break from the past. The precise reasons for this change require examination, but the fact that the election took place in a new social and political climate is very significant. The testing experiences of total war, military conscription and rationing had a powerful effect on the British public and had ramifications on the party system. There had been an unprecedented level of government intervention during wartime and this impacted on popular attitudes towards class, equality and government. Ideas about restructuring British society along more egalitarian lines circulated widely and were significant in conditioning the atmosphere in which the election took place. The organisation, policies and leadership of the parties must be considered alongside the shift popular attitudes to fully understand the dramatic change revealed in the election 1945.

The physical and emotional strains of the World War II altered popular attitudes in a number of ways and were fundamental in contributing to the Labour victory. Government intervention forged a number of realisations among the population. Rationing had made the upper classes aware of lower class suffering, while government control of the railways, gas and electricity networks showed what could be achieved through nationalisation. The war revealed the potential for radical reform that existed in Britain; it demonstrated the full capacity of a united British population and made it clear that expense need not be a barrier. In short, it ushered in a new set of political values in all sections of society. The enthusiasm and publicity that met the publication of the Beveridge Report in 1942 is an illustration of these new social attitudes and the political will of the people. The report proposed rationalisation of existing social security schemes and became a blueprint for the post-war welfare state. It recommended the implementation of a social insurance scheme funded by contributions from the state, employer and worker. This would ensure children's allowances, universal health services and maintenance of employment. It sold 635,000 copies and even upper-income groups spoke out in favour of it. Social and economic reform had been firmly placed at the top of the public's agenda.

The Conservative party cited the deterioration of party organisation during the war as crucial in their defeat but the validity of this statement has been called into disrepute. In actuality, the Conservative electoral machine was in no worse state than that of Labour and despite wartime exigencies the Conservatives continued to coordinate more activity at a local level. Labour party organisation was not only numerically weaker, but also comparatively inexperienced. In May 1945, the Conservative party had four-times as many electoral agents as Labour. Conservative claims of organisational failure conceal the fundamental reasons for their failure, their inability to create policies that responded to the new social and political climate.

The policies of the Labour party synchronised brilliantly with the new mood in Britain. They proposed that the daunting task of post-war reconstruction could be seen as an uplifting opportunity to restructure British society along more progressive and egalitarian lines. The Labour manifesto, 'Let us Face the Future', contained an optimistic and forward-looking message that put the requirements of the average family at the heart. It had a positive central theme of economic reconstruction and promised the electorate full employment, a National Health Service and more housing. Meanwhile, Churchill's focus remained firmly on the military victory and the post-war settlement. 'Mr Churchill's Declaration of Policy to the Electors' emphasised political continuity and the reconstruction program that had been agreed on by the coalition. When scrutinized it becomes apparent that the Conservative and Labour manifestos did not differ greatly, but their emphasis on implementation did. The Conservatives may have offered social reforms but they continually focused on the international war settlement and relied heavily on their military victory. The policy of attacking the Labour party and portraying them as extremists was also misjudged as they had served loyally during the coalition. The Labour campaign, by contrast, was extremely successful in winning the party support as their policies confronted the problems played heavily on peoples' minds.

The Beveridge Report neatly demonstrates the partisan differences in post-war domestic policy. Labour supported the report whole-heartedly and Labour benches called for 'Beveridge Now'. It was in keeping with their view that the war could be used as a means for social reform. The Conservatives, however, felt money should be spent on revival of British trade instead and that the scheme would remove the individual incentive to work. The Reconstruction Priorities Committee concluded that it was impossible to enter into any definite commitment and that defence must have the first claim on resources. It has since been said

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that no government could have afforded to take such 'a line of absolute negativism'. In the month of the Beveridge debate there were six by-elections and in four of them the Conservative vote was down by an average of eight percent. Beveridge himself commented after the parliamentary debate that the Conservatives' lack of enthusiasm for the scheme would cost them the post-war election.

> 'The dramatic results of the 1945 General Election showed the extent to which British attitudes had changes over the last decade'

The contrasting leadership of the parties was also significant in accounting for Labour victory in 1945. Winston Churchill was undoubtedly a popular character but the problem for the Conservatives was that his popularity did not necessarily transfer into support for his party. Only a minority felt he would make a successful peacetime Prime Minister. This meant that basing their election campaign around him was a significant strategic error. Churchill had envisaged the wartime coalition continuing for up to four years after the end of the war and saw himself as more of a national leader than a party leader. This desire to subordinate tiresome domestic politics in favour of international diplomacy was contrary to the main concerns of the public. Clement Attlee, was a trustworthy, if slightly dull character who had been given public recognition during the coalition and had earned popular support. He had the opportunity to prepare for premiership while he was Deputy Prime Minister from 1942 to 1945 and had enjoyed a great deal of control over the policies of the Home Front. In fact, an array of Labour talent had been on display throughout the war as characters like Stafford Cripps, Hugh Dalton and Ernest Bevin all held senior positions. As a result Labour and its leading ministers were firmly positioned in the public domain as a credible party, capable of satisfying the reformist trend in British opinion.

Labour policies and leadership reflected and responded to the new mood amongst the British population. It is important to note, however, that the 'shift to the Left' was not merely a result of the war. It was rooted in the 1930s and early years of the war. 1940 has been cited as the year when 'the foundations of political power shifted decisively leftward for a decade'. The formation of the coalition government and the subsequent recruitment of the Left by the Right was hugely significant. It led to the dissemination of more socialist ideas over the BBC, throughout the army and information services. The mid-1930s saw the peak of working-class attachment to the Labour party and consolidation of its traditional support base. The significance of the war is that it validated Labour policies of government interventionism and reinforced a growing trend in public opinion.

The dramatic results of the 1945 General Election showed the extent to which British attitudes had changed over the last decade. Predictably, Labour achieved a majority in the large industrial cities, but they also enjoyed significant gains in suburban South England and in rural areas. This demonstrates that the appeal of a social reform agenda had broadened considerably, expanding from the industrial working classes to include skilled workers and the lower middle classes. Labour had clearly benefited from the new political climate by consistently showing themselves to be the party who could be trusted to deliver radical reforms and wider sections of society than ever favoured a Labour government. In sharp contrast, the Conservative party lost a lot of support as they failed to satisfy the progressive trend in public opinion. People did not believe they would bring about the radical reforms that the war had illustrated were necessary. As Tom Harrison said about Churchill in 1944 'Ordinary people assume that after the war he'll rest on his magnificent laurels.'

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The 'very worst world ever known'

Rebecca Monks recounts the brief but eventful life of John Wilmot, the second Earl of Rochester

John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester, is famed for having once said 'it is a very good world to live in, to lend or to spend, or to live in; but to beg or to borrow, or to get a man's own, it is the very worst world that ever was known'. Though Wilmot describes his world with witty words, his place in society cannot be summed up so succinctly. Wilmot's aristocratic background and wealthy marriage should have secured his place in Restoration society as a gentleman of privilege and persuasion. Instead, he is remembered as a debauched drunkard and a rogue genius; a contradiction in terms and a point of historical fascination. Wilmot's life is one of personal privilege and emotional indifference, whilst his literary works are renowned for being both exceptionally intelligent and wholly disconcerting. Wilmot exemplifies the corrupt aristocrat, for the very worst world that Wilmot speaks of is one of tedium and monotony, not the horrors of poverty that we might expect. Wilmot sought excitement and adventure, and both his poetry and his biography are a testament to his efforts for a life of fun, regardless of consequence.

Wilmot was born in 1647 to Henry Viscount Wilmot and Anne St. John. According to Christopher Wordsworth, 'he was exactly well bred', being born to a royalist mother and a father famed for his efforts in war. Wilmot was educated at Wadham College in Oxford University, where as Wordsworth further remarks, 'the habitual love of knowledge, together with fits of study, had much awakened his understandings'. This love of knowledge was further encouraged, according to Wordsworth, by his travels across the world. At eighteen he was fluent in French and Italian, having travelled through both countries, whilst his knowledge of Latin was impressive. Having been sufficiently well travelled and educated, Wilmot eventually won fame, like his father, in a war effort. His efforts in a sea battle against the Dutch were acknowledged, and Wilmot inevitably became highly regarded in the Royal Court.

> 'The only person who could stop him, it seemed, was Wilmot himself.'

From his birth, Wilmot was destined to fulfil a life of aristocratic splendour. Raised in Ditchley, Oxfordshire, his life was one of comfort and opportunity. His parents were both highly regarded figures in society, and his future was set to be one of privilege and importance. Whilst studying at Oxford University, he was tutored by the highly regarded Dr. Balfour, and was equipped with enough knowledge and life experience to truly make a success of himself. His talent for the English language did not go unnoticed, for Wordsworth is careful to describe Wilmot's 'delight in books and reading'. For Wilmot, the perfect aristocratic life was created from his birth. With an excellent education to prepare him for the future and a brain capable of not only conversing in numerous languages, but excelling in them, his future seemed unstoppable. The only person who could stop him, it seemed, was Wilmot himself.

