JUSTICE & PERSECUTION

contents

editor's note

Dear readers,

The issue that you are currently holding is very close to Retrospect's heart. It is dedicated to Social Responsibility and Sustainability and forms part of a much bigger project which academic and administrative staff, led by Dr Esther Mijers, societies and students have initiated this year to create a more socially responsible and sustainable environment. The theme of this journal was born in a student-staff meeting last October, where attendees brought attention to the need to diversify academic research - an area largely dominated by a Western male perspective - and include studies on migrations, sexuality and mental health in the curriculum. Students' passion about these issues was almost contagious and Retrospect's Editorial Team unanimously agreed that 'Justice and Persecution' could encompass all the views that arose in this meeting. It is hereby explained the diversity of the articles published in this issue, which address the apartheid, sexual racism and documenting political activism, amongst other issues.

Whilst diverse, all the articles ponder over different historical memories and socially constructed memories of historical figures and events. This is not a coincidence - Anna Green stated that historical knowledge is composed of the study of historical events and the memories of those who experienced them. This symbiotic relationship is what nourishes calls on a more diverse and inclusive scope of research and the theme of this journal. The main objective of the journal is to shed light on the historical memories that were excluded from Western male scholars' research focus and that have remained neglected for decades.

A diversification of the academic research has received many criticisms, which must be taken into account in order to realise an accurate historical research. Contemporary scholars, amongst which we can count many of the writers published in this journal, aim to retrieve the oppressed historical memories independently of their contrasting views to the widely held collective or cultural memories. This is arguably a contemporary approach born in democratic mindsets which believe that each individual has rights, duties and a voice that must be respected and listened to. Thus, interests in the departure from old Western approaches to academic research simply respond to a new negotiation with the past fuelled by societies' recognition of universal human rights, resulting in the search for the historical memories oppressed and ignored.

The writers in this issue critically engage with the extant historical literature - commonly understood as the "history written by the victors" -, but also acknowledge the historical memories of the "defeated", which were not included in predominantly male Western accounts of historical events. The School of History, Classics and Archaeology is promoting this socially responsible approach to historical research via the diversification of the curriculum and talks that encourage critical and creative thinking. A fantastic example was this year's Fennel Lecture, in which Dr Sujit Sivasundaram illustrated students and scholars on the Pacific Kings' experiences of Age of Revolutions, thereby challenging extant Western views on globalisation and empires.

Fear extends across researchers who believe that new approaches aim to challenge the "truthfulness" or "rightness" of their research. In response to such allegations, it is imperative that we treat historical memories with equal validity in spite of the possible confrontation between each other, since they all share a connection to historical events and a symbiotic relationship with historical knowledge. It is nevertheless worth remembering that Maurice Halbwachs stated that historical memories are a social and cultural construction subjected to constant evolution, so it is plausible to argue that an inclusive and diverse approach to academic research that meets a constantly social evolution embodies the principles of social responsibility and sustainability.

To accomplish this, Retrospect Journal has worked very hard to promote Social Responsibility and Sustainability via writers' workshops, in which copyeditors sat down with writers and helped them to engage and challenge the extant literature. Retrospect's podcasts and Café & Culture quizzes served as a point of departure for curious minds to embark on alternative historical research. Additionally, whilst publishing over ninety articles this year (!) online and in print this year, Retrospect has also taken pleasure in in supporting the organisation and coverage of the multiple School-wide activities arranged by staff, HCA societies, Peer Support, the Undergraduate Representative, and interdisciplinary media societies.

Allow me to conclude this note by thanking Dr Esther Mijers and Professor Ewen Cameron for their immense support to student academic research and Retrospect Journal. The unmeasurable help and advice of Anne Brockington and Michael O'Reilly should not go without mentioning, either. Lastly, as the current Editor-in-Chief, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my predecessors, Kerry Gilsenan and Charlotte Lauder, for their examples and lessons on determination, passion, team work, and patience.

Director of Undergraduate Studies

I am delighted to contribute to this edition of Retrospect, dedicated to the first annual, student-led, Social Responsibility and Sustainability (SRS) theme, 'Justice and Persecution'. Questions of social responsibility and sustainability are among some of the most pressing issues of today, and ones that we know HCA students care about deeply. Our annual theme will be a way for students to explore and engage with these within the context of their academic studies.

It may seem at times that the University is an ivory tower and that our degree programmes do not speak to what is happening in the real world, when in fact the opposite is the case. History, Classics and Archaeology are all disciplines which study the human past. Historical events, language, artefacts, our landscape and soil each have a story to tell about how we got to where we are today. Problems and questions of social responsibility and sustainability are as much part of all three academic disciplines as they are of today's world. This year's theme 'Justice and Persecution', chosen by a group of students from all three subject areas, has huge resonance across the HCA curriculum and our wider research. From courses on gender and sexuality in the Middle Ages or early modern witchcraft to the great conflicts of the last century in History; on Roman Judaea, the Emperor Nero and Plato and Justice in Classics; and on conflict and forensic archaeology, on the Hittites, Egypt or Constantinople in Archaeology, our curriculum helps put questions of justice and persecution into their historic, linguistic and scientific context.

To emphasise the connections between the theme 'Justice and Persecution' and the curriculum and to allow students to explore these further, there will be a dedicated SRS webpage with information about courses, a blog and news and events announcements to be launched at the start of the next academic year. HCA is excited to be working with our students on all aspects of social responsibility and sustainability. It will be a chance to delve into the issues that we all wonder and worry about, and to learn from each other. 'Justice and Persecution' could not be a more topical theme and this issue of Retrospect is the perfect platform to launch it. The enthusiasm with which the Retrospect team has taken on the challenge to kick of this new initiative in HCA is a great start to what will hopefully become an exciting and inclusive series of events for all members of the HCA community.

ESTHER MIJERS

Your Undergraduate Student Representative

Later this year, Pope Francis will canonise Blessed Óscar Romero, the former Archbishop of San Salvador who was assassinated whilst celebrating mass in 1980. Romero dedicated his life not only to priestly service, but also to social justice and defending those tortured or killed by the Revolutionary Government during the Salvadoran Civil War. His work in supporting alcoholics, the poor, and the persecuted, as well as the reforms he directed in the Vatican, led him to become an inspiration for liberal Catholics around the world, and indeed his belief that 'Peace is the product of justice and love' is as relevant today as ever. Romero's efforts in advocating peace during the Civil War encouraged 119 British politicians to nominate the Archbishop for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978, and now the Holy Father will raise him to the sainthood. Romero's ministry encapsulates the themes of this issue of Retrospect – Justice and Persecution.

Whilst I clearly cannot compare myself to a saint, in the spirit of seeking to make positive change and looking out for those in need of support, in my role as the School's Undergraduate Representative, I have spent the past few months working with HCA staff and the Students' Association to enhance the learning experience of students.

It has been a great pleasure to see the inaugural HCA Staff-Student Cup come into fruition this semester. Established following the success of the Students' Association's Mental Health and Wellbeing Week last November, and having secured funding from the Student Partnership Agreement scheme, this three-staged event seeks to bring staff and students closer together as a School community, hopefully creating a supportive and less stressful working environment for all. The Cup also aims to showcase the talents of staff and students in the School through a variety of events including a pub quiz, a scratch choir 'sing-off', and a sports day, complete with egg-and- spoon, sack and running races!

Throughout the semester, I have continued to hold drop-in sessions for undergraduate students and sought to resolve issues raised as quickly as possible. Similarly, School Council meetings have enabled students to discuss their concerns with their peers, before solutions are found. Meeting with other undergraduate representatives across the University has given me the opportunity to discuss plans for improvements to the class rep system, a more effective Learn VLE platform, and staggered coursework deadlines. By working together on such projects, we can create substantial, meaningful change across the whole University.

It has been a great privilege to serve as the School's Undergraduate Representative this year. I would like to express my thanks to Professor Ewen Cameron, Dr Esther Mijers, Dr Guillaume Robin and Anne Brockington for their help, guidance and support, and to the committees of the HCAR societies and the HCA Peer Support team for their efforts to enhance the School community. I hope this fruitful staff-student collaboration will continue long into the future.

THOMAS WRENCH

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History Society

For the very first time, the History Society chose to take our annual international trip in 'Flexible Learning Week' to not just one, but two major cities! Those lucky few who got to go experienced all that Vienna and Budapest had to offer with the Imperial Crypts being a fan favourite. As an addition to this trip, the society organised a lecture by Tereza Valny on the topic of the 'Communal Memory of the Holocaust in Hungary' which helped our members understand the historical impact of world events on this fantastic nation.

Academically, the society has gone from strength to strength providing our members with enlightening talks and workshops, one of which included the creation of Valentine's Day cards with fact files for historically significant members of the LGBT+ community. As a collaboration between our Academic officer and our Student Experience Officer, we have instituted for the first time a student led work experience programme which focuses on the skills and creativity needed for a future career in Museum Curating. Applications for the opportunity to lead this Curation team will open soon so keep your eyes peeled for updates. Socially, we have been hard at work to provide varied events to suit all tastes.

A highlight was certainly the RAG week social 'Time Warp' where, in collaboration with all of the other societies within HCA, we raised a significant sum of money for an LGBT+ Health and Wellness charity.

As we now move towards the end of the year and our stewardship of the History Society, I would like to thank all of our members for having made this such an enjoyable year and a special shout-out to my committee without whom none of this would have been possible.

RUAIRIDH NICHOLS

PRESIDENT, HISTORY SOCIETY

Classics Society

This academic year's second semester has been great for the Classics Society! Our highlight this semester was the trip to Athens during the Festival of Creative Learning Week. We saw all of the sights – the Acropolis, the Agora, the Theatre of Dionysus, the Temple of Poseidon and many more; we enjoyed lots of Greek food; and most importantly, we got some sunshine! You always forget how gloomy Edinburgh can be until you go somewhere with a bit of sun. The trip was a great success, with members from all years thoroughly enjoying themselves, and I'd like to thank our brilliant trip officers Joshua and Max for organising everything.

At home, we've had a successful semester of academic lectures including one from the renowned Paul Cartledge on Ancient Greek and modern democracy. We also held our first ever Classics Workshop in which pupils from Gylemuir Primary School came into the university for Ancient Greek, Ancient History and Archaeology taster lessons. The event went really well thanks to Izzy, our Charities and Welfare Officer, and with another scheduled event in September, we hope to make the Classics Workshop an annual project for the Society.

As always, we've continued our run of pub nights on the social side of things. We've also enjoyed joint socials with the other HCA societies including the Time Warp! Event for RAG week and LGBT+ History Month, which raised money for the Scottish charity LGBT Health and Wellbeing, and the HCA Staff Student Cup.

Our AGM is arranged for Thursday 22 nd March and as we come to the end of the academic year, I would like to thank all of the wonderful committee and society members who have contributed to this year being a massive success for the Classics Society. I am incredibly sad to be leaving the society behind but have no doubt that our new committee, whoever they are, will continue the fantastic work of the 2017-8 committee.

KATE DOWELL

PRESIDENT, CLASSICS SOCIETY

ArchSoc

This second semester has been packed full of events for the Archaeology Society. In February, we ran our annual Fieldwork fair, where students from across the university could come to the Debating Hall in Teviot and speak to regional companies offering archaeological fieldwork. Over 100 people attended – an amazing day! We held a Valentine's Day event on the 15 February, watching films in Banshee Labyrinth. We collaborated with the University of Glasgow's Archaeology Society to attend the first Scottish Student Archaeology Conference, which was an amazing weekend away for everyone.