In reflecting upon the news of Rochester's death, Dr Samuel Johnson remarked 'thus in a course of drunken gaiety and gross

sensuality, with intervals of study perhaps more criminal, with an avowed contempt for all decency and order, a total disregard for every moral, and a resolute denial of every religious obligation, he lived worthless and useless, and blazed out his youth and his health in lavish voluptuousness'. For an aristocrat, educated at Oxford University by a highly regarded tutor, and a man famed for his efforts at sea, this would appear to be a rather harsh eulogy. Though Dr. Johnson's words are unsubtle and direct, they encourage an essential discussion in to the downward spiral that Wilmot's life became. As Johnson indicates, study and literature became a second thought, as licentiousness slowly overtook his mind and consumed his body. By the time of his death, his status had devolved from that of a legendary libertine to an immoral sufferer, and it was his pursuit of sex, drink and immorality that were to blame.

> 'Rochester's work was licentious, heavily sexual, and disregarded morality and religion'

John Wilmot died aged 33 on July 26 1680. His death was associated with multiple health problems caused by both Syphilis and Gonorrhoea. He described his death bed as days filled with 'agonies of the mind [that] sometimes swallowed up the sense of what he felt in his body'. The mind that was agonised by sexually transmitted diseases was destined for literary greatness. It had been celebrated in Oxford, France and Italy, and renowned by both King and Court as one of genius. His literary genius however, came second to his sexual appetite and lust for life.

Though Wilmot married Elizabeth Malet in 1667, his pursuit of women and sex did not end here. Even in marriage, his refusal to conform to the aristocratic expectancies placed upon him was evident, as Keith Walker informs us that 'he kidnapped her prematurely and was punished by Charles with imprisonment in the tower'. His relationship with Malet was nothing if not an indicator as to Wilmot's relationship with women in general. He regarded them as sexual objects that he was entitled to pursue. His marriage to Malet was long

but not faithful. After finally being forgiven by Charles, and seeing that the marriage was blessed, his marital life was free to devolve just as his personal life would. Malet resided in the country, whilst Wilmot's duties to the Court took him to the city. It was here that he indulged in numerous affairs with mistresses and whores, most notable of which was his relationship with the famed actress Elizabeth Barry. His relationship with Barry produced one illegitimate child, alongside four legitimate children by Elizabeth Malet.

Wilmot's relationship with Elizabeth Malet is a metaphor for the way he lived his life. His aristocratic duties were superficially fulfilled. He married a wealthy heiress and produced four children. Wilmot however, unsatisfied by tradition and sensibility, went on to have numerous affairs and an illegitimate child. The rest of Rochester's life appears to follow a similar pattern. His involvement in Court seemed destined from his birth, being son to the first Earl of Rochester. Indeed, Wilmot was a close associate of Charles II. In the midst of the joyful Restoration, Charles II depended on Rochester's writing skills to secure the popularity of the King. Wilmot proved problematic for Charles however, as his reluctance to conform to his aristocratic duties and social sensibility undermined his best intentions. As Walker further remarks, 'certain patterns of life can be discerned: recurrent bad behaviour, for which Rochester was in disgrace, then quickly forgiven by the indulgent Charles'.

In the literary world, Rochester was widely recognised and had an impressive volume of works. The content of these works however, was found to be too licentious for the intended audience. James William Johnson states that 'for three centuries, the man and his writings were widely castigated in ways often more revealing of his critics than of Rochester himself'. To further Johnson's point, Rochester's work was licentious, heavily sexual, and disregarded morality and religion. It was not appreciated by many readers who were offended by the explicit nature of the poetry, and nor was it appreciated by many of his contemporaries. Dr. Johnson's eulogy for Rochester is perhaps better contextualised when an understanding of his works is reached. His literature was bawdy, crass and crude. He depicted an era which celebrated sexuality and disregarded any con-

sequence that derived from misbehaviour. Indeed, the great mind that was destined for great things due to his great love of literature was overpowered by his own desire and sexuality. Wilmot was a libertine. The libertine movement disregarded authority and regulation and celebrated debauchery and sexuality. Wilmot's literature endorsed this attitude and offended those that did not agree with his methods of thinking. His devolvement from traditional aristocratic and royalist literature once again set him at odds with the forgiving Charles, and his rebellion proved to contribute to his own demise.

> 'Rochester was intended to enjoy a life of literary success and aristocratic fulfilment. Though it may not have been achieved in the most traditional ways, Wilmot did live up to these expectations'

Though Wilmot's poetry was somewhat ill received in certain circles, his impression on the Restoration stage was enormous. His relationship with Elizabeth Barry began when he was tutoring her to become a better actress, and he was closely associated with famous Restoration playwrights such as George Etherege and Aphra Benn. Rochester was famously involved in the world of libertine theatre, and his attitudes towards sexuality and freedom were better realised there than in the stricter aristocratic world of the court. As Keith Walker notes, 'Rochester was deeply involved with the Restoration stage', and this involvement reflects the deeper connection that Rochester had to the freedom that was to be found there. Etherege's play 'Man of Mode', featuring a witty libertine named Dorimant, is said to be based on Rochester's life. He was celebrated as a libertine; a man of free thought and free will. His place was better understood on stage, exemplified as a revolutionary character of freedom and sexuality.

The central question when analysing the life of John Wilmot is, did his sexuality overwrite his aris-

tocratic future, or was he always destined to live and die a libertine hero? In his final days, John Wilmot, according to Walker, had taken to disguising himself as he walked about town. Once an infamous figure, renowned for his intellect, good looks and talent; he had been reduced to a shadow of a man, depraved by his own vice and deprived of his virtue. In his final days, he was weakened by a multitude of venereal diseases, and was suffering from severe alcoholism. He is said to have reformed and repented on his death bed, ultimately refuting his right to the death of a libertine hero. His face was badly disfigured from disease, and it is believed that he had difficulty walking. There are many that would declare that Wilmot's life was one that went down the wrong path, but it begs the question; to what path in life was Wilmot destined?

Rochester was intended to enjoy a life of literary success and aristocratic fulfilment. Though it may not have been achieved in the most traditional way, Wilmot did live up to these expectations. He lived a sexually satisfied life. Though it was achieved through mistresses, cuckoldry and whoring, he also married and produced heirs. His literary career was indeed offensive to some, but also successful. His work is still remembered today as adventurous and engaging, and his name is infamous in relation to the Restoration stage. Though Dr. Samuel Johnson may remember John Wilmot as debauched and defamed, the Second Earl of Rochester remains one of the most interesting aristocrats in literary history. Rebellious and unreasonable, his work is still controversial and his life's history is still interesting and insightful. Perhaps he has been misplaced in history, and he did indeed live in the 'very worst world that was ever known'.

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Beyond the Image

Alasdair Anderson confronts the myth of Ernesto Che Guevara

Grow up as good revolutionaries. Study hard so that you will have command of the techniques that permit the domination of nature. Remember that the revolution is what is most important and that each one of us, alone, is worth nothing. Above all, always remain capable of feeling deeply whatever injustice is committed against anyone in any part of the world. This is the finest quality of a revolutionary. " Che Guevara, an extract from his last letter to his children, 1966.

On the 9th October 1969 the news went out that Argentine revolutionary, Ernesto "Che" Guevara had been captured and killed as he fought to overthrow the Bolivian Government of General Ovando. After a six month long insurgency, he died as CIA-trained Bolivian Special Forces trapped and defeated his group of fighters. Accounts of this event have varied: some claimed that he had surrendered himself and had been summarily executed, others said that by the time he was captured, he was already in a coma and died shortly afterwards from his wounds. Either way, the photographs showing his stiffening body laid out in the morgue at Vallegrande surrounded by uniformed military officials confirmed that "Che" was indeed dead.

Whilst the man may have passed away in 1969, the revolutionary's legacy instigated a debate which has raged to the present day. From an ideologically-suspect 'terrorist' to a poetry-loving 'guerrillero' who fought for the plight of the-have-nots, whatever standpoint one takes, there is no question of his legacy being forgotten. His face alone as 'El Guerrillero Heroico' is the most reproduced photographic image in history and is instantly recognisable as a symbol of protest all over the world.

Historians have studied at great length the legacy of Che, debating fervently whether his political, economic and cultural impact has been a positive or a negative one. Dealing with this question is made difficult by the fact that Che remains such a polarising figure.

For the many writing about him, they do so either because they regard him as an inspiration or a murderous villain. Yet very few remain indifferent towards him. This is because Che Guevara was far from being a man of weak conviction, as Manuel E. Yepe, admittedly a pro-guevaran, eulogises: "Che Guevara's passion for justice, his humanism, his generosity, his constant practice of putting words into action, and the harmonic structuring of his political, economic and military ideas"

were central to his personality. Even critic Samuel Farber admits to the seeming consistency of Guevara's lifestyle with his revolutionary ideals, indicating perhaps why Jean-Paul Sartre would describe him as "the most complete human being of our age."