We did not just have our occasional events, we also had our staple events! We continued with our lecture series, with a range of topics from forensic archaeology to careers in archaeology. Our Dunfermline fieldwork ran almost every Saturday, providing amazing fieldwork experience close to home. We also had our workshop series running, examining extra layers of archaeology like experimental and CV writing.

This has been an incredible semester, and it has had an especially big personal impact as it marks the end of my 2-year stint as the President of the Archaeology Society. I would like to thank everyone who supported us, joined our events and lectures, everyone who took the time to come to the pub with us. The committee and the society members have truly made the last two years memorable, and you made my job easy.

Thank you so much to everyone for the last two years.

HEATHER ROSS

PRESIDENT, ARCHSOC

HCA

Peer Support have had a successful year! Our team of twelve volunteers has run twice weekly drop in sessions and larger events too. We have implemented a Peer Mentoring Scheme, pairing third and fourth year students with first years. This allowed a greater reach for the support that we were able to offer this year and also made the support on offer more personalised.

Last semester we opened the conversation about Mental Health within our school, hosting an event to which we invited both staff and students. We took anonymous questions and stories from fellow students that were discussed by both the staff and students present. The findings from this event highlighted ways in which the school could further support and signpost existing support to students who need it. On a similar note, Peer Support has also been actively involved in the creation and running of the HCA Staff-Student Cup which aims to improve the feeling of community within the school and strengthen relationships between staff and students. We are excited to see who will come out victorious: staff or students!

As we move towards the end of the academic year we are starting to think ahead to next September and how Peer Support can evolve and change the support it offers to best cater to the needs of our student body. Keep an eye out for information about how to get involved and volunteer with us next year. In the meantime, if you need any help or support we are still running drop-in sessions in the Common Room Tuesday and Thursday 12-1pm and are always contactable via email and social media.

JESS RILEY,

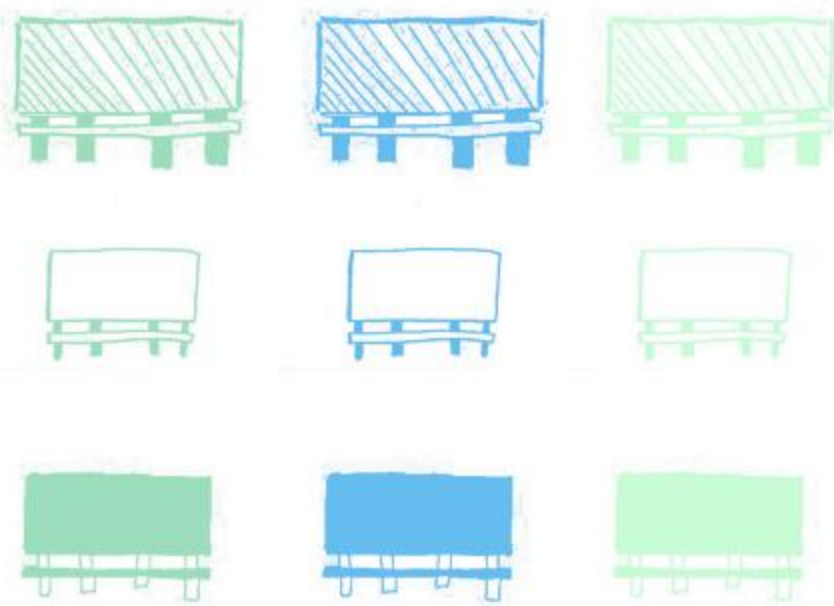PEER SUPPORT COORDINATOR

Ancient Grief and Modern Justice in

Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri

"Who can stop grief's avalanche once it starts to roll?"

- Medea, Euripides

Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri is a drama that uses the tools of ancient Greek theatre to tell a story about grief and contemporary concepts of justice, which could potentially influence political activism. The heroine – Mildred Hayes – is played by Frances McDormand, and is a mother grieving the loss of her daughter. She rents three decaying billboards near her home to critique the local police department's failure to solve her daughters rape and murder case. This action sets in motion a cathartic and terrible conflict in the small town of Ebbing. Mildred clashes with Sam Rockwell's racist and outrageously violent Officer Dixon, and Woody Harlesden as the respected police chief. The characters are foul mouthed and violent, but their conflicts offer insight into the human frailty of the American justice system.

Whilst Ancient Greek drama is widely influential in theatre and film, I will argue that Three Billboards is particularly influenced by the themes of Greek tragedies, both comedic and tragic. Not only does it feature the same skilfully tight plotting of Greek tragedies, but it also confronts their central themes of what the National Theatre calls 'suffering, death, mourning and loss'. During an interview at the film's Missouri premiere, McDormand directly compared the film to a Greek tragedy, because it uses both 'pathos and humour' to provide the 'totality of the human experience'. Each character is transformed through suffering, whether it is Mildred's grief, Chief Willoughby's battle with cancer or Officer Dixon's potential redemption after being burned in a fire and brutally beaten. The characterisation in Three Billboards also reflects the flawed nature of Greek tragic characters. The first major study of Greek tragedy by Aristotle identified the importance of tragic characters attempting, but failing, to be wholly good. For example, it would be easy to present a grieving mother like Mildred Hayes as just a

victim of failed justice alone, but this unflinching portrayal means that her flaws are not hidden. In fact, the writer and director Martin McDonagh noted that he particularly chose Frances McDormand for the role because she would not sentimentalise the character.

Some have also seen the ancient Greek dramatic theme of revenge in the film, especially because of the epic bloody violence. However, when the interviewer Charlie Rose suggested to Frances McDormand that the film was about revenge, she said, 'It's justice, we never talked about revenge… Justice is a larger goal.' In Susan Sontag's book Regarding the Pain of Others, about images and films of violence, she notes that when we see violence in film 'we often don't see its abhorrence but instead start taking sides', and 'to those who are sure that right is on one side, oppression and injustice on the other, and that the fighting must go on, what matters is precisely who is killed and by whom.' So, whilst the chaotic and escalating violence between citizens, between police and citizens and within families, implies revenge it is also a device designed to test our ideas of justice. This draws the film closer to the social function of Ancient Greek theatre whose chorus would offer commentary on the plays events, providing the viewpoint of the wider community. By investigating themes surrounding the 'larger goal' of justice in America we can hear the voice of a community appalled by police brutality, racism and sexual violence against women.

Furthermore, Three Billboards showcases a new kind of outlaw heroine for modern American cinema which exploits the link between the Greek tragedy and Western cinema and which is noted by numerous film scholars. Jacob A. Williams has observed that the use of the anti-hero, cathartic violence and blood justice links the two genres and are clearly present in Three Billboards. Consciously modelled on John Wayne, Mildred adheres to Graham Seal's version of 'the outlaw hero' as one who 'is forced to defy the law.' A type that Rosette Lamont suggested originated with Odysseus, a hero 'unlike other heroes of ancient Greece' because he was 'always concerned with living.' Although this may seem technically the portrayal of a timely piece, what Frances McDormand terms, 'radical action' can have novel social consequences. In Eric Hobsbawm's book Social Bandits (1969) he suggests that historically, the social bandit motivated 'political resistance to oppressive regimes within peasant societies.' Today, Three Billboards has inspired numerous political protests.

The bright red trio of billboards appeared in Florida to protest inaction over gun control, in New York to demand action to end violence in Syria, in England seeking justice for victims of the Grenfell Tower disaster, and many other places. In her BAFTA acceptance speech for Three Billboards, Frances McDormand said that she was 'thrilled that activists all over the world have been inspired' by the billboards to fuel the 'positive public discourse that's happening'.

'It's justice, we never talked about revenge… "Justice is a larger goal"'.

Notably the film's largest flaw is its half-hearted assessment of race relations in the town, and this can be better understood if we view Mildred as a stock outlaw hero. All of the major characters are white, with just a number of small and more often symbolic roles for non-white citizens in Ebbing. Additionally, the dubious redemption of the 'person of color torturing' cop Dixon, muddies any serious attempt to critique racist police violence. However, Graham Seal's article about social bandits notes an accepted narrative framework including that 'the outlaw hero has sympathy and support from one or more social groups who form a resistant community'. In a film addressing police incompetence, the African-American community seems a clear choice of ally. African-American characters not only offer Mildred support in a town that has turned against her, but African-American workers even put up the billboard signs in the first place. Unfortunately, the film fails to give sufficient depth to these characters and as a result may leave some people cold.

In conclusion, Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri, uses the themes and character types found in Greek tragedy to present a critique of modern justice systems, particularly of the police. At its best, Three Billboards addresses classical and timeless emotional suffering whilst also touching on contemporary justice systems failures to provide social justice. Mildred's reasoning behind the billboards is that 'the more you keep a case in the public eye the better your chances are of getting it solved', indicating the central role of public attention and media in ensuring justice when official routes fail. The fact that images of the billboards have already become a political meme shows the potential for an outlaw hero onscreen to inspire positive 'radical action' in our society.

SCARLETT BUTLER

The Myth of the Black Rapist

In an opinion piece recently published by Al Jazeera, Sarah R. Farris expressed her frustration that the apparently undying, racist stereotype of the non-white male as sexual predator has continued to influence twenty-first century Western discourse. Farris reflects upon the sexual assaults that occurred in the German city of Cologne on the night of New Year's Eve 2015/16, criticising the excessive attention paid by the Western media to the non-white identity of the perpetrators.

Dozens of men of North African background were involved in the mugging and sexual harassment of women, hundreds of whom reported that they had been surrounded and assaulted by groups of men on the night of 31 December in Cologne and across Germany more widely. The Western media were quick to comment that these crimes were a result of the 'inherent' sexism of brown men. In the context of the refugee crisis, the attacks were construed as evidence of the cultural incompatibility of the Middle East and North Africa with European societies. French newspaper Le Monde, for example, published an article by Algerian author Kamel Daoud that stated: 'The relationship with a woman, so fundamental to Western modernity,

will long remain incomprehensible to the average [refugee or migrant] man'.

Moreover, in the months that followed, the Cologne attacks were invoked by right-wing forces as evidence of the apparent incompatibility between Islam and gender equality, resulting in a hardening of attitudes on immigration. In her article, Farris concludes that the attacks 'had a widespread international resonance because they played into the widely spread stereotype that non-white males (Muslim and non-Muslim alike) are sexual predators by default'.

The constructed relationship between non-white masculinity and sexual aggression is part of a broader trend in Western discourse that dates back to the colonial era. When European women arrived in the colonies, fears over miscegenation were brought to the fore. It was believed that colonised men of colour could not control their 'primitive' sexual lusts towards white women. The imperial, Orientalist discourse dictated that non-white colonised men were uncivilised 'savages' who lacked self-control and moral virtue, and were thus inferior and child-like in comparison to white men. Ideas about racial mixing were therefore imbued with fantasies of

contamination and degeneration.

This perceived sexual threat that men of colour posed to white women was broadly referred to as 'The Black Peril'. As Gareth Cornwell aptly summarises: 'the political scandal of the Black Peril is the subjugation of a woman of the dominant race to the power of a man of the subordinate race; the penetration of a white woman by a black man is an act of insurrection'. Like the discourse on untouchability and caste in India, 'The Black Peril' was constructed upon imagery of purity, contagion and pollution.

Although this article is focused upon the construction of 'The Black Peril' in the European colonies, it is necessary to recognise the development of a similar discourse about the perceived sexual threat that African-American men posed to white women in the United States. A study by Angela Davis details the creation of 'the myth of the black rapist' as a popular justification for the lynching of thousands of black men in the decades following the civil war. Black men in the United States, like their colonised counterparts, were constructed in popular discourse as possessing an uncontrollable lust for white women's flesh.

Just as black men were lynched in the United States, it became the object of European colonial administrations to protect white women from the colonised men of colour who, it was assumed, were sexually aggressive by nature. Various race-specific rape laws were introduced in the European colonies. For example, in New Guinea, Dutch colonial authorities introduced the White Women's Protection Ordinance in 1926 which provided 'the death penalty for any person convicted for the crime of rape or attempted rape upon a European woman or girl'. Likewise, in the British Solomon Islands, authorities introduced public flogging as a punishment for 'criminal assaults on [white] females' in 1934.

Essentially, this legislation was a tool of racial discrimination. These laws did not protect women of colour from sexual abuse, and white men who committed acts of sexual violence were rarely prosecuted. Furthermore, Ann Stoler identifies that the definition of 'attempted rape' was so broad that 'all colonised men of colour were potential aggressors'. In effect, a case for 'attempted rape' could be made against any man of colour who was discovered in the quarters of a sleeping or half-dressed white woman, or even merely in the vicinity of white residence.

But European fears over 'The Black Peril' were not grounded in fact. Stoler importantly states that 'the rhetoric of sexual assault and the measures used to prevent it had virtually no correlation with the incidence of rape of European women by men of colour.' In fact, historians have recognised that the concern over the protection of white women was intensified during times of real and perceived crises of power. 'The Black Peril' can be understood as a symptom of a more general political fear.

Using South Africa as a case study, Cornwell draws upon the work of Norman Etherington and Charles van Onselen to demonstrate that there is a correlation between phases of 'The Black Peril' and the broader economic and political challenges faced by white authority. Etherington for example, demonstrates that the Natal phase of 'The Black Peril' in 1886 corresponded with 'the emergence of Africans as "formidable competitors" in agriculture and transport in Natal, and the migratory labour pattern established by the rush for diamonds at Kimberley.' In a similar vein, van Onselen finds a correlation between rape scares and economic recession in Johannesburg, suggesting that in depressed economic conditions 'the coercive nature of black employment became more obvious, inducing among whites a greater awareness of the fragility of the social system and greater fear of black reprisals'.

The measures introduced for the purpose of protecting white women from 'The Black Peril' included the increased surveillance of non-white colonised men, new legislation proposing severe corporal punishment for the transgression of social boundaries, and the creation of segregated race-specific areas. It is no coincidence, Stoler remarks, that these 'remedies . . . embraced a common set of prescriptions for securing white control'. In other words, at a time when natives posed an economic and politic threat to white authority, the Orientalist construction of 'the black rapist' offered a moral justification for the introduction of new measures that would strengthen the power of the European colonial authorities.

> '…and thus the safeguarding of the white female body as the preserve of European men is a metaphor for the preservation of the racist colonial power hierarchy…'

'The Black Peril' was a myth that had little corresponding reality, and as much as it was about legitimising the intensification of European power in the colonies, it was also about controlling and policing the behaviour and sexuality of European women. The idea of the widespread rape of white women by black men reveals European men's unwillingness to accept that, in reality, many white European women were engaged in consensual sexual relations with non-white, colonised men. This apparent moral laxity among young European women was the real cause for concern. In response to the influx of white prostitutes into South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War, the 1937 Report of the Commission on Mixed Marriages in South Africa describes the arrival of 'numbers of loose European women' who were 'extending their attentions to the natives', and thus concludes that there is a vital need for 'the suppression of immorality'.

European women were blamed for inviting sexual assault from black men. The younger generation of European girls and women were accused of being indecorous in their speech and clothing, and for being too familiar with their black male servants. Like non-white colonised men therefore, white women also became the objects of increased surveillance in the colonies. For example, the Rhodesian Immorality Act of 1916 'made it an offence for a white woman to make an indecent suggestion to a male native' and in Uganda and Rhodesia European women were restricted to participating in activities within European enclaves.

If anything, the construction of 'the black rapist' is testament to insecurities regarding white colonial masculinity. Certainly, 'The Black Peril' was about more than the protection of the white race from 'blood contamination' since contraception was widely used by young European women at this time and so impregnation was unlikely. In fact, Cornwell reasons that 'fears about the disappearance of the white race through race mixture were merely a rationalisation of the demand of white men for exclusive access to women of their caste'. 'The Black Peril', according to Cornwell, was ultimately about 'the threat of sexual competition from black men, and . . . the fear of losing "willing" white women to black suitors'.

European women were a symbol of white prestige, and thus the sexual penetration of a white woman by a black man was perceived as a violation of the white man's most sacred possession; symbolically, it was the black man's revenge against his coloniser. In South Africa, 'The Black Peril' played an important role in defining the white South African ethnie because, as Cornwell elucidates, 'what was at stake was the integrity of the white female body, mythologised by a frontier society as the last and most intimate frontier of all'. 'The Black Peril' is about white male ownership of the white female body, and thus the safeguarding of the white female body as the preserve of European men is a metaphor for the preservation of the racist colonial power hierarchy more broadly. In essence, it was believed that the failure to control black masculinity as well as white female sexuality could result in the collapse of the social and economic foundations of European society. And it is worth noting that all the while, 'The Black Peril' distracted from the exploitation and abuse of non-white women by white men.

For many decades, interracial sex

continued to be perceived as a perversion, and the white women who fraternised with non-white men continued to be demonised. This is exemplified in a study by Sonya Rose, which discusses the re-emergence of ideas of 'The Black Peril' during the Second World War in Britain. From the winter of 1942 onwards, the fraternisation of young British women and girls with black American soldiers was framed in the media as a wave of 'moral laxity' that was sweeping the country. The public responded with outrage at the sight of girls and young women seen in the company of African-American soldiers, and there was a re-emergence of ideas about the unbridled sexuality of black men. The methods of surveillance that were introduced, however, were this time almost solely focused upon white women. Racial identification in news reports suggested that British women who associated with African-Americans were especially immoral or degraded, and thus in the wartime context these women were depicted as an internal threat to national virtue.
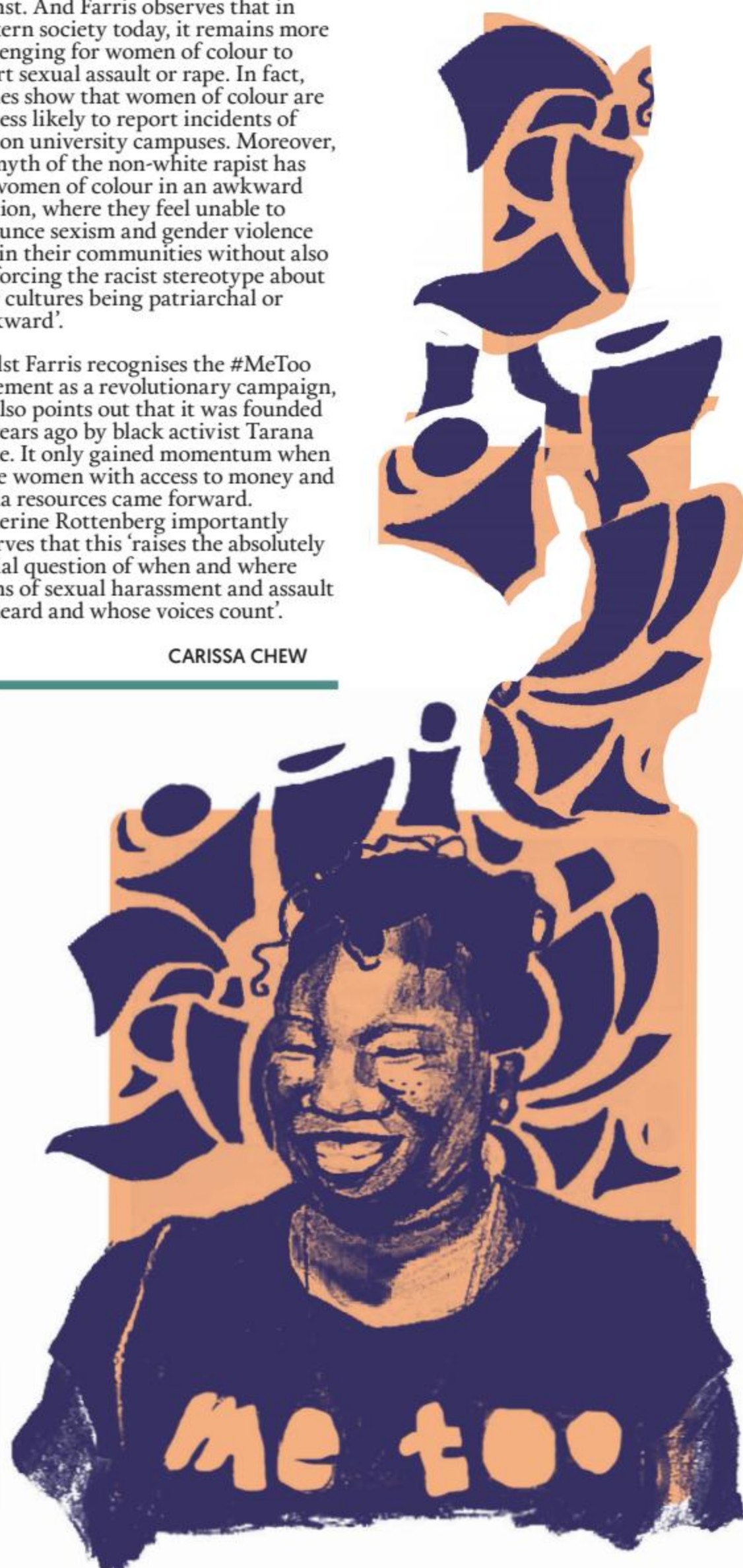
Whilst interracial sex has become broadly accepted in the West, however, the stereotype of 'the black rapist' has been more enduring. In the twenty-first century, the Western media has continued to reinvigorate the idea that non-white masculinity is tied to sexual aggression. Non-white men continue to be made disproportionately visible when accusations of rape or sexual assault surface; a man of colour who commits a crime is perceived as a representative of an entire 'racialised' community; and non-white male criminals are often subjected to harsher punishments than white men accused of similar crimes. Farris makes the point that when men of colour are implicated in cases of sexual violence, the debate becomes less about the nature of gender-based violence and its systemic presence, and 'more about the "evidence" these cases provide for claims that misogyny is "naturally ingrained" in the culture, religion, or race of the men involved'. Farris concludes on a positive note, however, that the #MeToo campaign, which has exposed just how frequently white men are also the perpetrators of sexual violence, has undermined the Western media's historic portrayal of sexism as the prerogative of non-white men.

It is the continued silencing of the voice of non-white women, however, which is the most concerning continuity that arises from this discussion on the history of the discourse of sexual assault. 'The Black Peril' overlooks and silences the two-fold gender violence, from white and non-white men alike, that women of colour were unprotected against. And Farris observes that in Western society today, it remains more challenging for women of colour to report sexual assault or rape. In fact, studies show that women of colour are still less likely to report incidents of rape on university campuses. Moreover, the myth of the non-white rapist has put women of colour in an awkward position, where they feel unable to denounce sexism and gender violence within their communities without also reinforcing the racist stereotype about their cultures being patriarchal or 'backward'.