> 'His face alone... is the most reproduced photographic image in history '

Therefore, let us begin by examining Guevara's legacy in Cuba, the site of his greatest 'success' and the place where he led the revolution which put Fidel Castro at the head of a communist government. With knowledge of the current socio-political situation in Cuba, commentators have been tempted to dismiss Guevara's achievements. The failures of communism in the Soviet bloc and subsequent expanse of liberalism and capitalism throughout the developing world have led many to question the robustness of communist ideology. Indeed, it would seem that Cuba's

position as one of few surviving communist regimes of the twenty-first century is nothing short of a miracle. So how can one measure the achievements of Castro's Cuba and of Guevara within it? Cuba, as we enter its sixth decade of communism, is a unique and remarkable country and has extracted some of its greatest strengths from the roots of its communist revolution. It was during the fight for Cuba when Guevara and Castro first realised the need for education among the country's rural classes. Sympathisers of the revolutionary leaders claim that the two engaged in teaching the uneducated peasants during the armed struggle against Batista's regime, an initiative which Guevara termed the "battle against ignorance". When Batista's dictatorship collapsed in 1959, a campaign was launched to eliminate illiteracy within a year, mobilising huge numbers of volunteer teachers to share their knowledge.

The campaign was ultimately a success, setting a precedent for a strong emphasis on education which continues to the present day. In 2011, the free education system in Cuba is looked upon with admiration by outsiders who stagger at its 99.8% literacy rate which puts Cuba higher than both the United States and Britain in the world's

literacy rankings. Success in education has paid off elsewhere, notably in the quality of the country's healthcare, low infant mortality rate and high life expectancy which puts it on a par with many of the world's developed countries. Attention to healthcare is an area in which Guevara, himself a trained doctor, could be seen as a trendsetter, urging, in his speech "On Revolutionary Medicine", each doctor to: "Give of himself in the exercise of his profession, dedicated to the well-being of the people".

Yet when reading such impressive facts and figures, one should be weary their veracity as Cuba remains a secretive state under the authoritarian rule of Fidel and Raul Castro. The constant stream of Cuban emigrants to the United States is a testimony to the fact that Cuba is by no means the socialist Utopia it claims to be. The economic problems which Castro's Cuba has encountered have no doubt been intensified by both the US embargo which has been in place since 1962 and the loss of support from the Soviet Union since the latter's collapse in 1991. However, since the very beginning of communism in Cuba, economic problems related at the very basic level to the doctrines of Marxism adopted by Fidel Castro and Che Guevrara have been in existence. As a committed Stalinist, Guevara was a hardliner in economic and political policy and held the positions of Finance Minister, Minister of Industries and President of the National Bank which were to shape Cuba's economic structure for the next sixty years. In this capacity, he promoted policies aiming to eliminate all market mechanisms, setting production quotas for each worker and encouraging an ethos of moral rather than material satisfaction in exceeding targets by working hard. This ensured, at least initially, a social equality which was to provide Cubans with housing, food, jobs, healthcare and education. However, the irreproachable reputation of Guevara's under Fidel Castro's government has led to little flexibility or manoeuvrability in economic planning. Cuba's low GDP per capita, which puts it at 109th in the world, reinforces the Western capitalist view that heavy central planning leads inevitably stagnation and degradation in the long term.

Furthermore, Che's style of leadership was tough and disciplinarian, and this is something which can also be seen to have permeated Cuban politics since his death in 1969. After the flight of Batista, Guevara was led a large number of trials of members of the previous regime and oversaw the execution of many political enemies. There is some debate about whether or not the punishments he meted out both in the jungle and in the court room were justified. His violent tactics combined with his powerful influence could explain why Cuba's current human rights record remains so poor. Guevara was involved in administering the death penalty, even personally carrying it out on occasion, however John Lee Anderson has said that he has "yet to find a single credible source pointing to a case where Che executed 'an innocent person" adding: "Those persons executed by Guevara or on his orders were condemned for the usual crimes punishable by death at times of war or in its aftermath: desertion, treason or crimes such as rape, torture or murder." As the author of the seminal work on Che Guevara, Anderson's word does hold a lot of weight. But the readiness to ruthlessly imprison government critics and restrict freedom of expression, traceable to Guevara's time in Castro's regime, still has fallout for today's Cuba as demonstrated in reports on the country by Amnesty International. However, it is worth maintaining a sense of perspective: the country has undergone nothing on the scale of the outrageous violations under communist regimes of the twentieth century. On balance, Guevara's commitment to live according to his beliefs led to the compromise of Cubans' freedom for the sake of social equality. We are yet to find out whether this compromise has been an advantageous one...

Whilst Guevara's legacy can be said to exist in its most tangible form in Cuba, his international reputation as a socialist revolutionary also needs further examination. Elsewhere in the world, Guevara's foco theory brought him to lead revolts in Congo and Bolivia, mobilizing small numbers of militants in an attempt to bring down the government. This has played a direct part in creating a tradition of violent rebellion, particularly in Latin America. Admittedly Guevara was not the first revolutionary "guerilliero", but his successes in Cuba inspired movements like the EPL and the ELN as well as FARC and Shining Path, both of which have continued to cause recent problems. Interestingly however, in his native country Argentina, there is a level of reluctance to embrace the memory of the country's best known son, and it was only in 2008 that a statue of the Che was finally erected. This summarises the prob-lem that revolutionary wars he led were too often protracted, violent and dirty, involving tactics such as sabotage and hostage-taking. Che's legacy in this respect would seem to boil down to the timeless ethical debate of whether the ends justify the means. For some, the ends for which Che fought seem far from glorious since the 1960s. In economic terms, according to the conjecture of a Wall Street Journal article, "when Che was killed in 1967, the growth of productivity in Latin America was average compared to other countries, according to global estimates. But, from then on, it has fallen beneath the other regions. Only Brazil and Chile have had adequate developments, basically thanks to the extensive periods of rightist military governments, in which Cheismo was repressed." Thus: "Without Che's legend, the annual growth rate would have been one percent higher. From there, it seems that the revolutionary has cost the region around 1.3 trillions of yearly internal development." Whether or not one chooses to accept this very broad extrapolation is one thing, but repercussions of 'Cheismo' can be seen to have caused much depredation on the Latin American continent in the last fifty years.

> 'Guevara's foco theory brought him to lead revolts in the Congo and Bolivia, mobilizing small numbers of militants in an attempt to bring down the government'

To leave the issue there would ignore the way that Che's actions and writings have inspired positive and pacifistic movements both in the 1960s and early 1970s and in the present. The movement of Latin American Liberation Theology, initiated by Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutierrez, was motivated by a desire to combine Che's practical fight against social injustice with the Catholic doctrine. In doing so, Gutierrez and other liberation theologians criticized the Church's disregard of practical issues and countered it by creating 'base communities' with grass roots political and social involvement to enable the peasantry to free themselves while rejecting violence. In the present, Che has also encouraged oppressed populations to seek liberation from dictatorships, and nowhere has this been more poignantly shown in the 21rst century than in the recent revolts in the Arab world.

As we have seen, Che Guevara's legacy is extremely broad. From Cuba were it has arguably taken its most tangible form, to present day North Africa and the Middle East where people continue to draw symbolic inspiration from the figure of the Che, what we decide to make of this argentine legend ultimately depends on personal political opinion. Yet his surviving, and some may say thriving, presence in today's political struggles begs the question: why do guerrilla fighters and protestors in the twenty-first century continues to look to Che? Is our generation incapable of producing a figure of comparable magnetism and controversy? Are people in fact, waiting upon a revolutionary messiah?