Whilst Farris recognises the #MeToo movement as a revolutionary campaign, she also points out that it was founded ten years ago by black activist Tarana Burke. It only gained momentum when white women with access to money and media resources came forward. Catherine Rottenberg importantly observes that this 'raises the absolutely crucial question of when and where claims of sexual harassment and assault are heard and whose voices count'.

CARISSA CHEW

The Fall of Apartheid: From Persecution to Equality

By the late-1960s, Apartheid seemed to be consolidated in South Africa. Following the Rivonia Trial (1962-1964), leading anti-Apartheid activists, including Nelson Mandela and Ahmed Kathrada, had been sentenced to lifelong imprisonment; leading anti-Apartheid groups like the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), and South African Communist Party (SACP) were made illegal; and the economy was seemingly booming. In 1970, the Apartheid regime felt so confident that they passed the Homelands Act granting 'independence' to larger tribes in order to allow the state to strip urban black Africans of their citizenship. Apartheid had become official state policy after the 1948 electoral victory of D.F. Malan's National Party, which amplified the segregationist and racist laws dating from the end of the nineteenth century. In 1994, formal Apartheid came to an end with Nelson Mandela's electoral victory in South Africa's first multiracial elections. After such a success in the 1960s and 1970s, Apartheid came crashing down – but the main question is why? Christopher Saunders has argued that economic decline, domestic grassroots opposition, and foreign hostility helped to end Apartheid.

Writing in the 1970s an Afrikaner critic of Apartheid said, 'Opposing Apartheid is worse than murder to some Afrikaners…You endanger the nation by refusing to conform', but this is when the seeds of Apartheid's collapse began. Despite throttling the free press and banning anti-Apartheid organisations, resistance to Apartheid remained. Banned groups continued underground and the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), continued its armed resistance. Meanwhile, new grassroots organisations rose to fill the vacuum left by the ANC and PAC, such as the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), under charismatic figures like Steve Biko and Winnie Mandela. Even the extrajudicial killing of Biko in 1977 did not stem the growing resistance. Guerrilla activity also increased in South West Africa, (modern Namibia), under the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) which wanted independence from South Africa. Terence Moll has also presented evidence showing that the economic growth of the 1960s was more mediocre than initially thought so the world recession of the 1970s dented the economy. Furthermore, technological change in factories started requiring semi-skilled permanent workers instead of menial labourers which threatened the segregated system set up by the Nationalists.

Meanwhile, the international situation in the 1970s had started to turn against South Africa. The Apartheid regime was intensely anti-communist and used the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act to silence the PAC, ANC, and Freedom Charter – Mandela even reported that in prison he could not read Little Red Riding Hood due to 'red' being in the title. As a result, South Africa had garnered much support from the US and UK. South Africa was also surrounded by the 'White Dominoes' – according to Martin Meredith – that were the Portuguese colonies and the white minority state of Rhodesia. All this started to change in the 1970s. As early as 1959 the Anti-Apartheid Movement had been active in the UK and after the Rivonia Trial, the ANC under Oliver Tambo had been garnering support from both the West and East. From 1977, MK guerrillas began a sabotage campaign after exile in Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho while the UN put an arms embargo on South Africa. At the same time, white rule in southern Africa was starting to collapse. Since the 1960s Portugal had been waging war against leftist guerrillas wanting independence for Angola and Mozambique, and after the Carnation Revolution in Portugal in 1974, independence came the following year. Meanwhile, a guerrilla war against white rule in Rhodesia fired up in the 1970s led by black African nationalists including Robert Mugabe.

In 1978, P.W. Botha became prime minister; he was an ardent white supremacist, but he was pragmatic. He said, 'We are moving in a changing world. We must adapt otherwise we shall die'. Botha planned to grant limited reform to undermine opposition; use the police to break opposition; and increase intervention in Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia. Botha viewed the 1979 OPEC oil embargo, the ANC, and the black guerrilla movements as being organised by the USSR in order to achieve global dominance. He was adamant to preserve white rule by any means necessary. His limited reforms and emphasis on the homelands were seen by anti-Apartheid activists as a clear attempt to preserve white rule; in 1983 his 'trimeral constitution' granting Indian and 'coloured' (mixed race) citizens their own chambers in parliament was boycotted. Meanwhile, the right-wing of the Nationalists was angered by Botha's limited reforms and broke off in 1982 to form the Conservative Party.

South Africa's economic situation began to collapse, affecting poor urban black Africans the most. Embargos on South African gold, diamonds, wine and other goods dented exports as imports of oil and arms dried up. Even when leaders supported South Africa – such as Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher – the populace did not take it upon themselves to avoid buying any South African goods not affected by sanctions. Tambo had turned Mandela into a figure to focus foreign anti-Apartheid activism on: The Specials 1984 single 'Free Nelson Mandela' being a particularly notable example of this. Rigorous policing and military spending decimated money reserves. Botha recruited vigilantes called kitskonstabel to harass activists or even attack squatter camps like in Cape Town in May and June of 1986. Nigel Worden has even argued that Botha supported the Inkatha Freedom Party – a right-wing Zulu nationalist group – due to their opposition to the ANC and support for the homelands. Meanwhile, millions had been spent propping up Rhodesia and funding more compliant African nationalists in Angola and Mozambique. By 1985, 20 percent of the budget was spent on military expenditure. In 1988, the military faced a crushing defeat at the hands of an expeditionary force made

of Cuban volunteers and a Marxist Angolan group at Cuito Cuanavale which helped bring an end to the Angolan Civil War.

Domestically, opposition to Apartheid rapidly grew at a grassroots level. The ANC saw a resurgence with the party's flag being draped over the coffins of activists and Mandela – as well as other imprisoned activists – gaining an almost mythic status. With a new generation, a new wave of activism grew to prominence including the Congress of South African Trade Unions (CODASU) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) being two notable examples. Inspired by the Freedom Charter they wanted: an end to Apartheid; a multiracial democracy; and black advancement. A new wave of boycotts and protests against the Apartheid state attracting millions of supporters started seriously damaging the state both economically and politically. Meanwhile, MK continued their armed campaign. Desperate, Botha asked Mandela in 1985 to renounce armed conflict in return for freedom – he refused through a speech read out by his daughter at a UDF rally. However, negotiations between Botha, Mandela, and other activists began in secret which brings us to the final chapter in Apartheid's fall.

Following a stroke, Botha resigned in

1989 and, to his surprise, his chosen successor Barend du Plessis lost to the far less hard-line F.W. de Klerk. De Klerk was eager to bring stability to South Africa and in February 1990 he lifted the ban on the ANC, PAC, and SACP to be followed a few weeks later by the release of political prisoners – including Mandela. Such was Mandela's popularity that in his autobiography he stated that in the car from prison crowds of both white and black Africans crowded eagerly to see him. Mandela had a natural charisma to him and could, as argued by William Beinart, appear as a 'communal patriarch, working-class hero, and liberal democrat'. He even started to put less emphasis on socialism and more on human rights to avoid frightening the white middle-class. However, Mandela's release did not end Apartheid. For four years bitter struggles between de Klerk, Mandela and others began regarding the future. The 1989 election had allowed the Conservative Party to replace the moderate Democratic Party as the opposition and racist white opposition started to grow. The overtly fascist Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB) – a party which even adopted Nazi imagery – began attacks on government buildings and activists. Meanwhile, in Pietermaritsburg clashes between the ANC and Inkatha (with possible government support) killed

14,000 between 1991-1994. After the assassination of MK leader and ANC activist Chris Hani by two white supremacists – one a Polish anti-communist, the other an English-speaking Conservative MP – the country became horrified. With South Africa tired of violence, the end was nigh.

Starting on 26 April 1994 South Africa's first election based on universal suffrage took place; in some areas, people queued for four days as they were so eager to finally vote. Mandela swept the board with 62 percent of the vote and became South Africa's president. Despite setbacks – the Apartheid state had virtually bankrupted the nation and so Mandela could not implement all of his desired reforms – the ANC began the process of reconciliation. Under Desmond Tutu, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission tried to reconcile communities and Mandela began black advancement programmes. After forty-six years of persecution, equality had finally been achieved.

LEWIS TWIBY

The Ghetto Nuovo in Late Medieval Venice

In the central Middle Ages, Europeans began to encounter and interact with Jews on a more daily basis as Jewish communities increasingly immigrated to Europe. By the later Middle Ages, small clusters of Jewish communities had settled throughout Europe. Judaism at this time was considered to be the 'blind' and ignorant sister of Christianity – that is, being a religion of the book, but blind to the light of Christ. Therefore, while Jews were very much considered and treated as an 'other' within their communities, they were not considered to be heretical. Before examining the Venetian Ghetto Nuovo, it is firstly important to contextualise the situation by discussing religious tensions leading up to the development of ghettos and Jewish Quarters.

There were two main reasons why Catholic Europe allowed for Jewish communities to live within their countries at all. Firstly, good Christians could not lend money, as this would be committing the sin of usury. Jews however were able to lend money, and as such, Christian leaders encouraged the settlement of Jewish populations for economic purposes. Secondly, Christians believed that at the end of days, Jews would dramatically convert to Christianity and this would presage the return of Christ. Jews therefore served an eschatological purpose as they would alert Christians to the imminent end of days. Despite this desire and need for Jews within Europe, they were treated as a necessary evil.

Canon 68 of Pope Innocent III's convoked Fourth Lateran Council (1215) proclaimed that Jews and Muslims were to be clearly separated from Christians through the use of clothing laws. To take England as one example, from 1218 they ordered that Jews legally had to wear badges on their chests, thus marking out undesirable bodies. In 1222, 1253 and 1275, this law adapted and evolved – for example, dictating what size the badge ought to be and at what age Jewish people ought to begin wearing it. This hostile treatment then escalated in 1290 when England expelled all Jews, marking the first permanent expulsion of Jews in Europe. Almost 150 years later, the Council of Basel (1434) decreed that Jews and Christians were not allowed to cohabit, and further dictated that Jews ought to live as far away from Christians and churches as possible. Throughout the continent, people believed popular myths about corrupted Jewish bodies, including the widespread beliefs that Jews physically needed to consume the blood of young boys and that Jewish men had a menstrual cycle. There were also

violent reactions against Jewish communities, especially in times of dearth and disease. One such time was during the Black Death of c.1348 and recurring episodes of the plague, where Jews were accused of spreading the plague by poisoning wells. Alongside this religious tension and cyclical hostility towards Jews in Europe, the everyday life of Jewish communities in urban spaces was also greatly affected, namely through segregation. This treatment of urban Jewish communities exemplifies Europe's perception and treatment of Jews as a 'necessary evil'.

Numerous cities throughout late medieval Europe began to create ghettos, or Jewish Quarters, for Jewish communities to live in. It must be stressed that this article will focus on forced settlement. Alfred Haverkamp has noted that some Jewish communities asked to be separated from Christian communities as a means of protection. For example, in the 1360s a wall was built around the Viennese Jewish quarters at the request of a Jewish inhabitant. While there were some Jewish Quarters where Jews settled willingly, it is also important to raise the point that there still could remain a sense of pressure to this. If Jewish populations are being constantly threatened and attacked by their Christian neighbours, and therefore willingly move into Jewish Quarters, there remains an element of coercion. These complexities aside, this article will be focusing explicitly on the forced settlement of Jews into one Venetian ghetto.