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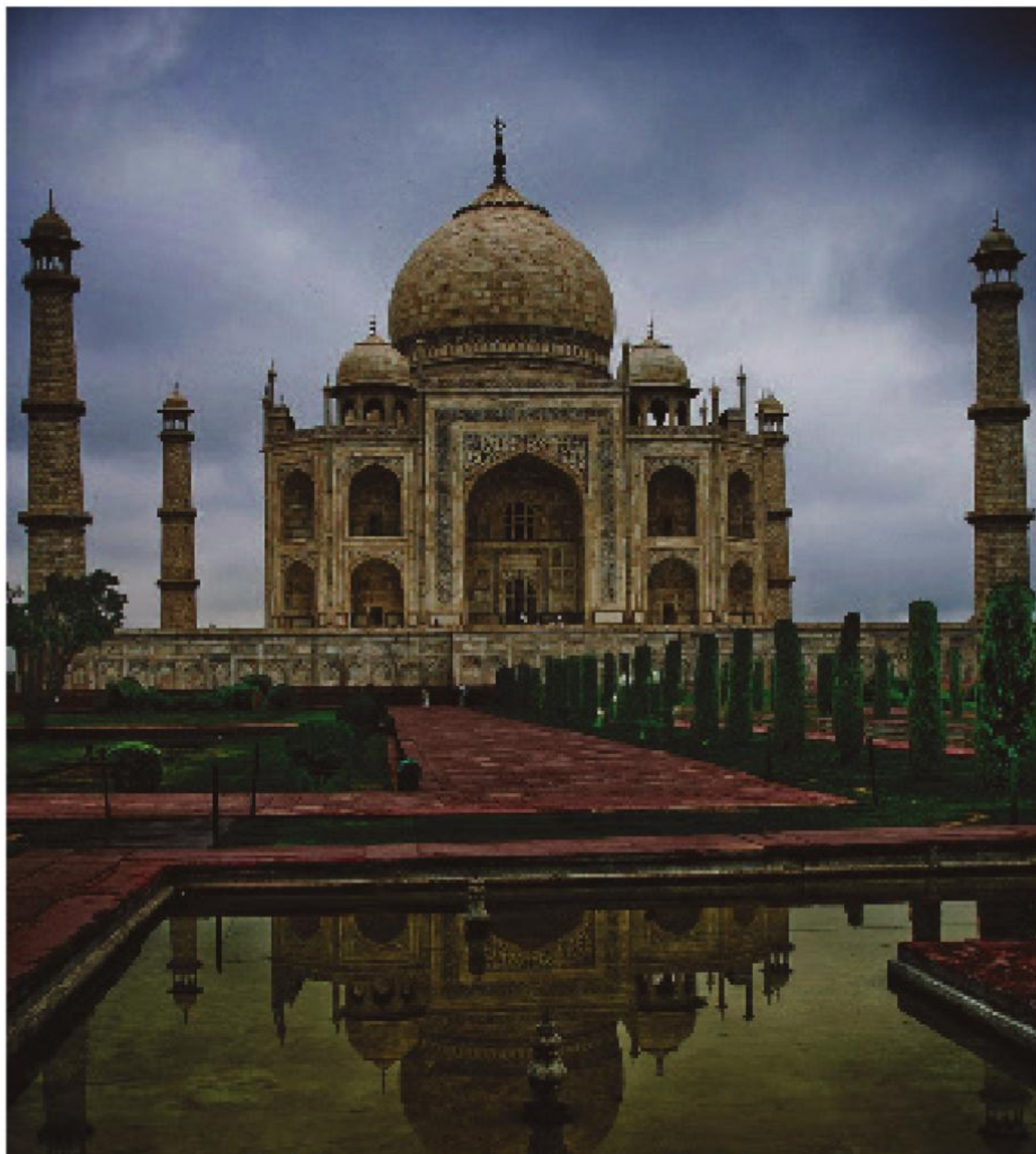
Retelling the history of the Raj

Gajendra Singh evaluates the impact of the Subaltern School on History's interpretation of India's colonial and post-colonial past.

It has been three decades since the publication of the first volume of Subaltern Studies: time enough, perhaps, to write of the Subaltern Collective and the journal as a thing that happened rather than something that is happening. To write this narrative history of Subaltern Studies would require an exposition of how the journal embodied the hopes and desires of a generation of anti-colonial historians, even though the numbers or those involved in its production are small and they were writing (almost exclusively) about colonial India. It would describe how its contributors sought to retrieve a subaltern history that would challenge the received wisdoms of colonizing academics and (contemporary) ruling elites. It was to be a history of the voiceless, the excluded, of those that had been denied subjectivity under the yoke of essentializing colonial knowledge and fantasies. Such a history of historians, however, will not be attempted here. This article will instead focus upon a fragment of one paragraph in a single article: Ranajit Guha's 'The Prose of Counter-Insurgency'.

"Historiography has been content to deal with the peasant rebel merely as an empirical person or member of a class, but not as an entity whose will and reason constituted the praxis called rebellion....Even when this historiography is pushed to the point of producing an explanation in rather more human terms it will do so by assuming an identity of nature and culture, a hall-mark presumably, of a very low state of civilization and exemplified in 'those periodical outbursts of crime and lawlessness to which all wild tribes are subject', as the first historian of the Chuar rebellion put it. Alternatively, an explanation will be sought in an enumeration of causes ... triggering off rebellion as a sort of reflex action, that is, as an instinctive and almost mindless response to physical suffering of one kind or another (e.g. hunger, torture, forced labour, etc.) or as a passive reaction to some initiative of his superordinate enemy. Either way insurgency is regarded as external to the peasant's consciousness and Cause is made to stand in as a phantom surrogate for Reason, the logic of that consciousness."

The article was the first detailed manifesto of the political, methodological and theoretical aims of the Collective. Colonial archives became active sites of colonialism: preserving/discarding knowledges in accordance with colonial paradigms even after colonialism had ceased to be a political reality. History stood complicit of substituting metaphor for fact whenever rural Indians were to be studied (usually during acts of rebellion). Even 'radical' histories – from the overtly Nationalist to the overtly Marxian – which made peasant-rebels their subjects, were guilty of analyzing their rebellions through abstractions of the ideal worker, peasant or rebel and ignoring instances when their 'small voices' were recorded. The common failing in history writing before Subaltern Studies was the denial of subaltern 'Reason'; of 'the rebel as the conscious subject of his own history'. And, it was the study of subaltern Reason that would set Subaltern Studies apart. It was, partly, a political goal. The 'rehabilitation' of the subaltern/subaltern no would expose the 'unhistorical monism' of contemporary narratives of Indian nationalism and the Indian nation. It also inspired a particular methodological approach. Reading against the grain of the colonial/nationalist archive would expose the gaps in which this Reason operated, and allow historians to write a history of the silenced subaltern.

'There was, as Spivak identified, a lack of a way of reading and writing history that was itself novel'

Thanks to such a process of narrowing down it is possible for the historian to use this impoverished and almost technical language as a clue to the antonymies which speak for a rival consciousness – that of the rebel.

It was, however, the positing of a capitalized and singular Reason that provoked the greatest challenge to the Subaltern School – that of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. She exposed the epistemic and theoretical pitfalls of trying to locate and write the subaltern. Writing the subaltern would be to invert the process that absented her/him from history, so that the subaltern would become a new hegemony (not forgotten but forcing a forgetting). The weight of Spivak's critique encouraged a new direction within Subaltern Studies. Instead of trying to recover a holistic peasant consciousness, the 'new' Subalternists made more nuanced efforts to find those that occupied the margins, focus upon her/his fragmentary appearances in the archive (or outside it), and so avoid the perils of creating new delimiting subjects in place of the old. This essay is concerned with this post-Spivakian moment, and its implications for history writing beyond the volumes of Subaltern Studies. What are historians left with after Spivak's challenge? What becomes of historical agency after one gives up the search for Postcolonial Reason (in the literal sense of trying to achieve an 'after' to colonialism)? How can we write of those who were not historically marginal to colonialism? The essay will start with a more detailed exposition of the challenges posed by Spivak's writings, and the solutions explained and implied within.

It is difficult to place Spivak wholly within any one academic discipline. She has only claimed to be on the fringes of the Subaltern collective, is best known as a literary theorist (including her translations of Derrida into English), and has consciously resisted any one label or 'totalizable analytic foothold'. The very fact that Spivak is/was 'a sort of subalternist on the fringe of the main movement' gave her an advantage in writing towards history as a discipline rather than from within its disciplinary boundaries. She was not the first critic of the Subaltern collective, but the first to argue that the problem of locating agency for the subalternist historian was a problem of speech. And, in Spivak's writings (starting with 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography' in 1985 and most comprehensively explained in A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present) subaltern speech – the articulation of a separate and singular Reason – and the related claim that that speech could be represented in historical writing were the key problems of the Subaltern School.

The problem of speech was two-fold. It was to do with the hollowness of the voices available to the historian. Early articles in Subaltern Studies relied, almost exclusively, upon re-reading of colonial (or formerly colonial) archives; particularly court depositions. The illusory completeness of these accounts (court testimony is framed by juridical procedure and drafted in legible script) made the prospect of reading against the grain of a dominant narrative deceptively easy. It failed to take into account, however, the processes that made these voices accessible to the historian: the role of the archivist in deciding what could be written as history, the inability to ever fully grasp the motivations and desires of those whose voices were stored and recorded, and the heavy presence of those whose voices were effaced and not recorded (the silent rather than silenced subaltern).

And there the matter is dropped.

The present provisional end of the story will be familiar to anyone who has researched in collections of records. Yet I do want to dwell on this all too familiar phenomenon to note the pattern of exclusions that makes the familiar function as such. As the historical record is made up, who is dropped out, when, and why? We remind ourselves of the meticulously tabulated cadets whose existence is considered "reasonable" enough for the production of the account of history. The Rani [of Sirmur] emerges only when she is needed in the space of imperial production.

Secondly, even if one were able to satisfactorily deconstruct a colonial text, writing the subaltern as a subaltern would be impossible. The process of producing an article or volume required the packaging of the reclaimed voice within the language of international academe. By bracketing the salvaged subaltern within historical analysis, her/his voice was subsumed into the voice of the historian (or at best become an adjunct of it). And the fact that this was being done was hidden and glossed over by the historian's assertion that the subaltern was being accurately portrayed in the historical text: 'No one can "present" them, or to present (them) is to represent'. This historicized subaltern not only inflicted violence on the subject of subaltern history but also the other voices left out of that history (usually gendered bodies for Spivak). In other words, the subaltern became a new hegemonic discourse mirroring the rhetorical strategies of the old. There was, as Spivak identified, a lack of a way of reading and writing history that was in itself novel to Subalternism.