Richard Sennett has interestingly argued in Flesh and Stone (1994) that one of the reasons behind creating Jewish Quarters was to keep clean Christian bodies away from dirty Jewish ones. Sennett explains that 'Christians were afraid of touching Jews: Jewish bodies were thought to carry venereal diseases as well as to contain more mysterious polluting powers'. This belief about contagious bodies was particularly prevalent at the end of the Middle Ages and dawn of the early Modern period, with the arrival of syphilis into Italy in 1494, which provoked a huge moral uproar. One of the believed carriers of this debilitating disease was Jews and their perceived corrupted bodies. Moreover, it was believed that one only needed to touch a Jewish body to contract syphilis, much like the belief that one only needed to touch a leper's sore to contract leprosy. With its obvious symptoms of sores and rashes, syphilis was physically marking out immoral bodies, and as such, caused outrage and panic. It led cities to enact a kind of cleansing programme, which involved ensuring that every urban dweller's

both sexual and non-sexual activity was moral. This effort can arguably also be seen in the creation of ghettos. Conclusively, according to Sennett, the ghetto was thus a compromise between the need to have Jewish populations within Europe and the desire to keep them away.

'...the ghetto was thus a compromise between the need to have Jewish populations within Europe and the desire to keep them away'

There were two Jewish ghettos in Venice – the Ghetto Nuovo and the Ghetto Vecchio. The focus here is on the Ghetto Nuovo – established in 1516 – as it has a very interesting topography which massively aided Venetian efforts of segregation. The appearance of the Ghetto was repressive, with Sennett describing it as a 'rhomboid piece of land surrounded on all sides by water', with the pre-existing buildings creating a walled edge and a court in the centre. The only entrance and exit to the Ghetto was through two drawbridges, which were controlled by Venetian authorities. The Ghetto Nuovo was therefore firmly separated from the rest of Venice. Furthermore, the Venetian city state had very harsh limitations on when Jews were allowed to physically leave and return to the Ghetto. At night, all Jews had to return to the Ghetto, when the bridges would be raised to completely cut off any connection.

The social impact of the segregation caused by the Ghetto will have been extraordinary – it marked Jewish people out as different and unwanted, and clearly shows how European authorities thought of Jews as a problem to solve. During the day, Jews were allowed to leave the Ghetto and move around the city and Christians were allowed to enter the Ghetto in order to borrow money. But by forcibly resettling every Venetian Jew into a designated area, as well as denying them rights to own land or property

and controlling their movement and activity, the message was clear – Jews were undesirable.

Despite the need on the Venetians part to borrow money, their behaviour against the Venetian Jews remained hostile and violent, with mobs crowding around the bridges leading to the ghettos – especially on important liturgical days. However, the Venetian city state was willing to some extent to protect their Jewish population, ordering that police boats should patrol the waters to protect Jews being attacked. There was an exception to this protection, however, as they would only prosecute Christians if they had attacked Jews whilst inside the Ghetto and not if the attack happened in the main city of Venice. In other words, protection for Jewish people only occurred if they remained inside the Ghetto Nuovo. Arguably, this can potentially be seen not as a true and moral effort to protect their Jewish community, but instead a way for Venetians to provide further reasons for Jews to stay away from the main city of Venice and remain constantly ensconced within the Ghetto. Furthermore, this rule will have surely alerted the Christian Venetians that if Jews were outside of the Ghetto, they could act as they wished with no reprobation. Again, this condition required to gain protection from the city state highlights the strange and unwanted position that Jews faced within Europe. It conveyed the message that the proper place for Venetian Jews in this period was to be locked away in their designated Ghetto and away from good, moral, and clean Christians.

The segregation within late medieval Venice with their creation of Jewish Ghettos was a firm and powerful way of conveying who was desirable and who was undesirable in the city. Although Venice attempted to protect their Jewish population to some extent, their chosen way of doing so further conveyed the message that Jews were largely unwanted. Venice was not unique with their construction of Jewish Quarters, and they were common in many European cities. However, the unique topography of Venice helped their goal of segregation and separation as the waters surrounding the Ghetto Nuovo effectively acted as a natural barrier between perceived cleanliness and uncleanliness.

Note: some of the information and arguments contained in this article are based on an essay I wrote in December 2017 for a History in Practice module 'Space and Place'.

FAY MARSDEN

The Peterloo Massacre and the End of Ancien Régime Britain

Since its outbreak in 1789, the French Revolution had stampeded across Europe like a frenzied giant, liquidating the Continent's old order wherever it went. For the true radicals, the revolutionary cause had died with Napoleon's coronation as Emperor of the French in 1804 – but in time Europe's aristocrats grew to hate and fear Bonaparte nearly as much as they did Robespierre. It took Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo by Anglo-Dutch and Prussian forces to fully exorcise the demon of revolution in the eyes of the old order.

And yet, unease gripped Europe's leadership, even as Napoleon was shipped off to exile at St Helena. As the reactionary political philosopher Joseph de Maistre wrote, 'it is only [Napoleon's] person that has gone, and he has left us his morals. His genius could at least control the demons he unleashed, and order them to do only the degree of harm that he required of them: those demons are still with us, and now there is nobody with the power to harness them'. As much as Europe's monarchs and aristocrats might wish it, there would be no status quo ante bellum. How, then, could the rulers of Europe forge a new system that could keep a lid on the forces of revolution? This was the central ideological question of the 1814-15 Congress of Vienna – a conference of the powers of Europe to determine the Continent's post-Napoleonic future.

Waterloo had left Europe's peripheral great powers – Britain and Russia – as its arbiters. Each had different answer to the question of revolution.

Russian arms had driven Bonaparte out of their country in 1812 and, joined by Prussia and Austria, marched to Paris. Over the corpse of Napoleon's Empire, Tsar Alexander I reviewed 150,000 of his troops in the small French town of Vertus – a dramatic show of force that heralded its new role as Europe's premier land power. Alexander, a deeply pious man, saw the Christian faith as the antidote to revolution. He called for a pan-European 'Holy Alliance', in which the monarchs of Europe would join together to benignly govern the Continent through the precepts of the Gospel. This highfalutin rhetoric was not taken too seriously by most of Europe's leaders, but a Holy Alliance between Russia, Austria and Prussia was duly signed in September 1815.

Britain favoured a more pragmatic vision for post-revolutionary Europe. The able British foreign secretary Viscount Castlereagh, aided by the Austrian foreign minister Prince Metternich, designed the 'Concert of Europe' system at Vienna – which stipulated that the territorial integrity of the European states would be guaranteed, the great powers of Europe would meet regularly to resolve their differences through diplomacy, and pan-European action would be taken against any further outbreak of revolution.
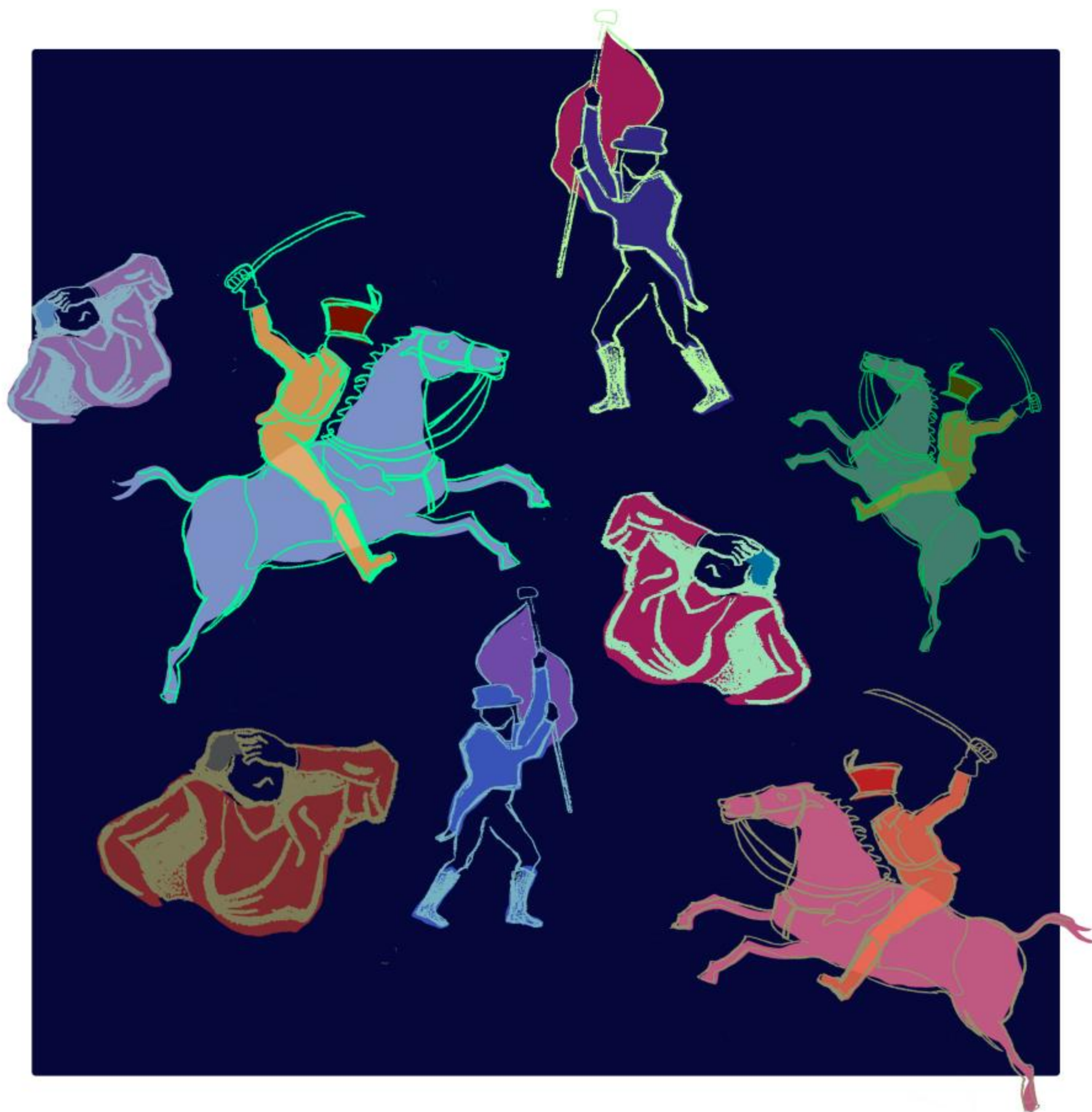
Although it was one of the main architects of the post-Vienna 'Conservative Order', Britain was always an awkward partner to the reactionary monarchies of Austria, Prussia and Russia. Out of the victorious coalition at Vienna, the British political order bared most resemblance to that of Revolutionary France by far. In a sense, Britain had already had its revolutionary moment – first with the English Civil War in 1642 and the subsequent regicide of Charles I, and then with the 1688 Glorious Revolution which firmly established the political supremacy of Parliament. Britain's ruling elite had long since boasted of the 'perfection' of the post-1688 constitution – which they argued defended personal liberty and private property through its balancing of monarchic, aristocratic and democratic elements. In practice, Britain was largely governed through its Parliament which in turn was elected by a small propertied franchise and was thus dominated by the landed aristocracy. This constitution, which Napoleon would later disparagingly refer to as the 'English Oligarchy' was seen as Europe's most liberal and was therefore used as a model by French revolutionaries in 1789. The high regard in which Revolutionary France initially held Britain was reciprocated on the other side of the Channel – large swathes of the liberal Whig party celebrated the fall of the Bastille as France's own Glorious Revolution, from which a British-style constitutional monarchy would surely arise.

As the Revolution devolved into a psychotic episode, British public opinion turned against it. Most of the British political class were horrified by the executions of Louis XVI and his wife, the rise of Robespierre, the assaults on religion, and the depravity of the 'Terror'. No figure better demonstrated the conservative liberalism of the British ruling class better than Edmund Burke MP, who in his 1790 Reflections on the Revolution in France expressed some sympathy with the Revolution's initial aims, but savagely attacked it for its alleged dissolving of the pillars of civil society – the family, religion, private property, the rule of law. The new French regime, hysterical and radicalized, soon no longer deemed its old role model 'progressive' enough – and declared war on Britain in 1793.

Although it made common cause with the forces of conservatism in Europe to stamp out the Revolution, Britain always saw its own political order as a sane middle ground between the

reactionary 'Throne and Altar' absolute monarchies of Europe and the wild mob politics of Revolutionary France. Britain's governing regime was liberal yet elitist – deeming democracy as the rule of the mob, which would destroy liberty and private property. This attitude continued to colour Britain's role as Napoleonic France disintegrated: Castlereagh opposed the creation of the Holy Alliance, and Britain did not join it – repelled by its overtly theocratic and absolutist undertones. Britain would also shy away from the anti-revolutionary intervention in Europe that the Concert system mandated.

In the post-Waterloo years the British political class, with the possible exception of several radical Whig MPs, were united in the preservation of the British constitution and the inviolability of private property. But murmurs of discontent were everywhere – unemployment among the decommissioned soldiery was high, bread riots caused by the protectionist 'Corn Laws' enacted in 1815 were common, and Luddite action against Britain's nascent industrial sector was rife. The political banner under which many of the discontented rallied was the movement for parliamentary reform. This movement, which had existed before the Revolution, had been injected with the radical egalitarianism of 1789 – and called for universal male suffrage and annual general elections. Supporters of Reform held large open-air meetings around the country in which the French revolutionary tricolor was flown, and formed 'Hampden Clubs' to disseminate literature and hold debates. Britain's rulers began to panic. Haunted by the shades of Robespierre and the Guillotine, they became possessed by

the fear of the politically-mobilized masses.

'Haunted by the shades of Robespierre and the Guillotine, they became possessed by the fear of the politically-mobilized masses.'

To the government of the day, losing to the Reform movement was not an option. If the 'English Oligarchy' surrendered to the forces of egalitarian democracy, mob rule and the end of private property would – in their eyes – surely follow. Alternatively, revolution would achieve the same result with all the attendant violence. Faced with these two unpalatable outcomes, the ministry of Lord Liverpool chose political repression in defence of the old constitution. Habeas corpus was temporarily suspended in 1817 and mass meetings were broken up as per the old 'Riot Act'. The sense of crisis was winched up at every turn: A House of Lords committee report claimed that Reform groups were stockpiling weapons for an armed insurrection, and an attempt on the life of the Prince-Regent was made by political radicals.

Amidst the febrile political atmosphere, the Reform movement planned a mass meeting in St Peter's Square in Manchester in August of 1817, to be chaired by the famous pro-Reform activist Henry Hunt. Despite the ultra-loyalist local authorities labelling the planned hustings as illegal, as many as 80,000 turned out on the 16th. The magistrates and local elites, driven to hysterics by the supposed threat of revolution, ordered the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry (volunteer militia) to enter the Square on horseback and arrest Hunt on charges of sedition. The Yeomanry soon found themselves stranded in the large crowds, panicked, and began to disperse the rally by force. What exactly occurred is the source of much debate - with some claiming that the rally-goers were armed and attacked the Yeomanry, forcing them to respond with force, and others arguing that the Yeomanry charged an innocent crowd.

Either way, what followed was a notorious and horrifying episode of British history – 15 civilians were sabered or trampled to death by cavalry, and as many as 700 were wounded in the melee and stampede.

This outbreak of violence, which quickly came to be known as the 'Peterloo Massacre', triggered a public furore. Calls for a public inquiry into the events of the 16th were widespread, and prominent politicians such as the Earl Grey, Francis Place and Samuel Bamford feared imminent violent uprisings in response to the massacre. The government, though privately judging the actions of the magistrates and Yeomanry as hysterical and legally baseless, chose to publicly side with them in order to present a united front against political radicalism. Increased militancy was followed by increased repression: the government passed the 'Six Acts' which outlawed public weapons drills, required the permission of a sheriff in order to hold a public meeting, and increased punishments for seditious libel.

Economic recovery, combined with the rigorous policing of radical movements, caused the embers of potential revolution to temporarily die down. However, the old regime's triumph over radicalism in the wake of Peterloo was in illusion. In fact, widespread disgust at the actions of the Yeomanry encouraged much of Britain's elite (who were already sympathetic to moderate parliamentary reform) to throw their support behind the cause – most notably Whigs such as the Earl Grey and Lord John Russell. They argued that moderate reform would stave off violent revolution – as enfranchising the middle class would politically ally them with the aristocracy against the 'lower orders'.

This change in elite opinion meant that Britain's ancien regime probably could not weather another crisis, but it took several events for this to become apparent. The death of Lord Liverpool in 1827, and the subsequent collapse of his big-tent parliamentary coalition, combined with another economic recession gave the new pro-reform Whigs their chance. The Earl Grey formed a government in 1830, but his first Reform bill was defeated in Committee in 1831 and, after a general election which returned a pro-Reform House of Commons, his second Reform bill was thrown out and his third Reform bill delayed by Tory ultras in the House of Lords in 1832. The country flew into a rage – riots erupted in many of England's major cities, mass pro-reform rallies were held, and much of the governing class feared insurrection. Many historians judged these 'Days of

May' protests as the closest Britain has ever come to revolution. In the face of these mounting threats, the weak Tory government under the Duke of Wellington, the hero of Waterloo, lost its nerve and folded, and the third Reform Bill was passed by the Earl Grey later that year. By the very end, opposition to Reform had been reduced to a rump of Tory ultras, seen as a retrograde embarrassment by their peers. This time, there would be no attempt to quash the politically-mobilized populace, no Concerts of Europe, Six Acts, Holy Alliances or flashing sabres. The British governing class were simply no longer united in defence of the 1688 constitution, and were unwilling to risk insurrection to cling onto it. The bill itself was moderate it its scope – but that was scarcely the point. The crucial concession of the First Reform Act was that mass participation in politics was no longer taboo, and the resulting acceleration of democratisation that occurred throughout the 19th century far exceeded anything desired by Grey or Russell. Aristocratic, elitist government barely limped into the 20th century, and was dead by 1918. The old British constitution had surrendered to the veto of the mob, and meekly faded into oblivion.

Within this broader context, the true significance of the Peterloo Massacre is revealed. What Peterloo represented was the last serious attempt in Britain to oppose the age of the Masses – the age of democracy, of socialism, of fascism. The British government, in its moment of utter geopolitical triumph after Napoleon's downfall, tried to stand against the forces of egalitarianism in its own country, as it had done on the fields of Waterloo. But Wellington's, Tsar Alexander's, Metternich's and Castlereagh's victory had ultimately been hollow: something had irrevocably changed the moment the Bastille fell, and even Britain's aristocracy – the most liberal of all – eventually yielded to it. The door to mass politics had been opened, and could not be closed.

TRAVIS AAROE

The Trials and Tribulations of Nelson Mandela

One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' is a phrase perhaps most associated with Nelson Mandela, a man who embodied the struggle for justice and equality in South Africa in the twentieth century. In his search for justice, Mandela was greatly oppressed, discriminated against and imprisoned for 27 years. He had been exposed to the injustices that Africa's black population had endured on account of white leadership from a young age and, in 1944, he joined the African National Congress (ANC), actively becoming involved in the anti-colonialist political movement and trying to establish a democratic government. This both sought and fought to enfranchise the black population that were living suppressed under this white authority by adopting a non-violent approach to acts of disruption and defiance against the South African Government.

The motivation behind the ANC became more apparent in 1948 when racial inequality increased dramatically following the National Party's rise to power. With this Party in place, the implementation of racial segregation saw an expansion of discrimination against the black population and the government institutionalised a white supremacy leadership. Mandela worked tirelessly against the apartheid laws and in 1952 the African National Congress launched the Defiance Campaign in an affinity with the South African Indian Congress and the Coloured People's Congress. This campaign epitomised civil disobedience and was the largest scale, non-violent resistance that South Africa had seen– employing techniques such as strikes, boycotts and protests to put forward their demands for equality. Nelson Mandela was, however, among a group of volunteers who marched on Boksburg without a permit and was arrested as a result. The campaign consequently died out and Mandela was tried for treason in 1956 and found guilty of 'statutory communism'.

Mandela had previously been served with a banning order, placing restrictions on his freedom of speech and movement in the anti-colonialist and anti-apartheid campaign. The infringements placed on Mandela left him no choice but to lay low and this previously public figure almost disappeared from sight. In 1961, the leaders of the African National Congress came to the conclusion that their non-violent methods had proved pointless. This led them to setting up an underground military wing known as the 'Spear of the Nation' (Umkhonto we Size/MK) which personified the ANC's realisation that it could no longer limit itself to non-violent protests in its attempts to fight against the government and inequality. MK launched its first attack in December 1961 after warning the South African government of its intent if the National Party did not conform to constitutional reform and increase voting rights.

It wasn't until 1962 that Mandela and some of his fellow activists were arrested and incarcerated on Robben Island after being accused of an involvement in a conspiracy to overthrow the government. Despite being charged with a life sentence and being put behind bars, Nelson Mandela was still widely recognised as a symbol of black South African resistance and the country arose in global support to free this man who sacrificed his own freedom for that of his country and of the black population in South Africa. Others in South Africa tried to continue what he had begun and fought for their freedom. In 1976, chaos broke out when police under the Afrikaans government opened fire and tear gas on black children in Soweto, with protests and an economic recession following. This seemed to highlight to the rest of the world that South Africa had not been brought to prosperity and harmony through the apartheid and the government of the National Party were pressured into making social reforms. These included lifting the ban on interracial relationships and marriage, but the

reforms were relatively ineffective. As a result of this and of additional international pressure, the head of the National Party, Pieter Willem Botha, stepped down from government leadership.

Upon his release from prison in 1990, Mandela reinforced his ideas of peace and declared that the ANC's armed struggle of the MK would not be discontinued until the black population received the right to vote. 1994 saw the first open elections in South Africa and the African National Congress won 62 percent of votes, electing Nelson Mandela as the first black president. During his time in office, Mandela presided over a time of greater racial equality and the transition from minority rule and apartheid. The new President held office until 1999, by which time he had become the greatest symbol of hope, justice and equality not just across South Africa, but also across the world. Despite facing prejudice and discrimination throughout his life, with people failing to trust in his policies or in his intentions, as well as facing a 27-year imprisonment in dreadful conditions, Nelson Mandela stood up for all he believed in and fought for both justice and equality in every way he knew how to, defying the injustices and persecutions he was faced with. Thus, it is not surprising that his legacy resonates prolifically across the world today and will do, perhaps indefinitely.