For Spivak, the solution lay in redefining the subaltern and the position of the subalternist. Subalterns should neither be seen as inhabiting an authentic 'outside' space, and nor should subaltern scholarship see itself as removed from discourse, culture, institutions, or politics: 'The only things one really deconstructs are things in which one is intimately mired. It speaks you. You speak it.' History and historians cannot escape being intimately involved in the subjects and objects of deconstruction – the subaltern and prevailing historical/cultural/political discourse. And, rather than being a weakness or failing of history writing this should, for Spivak, be viewed as a strength. It would allow, in Bart Moore-Gilbert's words, a 'guerilla mode of engagement':

For Spivak, like Derrida, directly counter-hegemonic discourse is more liable to cancellation or even reappropriation by the dominant than a 'tangential', or 'wild', guerrilla mode of engagement. For this reason, too, she advocates the modes of 'negotiation'

'critique', which unsettle the dominant from within.

What would this 'guerrilla' history look like? There are, unfortunately, only a few examples provided by Spivak. The most accomplished of those, due it to being originally published in 1985 and then reworked in A Critique of Postcolonial Reason in 1999, is 'The Rani of Sirmur'. The Rani was a royal in one of the 'native' hill states in North India in the early nineteenth century, who became Queen Regent after the removal of her husband for 'being barbaric and dissolute' (a pretext for the eventual annexation of the Kingdom). What makes the matter more noteworthy is the Rani's later insistence that she be allowed to immolate herself as a Sati just as the British were trying to proscribe the practice, placing her at the intersection of imperial understandings of class, race and gender:

This, then, is why the Rani surfaces briefly, as an individual, in the archives; because she is a king's wife and a weaker vessel. We are not sure of her name. She is once referred to as Rani Gulani and once as Gulari. In general she is referred to, properly, as the Ranee by the higher officers of the Company, and 'this Ranny' by Geoffrey Birch and Robert Ross [both of whom were East India Company officials].

The lack of a name, any transcript of what she thought or felt, and the automatic assumption that her motives for becoming Sati were to escape her responsibilities as a Queen and mother in colonial texts, makes the writing of an 'old' subaltern history impossible. There is no definitive 'Reason' to explore, and it is not even clear whether the Rani of Sirmur actually committed sati. Spivak is attracted to the Rani's story, however, precisely because her complete self is unavailable and unreachable to the historian. Resisting the temptation to read and write beyond what is available allows for the historian to write a history of haunting presences and incompleteness:

I pray instead to be haunted by her slight ghost, bypassing the arrogance of the cure. [...] To be haunted is also to lay to rest any hope of "detecting the traces of [an] uninterrupted narrative, in restoring to the surface of the text the replaced and barred reality of [a] fundamental history, [in which] the doctrine of a political unconscious finds its function and necessity," [...]. If for us the assurance of transference gives away to the possibility of haunting, it is also true that for us the only figure of the unconscious is that of a radical series of discontinuous interruptions. In a mere miming of that figure, one might say that the epistemic story of imperialism is the story of a series of interruptions, a repeated tearing of time that cannot be sutured.

In other words, Spivak calls for a history of this ghostly subaltern that remains true to the insubstantial and half-hidden nature of its subject. What would this 'guerrilla' history look like? There are, unfortunately, only a few examples provided by Spivak. The most accomplished of those, due it to being originally published in 1985 and then reworked in A Critique of Postcolonial Reason in 1999, is 'The Rani of Sirmur'. The Rani was a royal in one of the 'native' hill states in North India in the early nineteenth century, who became Queen Regent after the removal of her husband for 'being barbaric and dissolute' (a pretext for the eventual annexation of the Kingdom). What makes the matter more noteworthy is the Rani's later insistence that she be allowed to immolate herself as a Sati just as the British were trying to proscribe the practice, placing her at the intersection of imperial understandings of class, race and gender:

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Spivak's intervention did not mark an end or death to Subaltern Studies. The 'new' Subaltern (in terms of approach although recent volumes have also involved a younger generation of scholars) have read subalternity as relational to various forms of power, and have also been conscious of the problem of writing or representing the unhistoricized, or partly historicized, voice into history. And these approaches by the new subaltern have particular relevance to scholars and students of colonial and postcolonial spaces. It is in the colonized and decolonized space that one stumbles across a proliferation of 'unknown knowns' (to follow the rubric of Donald Rumsfeld's theory of epistemology): 'the disavowed belief, suppositions and obscene practices we pretend not to know about'. The historian's claim towards academic rigour masks the violence of historicizing voices and the professed completeness of the historical work elides over any problems of representation. This has a particular resonance for the (post)colonial historian compelled by habit or circumstance to work within the archive. Histories of colonial and post-colonial societies involve an intimate replication of the techniques and strategies applied by the authors or censors of the source (the colonial official or archivist). An awareness of this shared intimacy can re-imbue history writing with a political purpose that the early Collective were proud to proclaim and the later were accused of having abandoned. Recognizing history writing itself as a form of colonization allows for a deeper understanding of what it was to be colonizer and/or colonized and the hollowness of decolonization in the tricontinental (or 'third') world: 'a repeated tearing of time that cannot be sutured'.

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Review

You are all free

A more humanist interpretation of the earliest black popular political movement impresses Catherine McGloin

"You are all free...all whites are now equal to us" rang the cries of free black men to their enslaved brethren as they raced through the streets of Cap Français in the French Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue on June 20, 1793. Jeremy Popkin's latest work chronicles events of the Haitian Revolution which led to the abolition of slavery in Saint-Domingue in 1793, followed by its elimination in revolutionary France in 1794. Particularly, the *journée* of June 20 1793 was, for Popkin, the epochal event that turned the tide in favour of abolition and made Saint-Domingue a model for anti-slavery visionaries.

Popkin convincingly argues circumstance was crucial in destroying the complex structures of slavery that characterised the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Through close analysis of official and private correspondence, police reports and various documents stored at the Archive Nationales in Paris, Popkin insightfully brings his literary criticism background to bear, offering a nuanced interpretation that demands individual motivations are objectively revealed.

This is a difficult task that Popkin admits he does not always manage to sustain, yet what is discernable from his work is an appreciation for the individual, the ordinary Haitian, the rare voice of the black insurgent that moves beyond traditional emphasis on structural factors, such as plantation cruelty and black demographic advantage, in explaining events in Saint-Domingue.

> 'Popkin astutely recognises that these events were far from inevitable.'

What began as a slave revolt during the summer of 1791 soon spiralled beyond any episode of *marronage* the colonies had previously experienced. Whilst *marrons* had fought to establish remote, independent communities, the slave insurgents of 1791 ignited something much larger with wider support and greater potential for destruction. This spark set alight one of the wealthiest harbours in the French Caribbean, leading to civic unrest, unprecedented economic disruption and the first refugee crisis in early American history. Thus, Popkin emphasises the integral role of the destruction of Cap Français in 1793, forcing the French government to legitimise the revolt by decreeing slavery abolished in France in 1794.

You Are All Free is a narrative located firmly on both sides of the Atlantic, one which appreciates colonial and European perspectives. In addressing a range of views and the complexities of the human condition, Popkin astutely recognises that these events were far from inevitable. He avoids the determinist route followed in many accounts of the French Revolution's policy on slavery, assuming revolutionary rhetoric regarding the universal rights of man made opposing slavery inevitable for French factions including Robspiere and his supporters.

Moreover, Popkin avoids an overly optimistic interpretation, emphasising the limitations of individuals and circumstance. His account is balanced by a discussion of the regressive and oppressive policies on slavery and the rights of man in general, pursued throughout the Napoleonic era.

Popkin's work provides readers with a poignant reminder; distrust determinism and embrace the complexities of human motivation and perspective. In doing so, *You Are All Free* at last provokes a challenge to the standard narratives of early American slave revolt and to accepted portrayals of 'the age of revolutions' in eighteenth-century Europe.
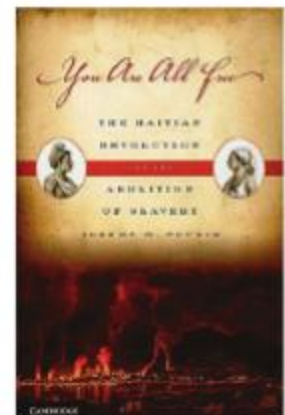
You Are All Free by Jeremy Popkin, is published in paperback by Cambridge University Press under the ISBN number 9780521731942, and retails at £18.99. The work is also available in hardback under the ISBN number 978052157225 at £55.00.

Angharad Lewis talks to celebrated historian and resident lecturer Pertti Ahonen about his newest work

In his new book *Death at the Berlin Wall*, Pertti Ahonen aims to document the lives the Wall claimed between 1961 and 1989, whilst placing these deaths in the larger political context of the Cold war. Ahonen also examines the lasting legacy of the Wall in post 1989 Germany and its efforts to rebuild national unity and erase the memory of the Wall.

Built in 1961 by the German Democratic Republic, the Berlin Wall completely cut off East Germany from West and 'it became the foremost symbol of the European cold war and its divisive consequences'. The two Germanies were characterised by the 'Have' West and the 'Have-Not' East, and it was the pressures of the more prosperous Federal Republic leading to a vast amount of people migrating to the West, denying the East of its Soviet work force, leading to the erection of the Wall to close the border. Many trying to cross the divide and those that guarded it lost their lives in preventable circumstances.

Historians have not extensively documented the stories of these deaths, nor their consequences, and Ahonen provides a thorough investigation of twelve individuals. The first victim of the Wall was twenty-four year old Gunter Litfin, an East Berliner who was shot in 1961, however one of the most famous casualties was eighteen year old Peter Fechter from the West who bled to death in front of hundreds of observers unable to help in 1962, both were failed attempts to cross the Wall.

> 'Both sides used the deaths in the propaganda war in the Cold War contest for power.'

Whilst the majority of the deaths were those from the East both sides used the deaths in the propaganda war in the Cold War contest for power. As Ahonen documents: 'two diametrically opposed public narratives about the wall gained wide exposure on either side of the divide'. In West Germany the Wall represented communist tyranny at its worst, a concrete manifestation of the Iron Curtain. In the GDR it was portrayed as the 'anti-fascist protec-

tion rampart'.

In *Death at the Berlin Wall* Ahonen devotes a significant amount of time to explaining the motives contributing to attempts to cross the Wall, with the western Federal Republic harbouring greater appeal to both sides of the divide. To the people of the GDR living under the struggling socialist regime, the Federal Republic was economically dynamic and abundant in Western liberal ideas and rights.

Pertti Ahonen is a senior lecturer here at the University of Edinburgh and kindly took some time out for *Retrospect* to answer some questions about *Death at the Berlin Wall*:-

What made you want to write a book on this particular issue, especially the human side of it?

I guess I got interested in the topic because I spent a lot time in Berlin in recent years, and on the 13th of August there is always some sort of commemoration of the Wall being built and I noticed that there were often little stories that were told, but not in a very systematic way. I also saw this documentary about one of the East German borders guards something I

hadn't heard as much about and it got me interested. I thought it would be interesting to try to link these stories of these particular people to the bigger issue of the Cold war.

Why do you think the GDR took such a harsh policy on people trying to cross over the Wall?

I think because, correctly so, they saw it as an existentialist threat to their state, as West Germany was right there next door. East Germany was unlike any other country in the Eastern Bloc in that although all the governments of the regions restricted their people's mobility to the west, the pull factors to the West on the East German population were greater than in the other countries.

The two Germany's were unique in that they obviously had the same language, same cultural background and in West Germany they recognised only one German citizenship, therefore if anyone came from the GDR to the west they would normally automatically be considered West German citizens. So the fear was, from the East German perspective that too many people, especially the wrong kind of people, like the young and educated, who thought they would have a better

Death at the Berlin Wall
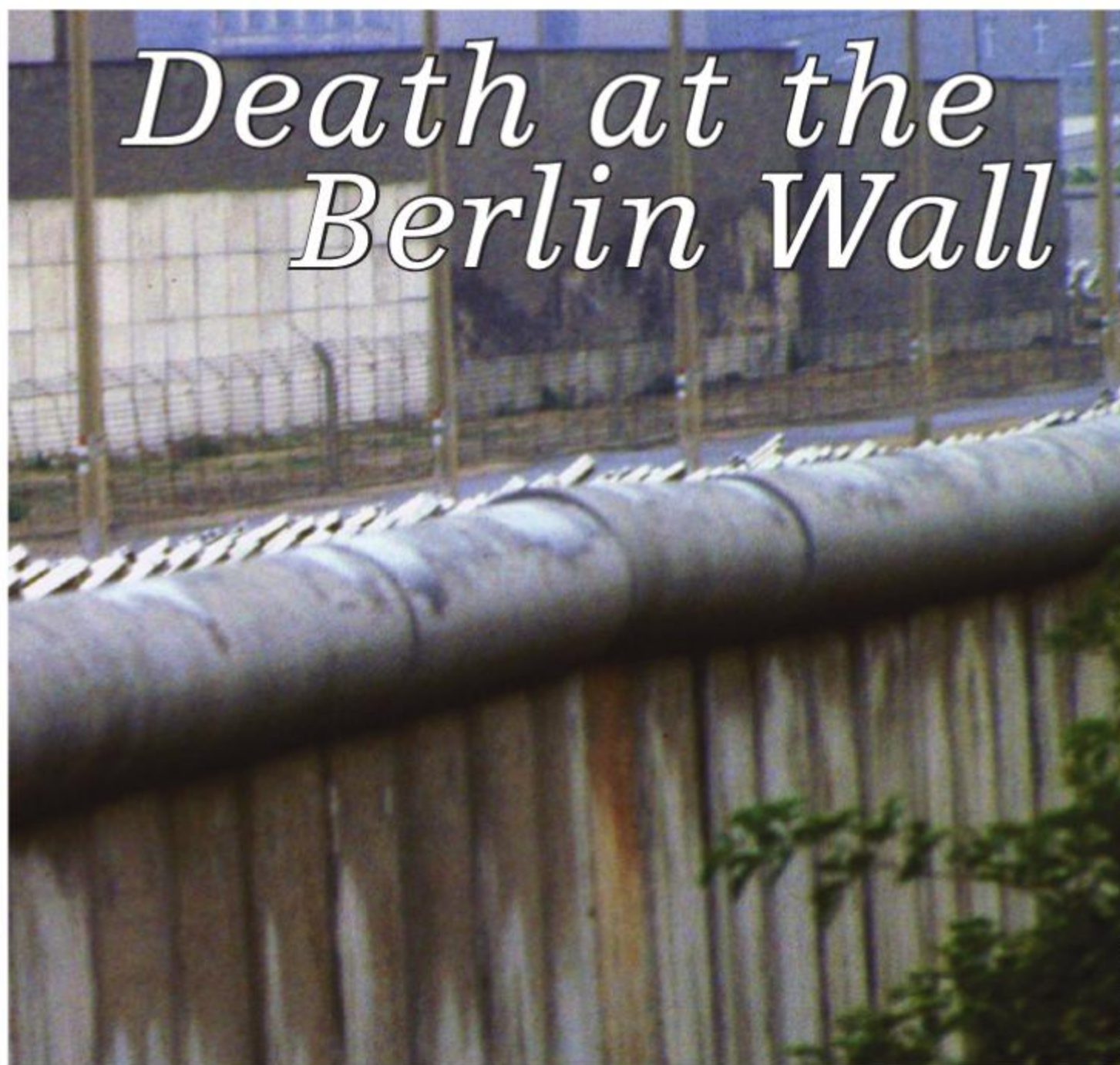
future in the west, would leave.

What about in terms of orders from above on how to deal with people trying to cross the Wall?

There were these orders in place but they were very vague, they were meant to stop people and they were allowed to use any means. However it was ultimately left to the front line border guards to decide when they wanted to shoot, and normally they would get rewards if they did stop an escapee, even if they killed them, as long as it wasn't too noticeable to the West, as they wanted to avoid bad publicity.

In the book it says the majority of deaths at the Wall were people crossing East to West. What were the main motivations for people trying to cross over?

Lots of different ones, often economic motives, like better opportunities in the West. Family reasons as well, quite a lot of the people I talk about in the book had family links in the West, including this one eleven year old boy, whose father had gone to the west. The boy was quite keen to go and see him, but he obviously didn't understand what it involved to get over. Political

reasons sometimes as people didn't like the political system and thought the western one would be better.

> 'In the last ten years there has been a lot more attention paid to the Wall and sections have been preserved.'

What was the legacy of the Wall in post-unification Germany?

It has been quite a problematic issue and it has changed over time. There was quite a rush to get rid of the Wall immediately after unification, people didn't really want to be reminded of it, but that has changed in the last ten years. There has been lot more attention paid to the Wall and have been attempts to commemorate it by building little memorials or preserving sections. I think initially it was quite divisive on an East-West axis, because the whole eastern way of looking at it was declared more or less invalid straight away. The western forms of commemorating would

continue and some from the east were upset by this as they saw it as quite triumphalist. However it's been changing and there are more attempts now to look at it from both side, and it has become less of a divisive issue.

Death at the Berlin Wall offers a comprehensive account of the history of the Berlin wall and its significance in a Cold War context. Ahonen's book flows well and is hardly a chore to pick up and read. The human side of the Wall's story also adds a depth to the book that many modern historical accounts lack.
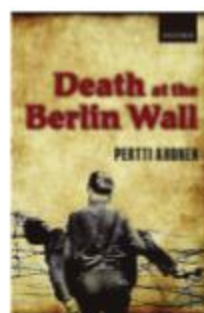
Death at the Berlin Wall by Pertti Ahonen, is published by Oxford University Press under the ISBN number 9780199546305, and retails in hardback at £60.00. The work may be purchased at http://tinyurl.com/padatbw or at any good book shop.