BELLA HOWARD-VYSE

Lithuanian Collaboration in the Holocaust (1941-1944): Victims or Perpetrators?

On 22 June 1941, a year after the annexation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union, the German forces broke their alliance with the Soviet Union and invaded Lithuania. This marked the beginning of the attempted annihilation of the Lithuanian Jews. Whilst the German forces invaded other Baltic States such as Estonia and Latvia on the same day, the death toll of Jewish Lithuanians was significantly higher than in these respective countries. It is for this reason that Lithuania, and its collaboration with the German forces during World War Two, deserves further investigation into its reasons for collaboration and why it was possible for close to 95 per-cent of its Jewish population to be murdered. This article examines what happened in the lead up to Germany's invasion, and how post-independence has justified its collaboration in the persecution of the Jews as a form of justice following the Sovietisation of their country.

Firstly, it is important to understand the historical context of Lithuania's short-lived independence ending and the impact the Soviet invasion had on the nation. In September 1939, the German-Soviet alliance invaded Lithuania. This resulted in Lithuania being forced to sign a treaty with the Soviet Union in order to protect itself from persecution. Some Lithuanians and Lithuanian Jews who saw the treaty as a safety net if a war were to break out supposedly welcomed the initial deal with the Soviets. However, as time went on it became clear that this 'safety' would be at the cost of their nation and national identity, as the Soviet Union began a process of Sovietisation starting with the deportation of approximately 21,000 political elites that could challenge their Communist agenda. In June 1940, the Lithuanian government faced an ultimatum; they were told they had to form a new government to the Soviet Union's liking and to allow an unspecified number of Soviet soldiers to enter Lithuanian territory. This led to the fixed election in August 1940, which resulted in a pro-Soviet, Communist government being elected with an alleged 99.2 per-cent of the vote. After this election, the

Sovietisation of Lithuania escalated with further deportations, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (aka NKVD) imprisoning approximately 12,000 Lithuanians who they deemed to be 'enemies of the people' who they inevitably shot. With the invasion of the oppressive Soviet Union, it is little surprise that Lithuania-a country that had only gained independence from the Russian Empire in 1918- resented the Soviet Union. The invasion ultimately sparked the growth of the Lithuanian nationalist movement, which sought justice against the Soviet Union.

With the growing nationalist movement came the formation of the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF). The movement formed as a response to the repressive Sovietisation of Lithuania and as a response to the supposed underrepresentation of Lithuanians in the government, when compared to Lithuanian Jews. The LAF felt that the Soviets were giving the Jewish population an unfair platform above the Catholic Lithuanian population, and that resistance was required in order to restore Lithuania to power of their own country. The LAF produced propaganda with antisemitic messages ahead of the German invasion. One of their most notable messages being their reason for forming and goal to gain 'the ideological maturation of the Lithuanian nation it is essential that anti-communist and anti-Jewish action be strengthened... our goal is to drive out the Jews along with the Red Russians.' This telling statement produced by the LAF shows that their goal was not simply to remove the Soviets from power, but to 'get rid of' the Jewish population, which they believed would be key for Lithuania to be a free state again. It shows that the Lithuanian nationalists saw their own Jewish neighbours to be 'enemies within' Lithuania, rather than on their side. Therefore, the LAF justified anti-Jewish sentiment as being akin to being anti-Soviet, and held both the Soviets and Jews responsible for their loss of power.

When the German forces invaded Lithuania in June 1941, the LAF justified their collaboration with the Germans as being anti-Soviet and for the good of Lithuania. The nationalists say Germany as their liberators, and their invasion as being against the Soviet Union. Therefore, when the Germans began targeting Communist and Jewish men from 22 June, the Lithuanians actively participated in the mass-murder of the men and imprisonment of the women and children. According to the Einsatzguppen reports, the German forces did not anticipate how willing the Lithuanians were to collaborate in the killing of their Jewish neighbours. Indeed, Dina Porat has suggested that the German forces-who had not originally planned for the total annihilation of the Jewish population due to their army not being large enough to fulfil that goal-saw the willing collaboration as a reason to change their strategy and attempt to eradicate the Lithuanian Jewish population. The Lithuanian's collaborated in pogroms, plunder and As a consequence of this decision, between late June and December, 1940, it is estimated that 80 per-cent of the Jewish population in Lithuania had been killed. By the end of the Second World War, there were less than 20,000 Lithuanian jews left.

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This leads to the question of why the Lithuanians were so willing to participate in the eradication of the Jews, who had been their neighbours prior to the war and Soviet occupation in 1940? The answer, as illustrated in Lithuania's post-independence re-writing of history, is simple. Lithuania has reflected on their collaboration during the Holocaust through a nationalist lens; seeing their involvement not at anti-Jewish, but as anti-Soviet and a heroic effort to free their nation from their oppressors. This has been achieved through the April 1991 law, which classified the crimes committed by the Nazis and Soviets as 'genocide against the citizens of Lithuania', therefore equating the near annihilation of the Jews during 1941 to the entire period of Soviet control over Lithuania. This in itself is problematic, as the majority of research on genocide undertaken in Lithuania has overlooked the significance of the Holocaust and Lithuania's involvement. Furthermore, it has helped the narrative of Lithuanian collaboration to defend its role as a heroic move against the Soviet Union. This has resulted in what Jewish academic, Dovid Katz, has defined as 'Holocaust obfuscation', as Lithuania have not denied their role in the Holocaust, but have actively avoided taking responsibility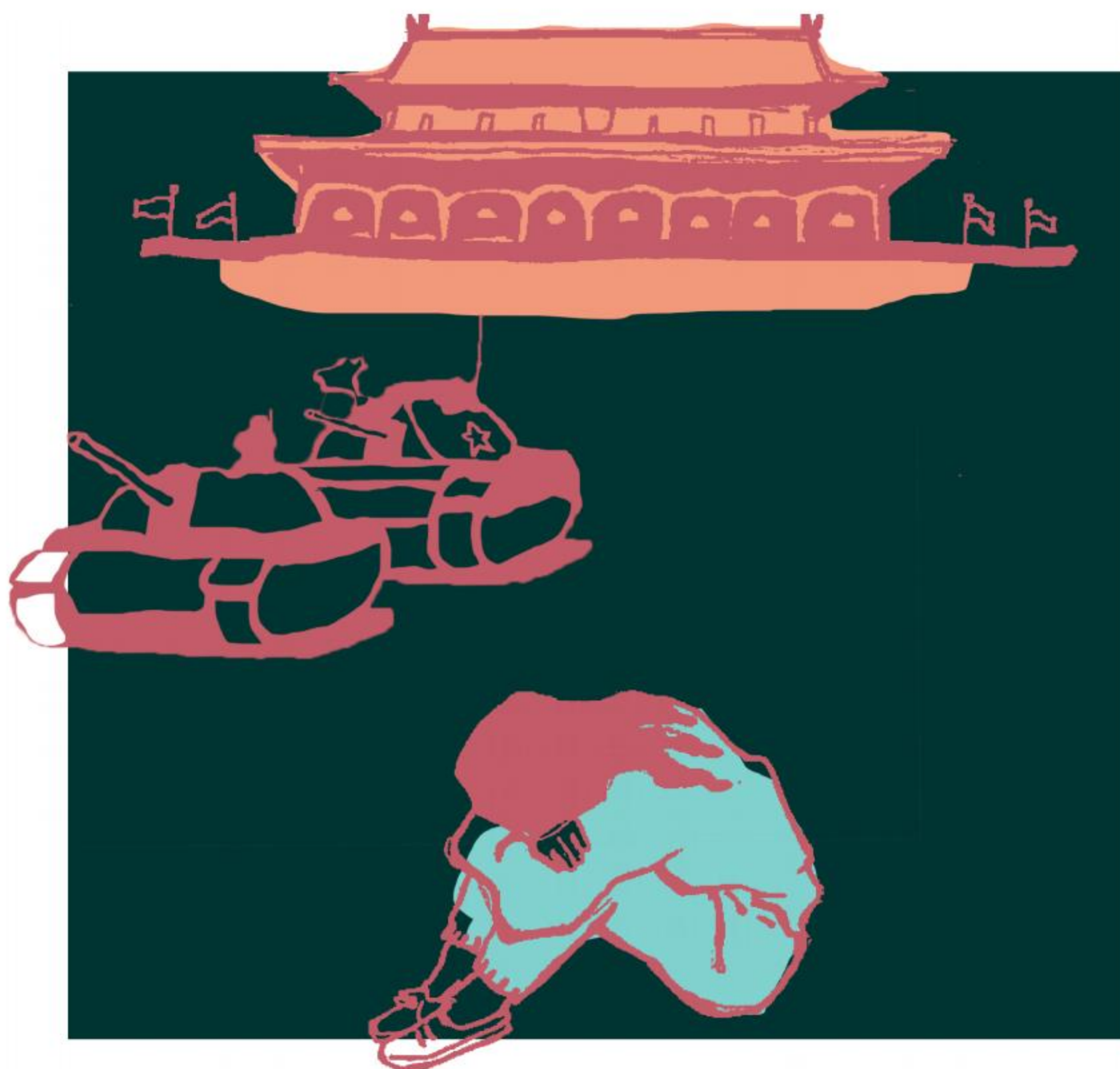 for their role in the mass-murder of what was once the largest Jewish population in Europe. Therefore, Lithuania have justified their collaboration with the Germans through their self-defining victim status, and their claim that their involvement was to persecute those who had victimised their nation; the Soviet Union and the Jews.

The history of Lithuania's collaboration in the near annihilation of its own Jewish population, and its ongoing justification of its role, questions our understanding of persecution and justice. In the eyes of the Lithuanian nationalists, the collaborators were the heroic protectors of Lithuania's right to freedom. They saw themselves not as perpetrators, but as victims of the oppressive Soviet Union seeking justice for their nation. However, as has been challenged by the Defending History movement since 2012, Lithuania cannot continue to overlook their role in the Holocaust, nor to continue justifying the mass-murder of their Jewish neighbours as being anti-Soviet. There has been a growing demand from the Jewish international community and historians of Jewish history for Lithuania to take responsibility for its role in the Holocaust. Whilst this movement is relatively recent in its formation, it has highlighted the ongoing national censorship of Lithuania's role in the Second World War, and their reluctance to research or promote an alternative version of their national history. One that would acknowledge the Jewish population as victims of genocide rather than as allies of the Soviet Union. It is clear that there is a blurred line between the victimisation of Lithuania during the Soviet era and their perpetration of genocide against the Jews. One that has been exacerbated by the 'Double Genocide' theory created in post-independence Lithuania. Therefore, Lithuania must accept the calls for a further revision of their role in the Holocaust and take responsibility for the persecution of 95 per-cent of its Jewish population in their fight for justice against the Soviet Union.

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AIMÉE FLETCHER

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Finding Justice in Tiananmen Square

Justice is difficult to define. This is mainly because we live in a world where defining a concept such as 'justice' means trying to quantify it. How will justice be served? Arrests, executions and testimonies? Is there any form of punishment which will feel sufficient to compensate for the injustice committed? The search for justice is further complicated when the party responsible for persecuting a group of people is the government itself. One example is the reaction the government of the People's Republic of China had on 4 June 1989. In China, it is known as the 'June Fourth Incident' and to foreign powers, 'The Tiananmen Square Massacre'.