A Nation of Outsiders

Grace Elizabeth Hale's A Nation of Outsiders: How the White Middle Class Fell in Love with Rebellion in Postwar America is a broad cultural study of the history of the 'rebel'. Whilst many would consider the '60s to have been the origin of mainstream counterculture, Hale argues that the 1950s had already experienced a significant groundswell of restlessness with middle-class life.

By investigating significant cultural reference points and movements, the author first examines the ways that middle-class whites fell in love with the idea of the 'outsider'. A significant number of pages are dedicated to an inspection of J.D. Salinger's The Catcher in the Rye, the reasons for Elvis Presley's popularity and Bob Dylan's embodiment of an ideal 'new politics'. Cultural figures that middle-class white Americans understood as outsiders were popular, in Hale's view, because they helped those unhappy with their 'grey flannel' existence to re-imagine their own cultural positions.

The tendency of cultural 'rebels' to draw their own inspiration from nineteenth century romanticism reinvigorated humanistic ideals in the American mainstream. This romanticism was, in Hale's view, a divisive factor when it came to increased participation in the civil-rights movement by middle-class white youths. The comradeship with black activists pronounced by white college students was inspired by romantic ideals, but interpreted as no more than "another form of oppression", contributing to the break-away of black-power activists.

Hale's argument concerning the effects of white middle-class counterculture on the civil-rights movement is intruiging and convincing in equal measure. The author is most convincing when discussing cultural movements and their influence on the work of the civil-rights campaign; later forays into conservative Christian politics do not, however, live up to the work's earlier brilliance.

A Nation of Outsiders by Grace Elizabeth Hale, is published by Oxford University Press under the ISBN number 9780195393132, and retails in hardback at £18.99.

Will Ellis

BLUE LIGHT

Neds

Lauren Knowles wades through a torrent of violence and Glaswegian slang
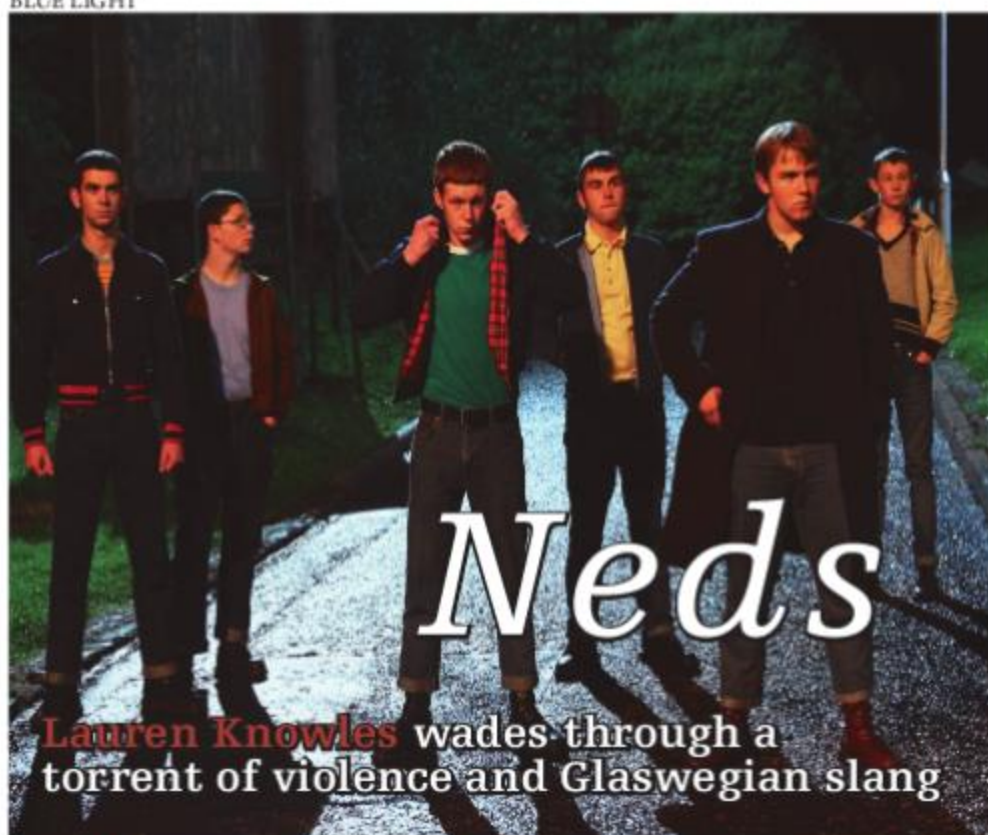
The first thing to say about *Neds* is that it is not particularly easy to watch. That is not to say it is not a brilliant film, but you need to have at least one (but preferably both) of two capacities: a strong stomach for violence and an ear for accents.

Outside the Toronto Film Festival the film has remained un-subtitled but for those not accustomed to the heavy Glaswegian brogue it requires a good deal of attention to keep up with the dialogue.

Set in 1970's Glasgow by the film's director, Peter Mullan, it is the coming of age story of John Magill, an academically gifted working class teenager with the odds stacked against him. With an alcoholic father, an ineffectual mother, a delinquent brother and an unsympathetic school system all thrown into the mix, John does not have the easiest start in life.

However, his intellectual abilities appears to offer him an alternative. He shows the potential to transcend society's expectations and change the direction of his life. John sets his heart on going to university. However, the lure of gang life eventually gets the better of him. It is a short lived friendship with a middle class boy that ignites John's anger and pushes him into the world he had so far hoped to avoid. In this film class appears as the most defining factor, in an unimaginative but realisitic sense.

Mullan makes an appearance as John's father, whilst the young Catholic boy is played by Conor McCarron. Gary Lewis of *Billy Elliot* fame even makes a cameo appearance as a teacher with particular flair for humiliating his students. The cast is well chosen and performances are generally subtle enough to give characters depth and humainty, despite their often inhumane actions. However, Mullan's role was arguably the most overwrought, exaggerating the father-son confrontational dynamic and general state of misery that was otherwise perfectly apparent.

> 'Ultimately, this film is about power.'

Brutal and angry, this film is anything but uplifting and at times is in fact incredibly frustrating **as y**ou watch John throw away everything he has worked for. Violence is everywhere in the young boy's life, both inside the home and out, so it is no surprise that he ends up the eponymous 'Ned'. Sadly, it is the only way he is able to earn the respect of his peers. Rather isolated at the beginning of the film, when he turns to violence he finds friends and, rather bizarrely, security amongst his fellow 'Neds'.

Ultimately, this film is about power; John, the 'swot', has the power to break free of the life he knows but it makes him reliant on others for protection. With his transformation into delinquent sociopath he manages to both gain and lose power over his own life, he is no longer the victim of violence but at the same time he no longer has any control over where his life is going. We are left with the impression John is completely powerless to stop what he has started and the rather ambiguous ending does little to dispel this. John's tale challenges audiences to question the strength of individual determination in the face of forces beyond our immediate selves.

It is definitely not light-hearted viewing, but it is a compelling story and well worth persevering with.

August Sander was a German photographer whose portraiture and documentary style have been very influential throughout the last century. Despite the fact that a large bulk of his negatives were destroyed in a fire after surviving World War II, he has still come to be known as one of the most notable photographers of the 20th century. The photographs recently installed in the Dean Gallery show Sander's attempts to encapsulate all aspects of German contemporary society of the early 20th century. The collection is comprised of a mixture of portraits; landscape photographs and some less typical works. This selection of prints sheds some light on Sander's undeniable talent for photography and his diversity, although his portraits are certainly the most striking of the exhibition.

Sander's frank and upfront mode creates a close connection between the subject and the viewer, drawing you into his world. He depicts many different inhabitants of Germany from many different levels of class. The titles of these photographs are an important part of this body of work because he does not always make it obvious what professions the subjects pursue or what roles they play in society. We can, however, get a feeling of social status simply by looking at a portrait by August Sander. His Intellectual may not be reading a book or delivering a lecture, but the way in which Sander has composed the photograph - in all its subtlety - gives us a clue towards his respected position in society; the name is just confirmation. On the other hand, he also took numerous portraits of people in their natural environment, leaving no indication as to how you would 'categorise' them.

Sander's directness feels, at times, confrontational; the subjects often seem to be appealing to us for empathy. This and the way in which he tackles tragic and serious subjects create an atmosphere of deep pathos, though not in a way that might have been demeaning for the individuals. In fact, the subjects almost all have an heir of defiant pride of whichever specific situation they are representing, the *Pastry Chef* is typical, with his chest billowed out to the full.

Sander's portraits were a project realised over the majority of his adult lifetime from around 1910 to the mid 1940s. The photographs have an underlying tension conveying the vulnerable state of Weimar Germany between and during two world wars; this makes his work all the more poignant. They have a strange unnatural feel despite the fact that the subjects are real people in real scenarios. This exhibition is an insight into the era from which it was formed, and on viewing it, one can't help but feel that above all, Sander has produced an honest and fascinating representation of thirty years of German society.

Dean Gallery, Edinburgh
12th February – 10th July 2011

People of the 20ᵗʰ Century

Esther Wakelin-Stotten peers into inter-war German society

AUGUST SANDER
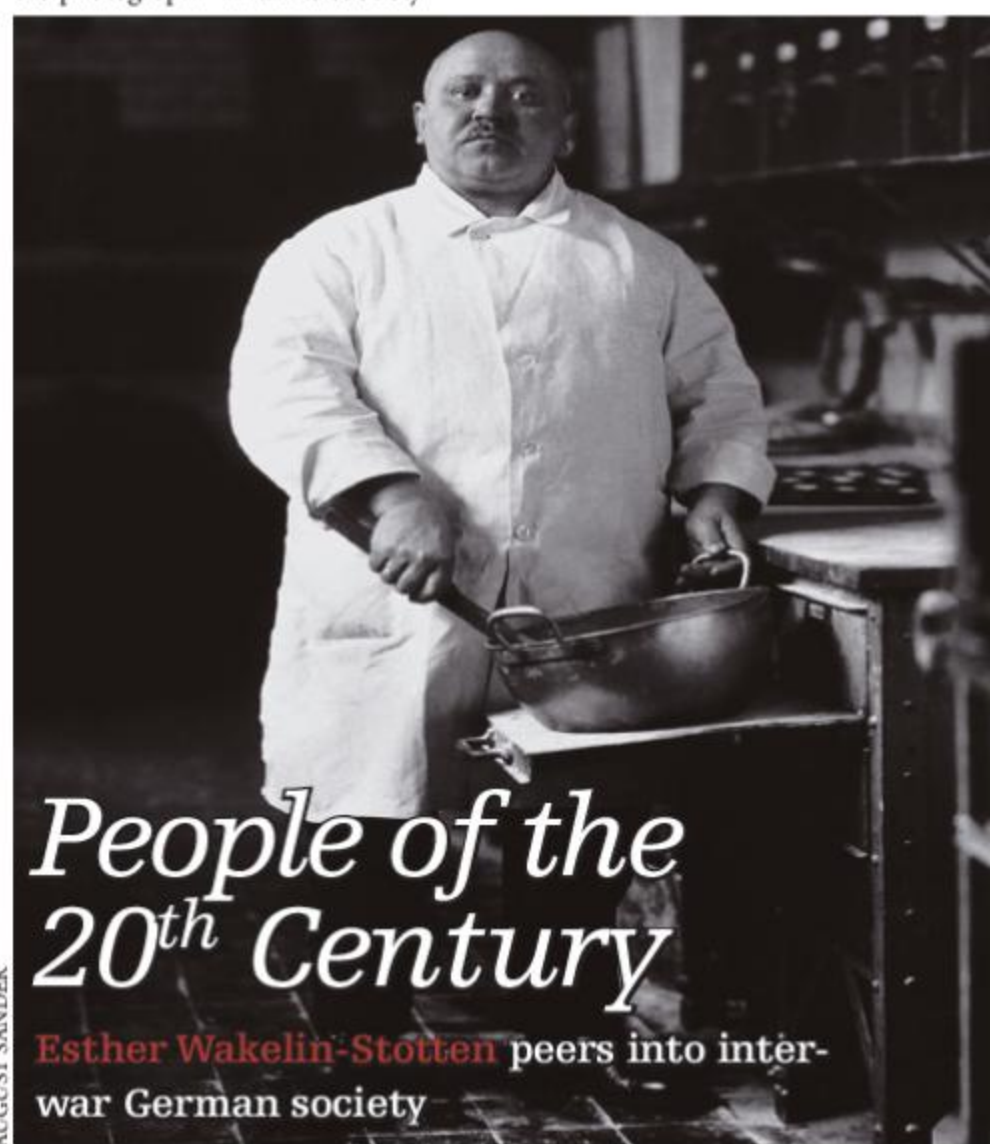
The Eagle

Rachel Laidler enjoys an old-fashioned Roman romp with Channing Tatum

To begin with I should be honest and admit *The Eagle* wasn't high on my 'films-to-watch' list. I assumed it was going to be a generic swords-and-sandals film, nothing special in particular, a rehashed version of films I'd already seen. And yet, despite this admittedly harsh first assessment I found myself enjoying the film, not necessarily as a great piece of cinematic work, but as a nevertheless compelling action-adventure film, one that has all the usual attributes of an epic narrative - friendship, loyalty, and honour.

Based on Rosemary Sutcliff's 1954 children's classic *The Eagle of the Ninth*, the film, set in 140 AD, follows the story of a young Roman soldier Marcus Aquila (Channing Tatum) as he attempts to discover the fate of his father - who disappeared along with his legion of 5,000 men in the north of Scotland - and to regain his family's honour by retrieving the much valued standard of the Ninth Legion, a golden eagle. Journeying beyond the edge of the known world, Aquila is only able to survive with the reluctant help of his new slave Esca (Jamie Bell), a Briton unwillingly bonded to him through his prevention of the Celt's death in the gladiatorial arena.

Indeed, the main focus of the film rests upon the above relationship between these two characters, and charts its changing nature. The character of Aquila certainly begins as the superior partner - one of the 'Haves' – a member of the powerful Roman world, and master over Esca, an individual who is further subjugated through his position as a Briton, dominated by a foreign foe in his own lands.

Although it is somewhat predictable that this dynamic will change, it is nevertheless entertaining to follow its development, as the dichotomous relationship grows from mutual distrust and suspicion, to grudging respect, eventually growing into a stronger sense of loyalty and friendship. Ultimately, the film is trying to show how opposites can, in the end, find common ground upon which to forge a relationship.

> 'An especially cringe-worthy moment in the final scene.'

Although the above is most definitely a touching prospect, during the movie this storyline can at times become tenuous, especially in relation to the character of Esca. His motivations for aiding Aquila - a Roman who has contributed to the oppression of his own people - to the extent he does are not, to say the least, particularly clear. This lack of sophisticated character development unfortunately lets the film down and, nearer the end, it has the tendency to decline into a form of 'bromance', whilst there is an especially cringe-worthy moment in the final scene that does not do justice to the strength of the story up until that point.

Nonetheless, if you put aside expectations that this film is anything more than a run-of-the-mill adventure, and let slide the fitful character development, *The Eagle* is actually quite entertaining to watch. It is not something that will go down in cinematic history by a long shot, but if you want to see a film that helps to bring back that childlike sense of excitement and adventure, then it is definitely worth a watch.

T.F. Earle and K.J.P.Lowe's *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* investigates the consequences of the introduction of enslaved sub-Saharan Africans into Europe in the fifteenth century, both for transported Africans and the Europeans theat they came into contact with. An interesting mix of articles from a broad range of historians complements the place that this anthology holds in historiography. this is the first major work attempting to investigate a new subject, its articles reflecting the interests of the featured historians rather than investigating any established questions of historiography.

Sergio Tognetti's article explores the practicalities of trade in black African slaves in Florence in the fifteenth-century, who came from Senegal and Guinea via Portugal. More consideration of motivations and machinations of the trade itself - very lucrative for traders, but little economic motivation for Florence's citizens, except for social prestige and a fascination of the exotic.

Such a fascination manifested itself in works of art, such as the Nuremburg goldsmith Christoph Jamnitzer's 'Moor's Head', a late Renaissance drinking vessel. Lorenz Seelig's chapter uses the 'Moor's Head' as an example around which to build a discussion of the representations of Africans in Renaissance art and sculpture. Seelig argues that Renaissance artists began to represent Africans as interesting and African culture as an exotic pleasure, rather than the people as slaves and their mores as alien.

Earle & Lowe's entire collection tussles with the problems that the presence of black Africans presented to the Europeans with whom they came into contact, issues that are fundamental to this new area of study. Such problems were not, however, what the twenty-first century skeptic might expect. John Brackett's piece on Alessandro de'Medici, the first Medici duke of Florence in the mid sixteenth-century, is the best example; discussing attitudes to a duke whose mother, according to Brackett, was a black African.

Graffiti, insulting the duke de'Medici upon his arrival in Rome in 1535, mocked him as a royal imposter, reffering to him as "the offspring of an ex-slave ruling over a noble city", rather than as the "possessor of inferior African blood".Although the duke was a tyrant and contemporary writings reference the dark element in his character, there was no connection made between these attributes and his blackness. From this, Brackett concludes that whilst generalised deningration of black Africans based on skin colour did exist, racism did not exist as it does today, as issues such as the innate qualities of the nobility triumphed over issues of race.

Earle and Lowe's collection is a commendable first step into the history of black Africans in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, belying the subject's infancy. Whilst some of the pieces are slightly narrow for an introductory work, contributions by Kate Lowe, Sergio Tognetti's and John Brackett's were well-written, interesting and informative.

Black Africans in Renaissance Europe, edited by T.F. Earle and K.J.P. Lowe, is published in paperback by Cambridge University Press under the ISBN number 9780521176606, and retails at £19.99. The work is also available in hardback under the ISBN number 9780521815826 for £82.00.

Black Africans in Renaissance Europe

Will Ellis tackles a ground-breaking work on racial interaction during the Renaissance

V&A MUSEUM