Between April and June 1989 there were a series of protests in favour of freedom of speech and the press and against corruption. Disturbances took place in Shanghai, Nanjing, Chengdu, Xi'an and over 100 other cities across the country, eventually culminating in a mass protest in Beijing which ended with the deaths of thousands of civilians. Officially, the government has claimed that they did not have tear gas, and so were 'forced' to take more aggressive measures and decided to send tanks and machine guns to shut down the protesters. The main group of protesters were students, but they were supported by discontented workers who wanted to push for political reform. Despite the large scale of the event, there is a culture of silence

surrounding it. Every year at the beginning of June, plain clothes policemen patrol the square to ensure that no crowds gather to commemorate the event. Censorship is so effective that most young people only find out about the event if they go to university and even then, they are not told the details of the protest.

By choosing what the public remembers and controlling the country's view of history, the government is able to manipulate how the country remembers the persecution of its own people. Despite silencing the public in order to suppress any other form of protest, the government needs the public to remember the consequences of insurrection. Therefore, the incident is not memorialised in schools, but university students find out as an ominous deterrent against attempting to go against the current. The government wants citizens to remember the power of suppression but not the individuals who died or the causes they died for.

Silence is a form of persecution. Enforcing silence denies the families of the victims and the bystanders of the events the opportunity to grieve. How can a country heal from trauma if they do not have the chance to process events? There will even be soldiers who regret their actions and are unable to deal with what they did because there is a culture of silence. This creates further divides within Chinese society as the country is not able to move forward and progress united. Perhaps the first step towards justice would be granting civilians the ability to live

without fear of persecution in acknowledging and remembering the details of the traumatic event and the people who fell victim to oppression.

However, some groups of people have demanded answers. One group is the Tiananmen Mothers, a social justice group founded by mothers who lost children and husbands in the massacre. Founded in September 1989 by Ding Zilin (丁子霖), the mothers have a list of five demands: the right to mourn publicly, the right to accept humanitarian aid from organisations inside and outside of China, freedom of speech for the victims, the release of the participants who are still in prison and a full, public investigation. They also call on the government to name the dead, which reveals how families continue to seek justice for the individuals who died. By naming the victims, they are actively remembering them, which means that the government is not successful in silencing them. Ding Zilin is allowed to march around Tiananmen Square, but must be guarded by policemen. Every June she is put under house arrest during the anniversary, in case her presence sparks further protests. This further highlights the government's need to control history and regulate how the public remembers its actions.

It is important to consider that for witnesses of events, sometimes forgetting is more curative than remembering. For them, the pursuit of justice almost 30 years after the events could open wounds which have taken so long to mend. This complicates the meaning of justice. Does justice mean

merely acknowledging the dead or does it extend beyond victims the government directly targeted? 'Victim' could encapsulate the family members of those who died and the witnesses of the massacre. Just as there is more than one type of victim, there is also more than one form of justice. For some, justice takes the form of having the right to forget. It therefore obscures the path to moving forward, as there can be a conflict between people who disagree on what the next step should be.

Nonetheless, not only is there a lack of justice for the individual protesters involved, but for the nation as a whole, which continues to be undercut by political divisions which deepen with each step the government takes to censor its people. Perhaps the government now fears justice. Allowing people to search for answers and question the government's actions could lead to the unravelling of decades of a carefully constructed narrative. The search for justice has the power to reveal the weakness and vulnerability of suppressive regimes.

ANNA NICOL

An Inconvenient Shadow

Where does the boundary between journalism, literature, and activism lie? Activist journalists and citizen journalists abound in the contemporary world. This is especially the case where access to the free press is constrained, in the midst of revolutions – as has happened in Egypt and Syria – or in war zones, where only locals can get in the way of bullets. However, this kind of journalism is not new, and certainly did not only start with the boom of digital media. A long-time debate between mainstream media

outlets and these 'lone-wolves' has shaped the profession of journalism from the early-twentieth century. When emotions and personal beliefs interfere with reporting, transforming the by-standing reporter into part of the story, journalism is compromised. Currently, there is an urgent need to stick to the facts and evidence, as these words are dubbed as dubious by people who dislike its content. However important it is for reporters to stick to the facts in order to relay the truth, we ought not disregard the power of activist journalists, as their voices are

often more potent and echo for much longer.

Activist journalists gained traction in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century and were named 'Muckrakers', a term coined by president Theodore Roosevelt, who believed that this type of press was taking a step too far in their reporting. The Muckrakers – or investigative reporters – were a growing group of journalists concerned with denouncing corruption, abuses towards American workers, and other scandals that went

unnoticed. One of the most renowned Muckrakers was John Kenneth Turner, an American journalist born in Portland, Oregon in 1879. He adventured through the Mexican revolution in 1910 both as a reporter, and, briefly, as a combatant. Turner's first encounter with Mexican revolutionaries was in the Los Angeles Council Jail in 1908 – two years before the outbreak of the revolution – where he interviewed four prisoners, one of them being Ricardo Flores Magón, leader of the Liberal Party (Partido Liberal de México). Turner was told about the enslavement and oppression Mexican peons were facing in the haciendas, which were owned by foreign corporations. The testimony of the prisoners was followed by a burgeoning interest from American socialists in the situation of Mexican peons. One such socialist was the publicist John Murray, who travelled to Mexico with funds from a wealthy Bostonian woman called Elizabeth Darling Trowbridge. Murray wrote about the situation of peons in an article for the International Socialist Review, entitled 'Mexico's Peon-Slaves Preparing for Revolution'.

John Kenneth Turner travelled to Mexico in order to investigate Murray's findings. He disguised himself as a businessman, a prison officer and even a hospital inspector to aid his undercover reporting in the Peninsula of Yucatan – where most of the haciendas were located. Turner returned again to Mexico in 1909 upon request of the editors of the American Magazine, where he masqueraded as a tennis player and sports correspondent for the Mexican Herald and mingled with the elites. The first part of his book Barbarous Mexico was published in October that same year. In this compilation of stories, Turner not only denounced the American government as guilty for slavery in Mexico, but he also exposed his literary approach to journalism. His style was refined, and his accounts of facts could be read as pieces of literature – something his critics argued diminished the veracity of his writing. He was charged with leaving sources unnamed, mixing facts and figures, and exaggerating about the situation in Mexico. At this point, however, Turner was already a part of the story.

Pressure mounted over the American Magazine about the publication of Barbarous Mexico and the stories vanished from its pages. Several American publications, such as the Bankers Magazine, Moody's Magazine and the liberal-leaning Cosmopolitan denounced Turner's stories as libellous and fictive. The media war against Turner was part of Mexico's soon-to-be overthrown Porfirio Diaz's soft power influence over American corporations afraid of losing their assets in Mexico. However, shortly afterwards, Barbarous Mexico was revived on the pages of Appeal to Reason – the biggest socialist publication in America – and it turned out to be a highly relevant compilation of articles in understanding the causes of Mexico's revolution. Throughout his journalistic career, Turner rallied against American interventionism in Mexico as well as its complacency with the deplorable situation peons were suffering under the Diaz government. He even addressed a crowd in Los Angeles in 1910, declaring that taking up arms was the only solution to Mexico's problems.

'The profession of journalism is facing a turning-point, as its business model is becoming outdated and less people trust the traditional media sources.'

John Kenneth Turner's passionate involvement with his story is said to undermine objectivity. However, throughout the twentieth century, many journalists followed the same approach. Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuściński – war correspondent in Africa, Central America and the former Soviet Union – centered his stories around his own person and was subject to similar criticisms as Turner was. Kapuściński is still, however, an inspiration for many young journalists around the world. Similarly, Kenzaburō Ōe's Hiroshima Notes (1965) depicts a post-nuclear bombed city through interviewing the survivors. Ōe, again, was an integral part of the story. Italian journalist Roberto Saviano's Gomorra (2006) and Zero, Zero, Zero (2013) have also been criticised for breaching the boundaries of journalism and literature in his accounts of the Italian mafia and the Colombian and Mexican cartels. What all of these journalists have in common – aside from being excoriated for their style – is that they present themselves as an inconvenient shadow for mainstream media. They did not follow the codes of conduct and traditional standards of journalism. They broke several rules in the pursuit of their stories and this almost recklessly necessitated their taking part in them. They acted alone and were frequently at odds with the biggest media outlets in the world.

Great journalism originates from a passion for the story. Turner's Barbarous Mexico is an important source for historians studying the first steps of twentieth century American interventionism and Kapuściński's books are first-person accounts of the outbreaks of many wars. The profession of journalism is facing a turning-point, as its business model is becoming outdated and less people trust the traditional media sources. Establishing facts and following the best standards of investigative journalism are paramount to the progression of a news story. However, activist journalism is not to be diminished or frowned upon, as many of its enthusiasts have shown that nothing can break their fierce and devoted commitment to the story.

LUIS MONROY

The Beginnings of Justice: The Story and Influence of the Magna Carta

Perhaps when we today think of the Magna Carta (Great Charter) we think of a solid almost mythical foundation text for societies which prize justice, liberty, and the rule of law. Whilst the Magna Carta has certainly taken on this aura and become symbolic of these things down the ages, its origins are a little humbler. It was, essentially, a practical peace treaty between King John of England and his rebellious barons, designed to appease the latter and other special interest groups who had grievances against the king. So how did this charter come about, what influences did it have and why has it become so symbolic? These questions I propose to briefly explore here.

In considering the reasons leading to the writing of the Magna Carta, we can only start with King John, or 'Bad King John' as he has been known, who reigned as king of England between 1199 and 1216. The son of Henry II (r. 1135-1189) and brother of Richard the

Lionheart (r. 1189-1199) John was a poor leader. He had a special talent for annoying his nobles and barons; his penchant for womanising with their wives being a particular sore spot. In the wider duties of kingship, he was no more successful.

John came into conflict with Pope Innocent III over the latter's preferred candidate for Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, leading to John's excommunication and England being placed under interdict between 1208 and 1214. Eventually, John relented and England accepted papal overlordship in 1213. John's exploitative money-grabbing annoyed his barons too, but the final blow to John's credibility came in 1214 during a campaign in France.

Prior to this, John had already lost many of his French holdings including Normandy, and his campaign in 1214, for which he extracted more money from the barons, was a complete failure. He had already faced whispers of rebellion from barons in 1212 and this final failure in France unleashed all the frustration felt against the king and his power which went back before John's reign. The barons wanted change and they were willing to fight for it.

The barons rebelled against John and managed to take London with the help of disgruntled citizens, meaning that the king, whose army was made up of mostly mercenaries, had no choice but to negotiate – the war could not now be won. It was agreed that the parties would meet at Runnymede to negotiate, a safe, traditional meeting space for such events.

The scene at Runnymede must have been spectacular: hundreds of barons with thousands of knights probably occupied the town and encamped themselves. Certainly, John felt uncomfortable enough to ride back to Windsor each night instead of staying at Runnymede. Nonetheless, negotiations went ahead between 15-19 June 1215 with the Articles of the Barons the core of the discussions – these listed the grievances of the rebels. Bishops, including Langton, most likely acted as important go-betweens.

In the end, John approved the first Magna Carta with his great seal, and a radical document it was. Filled with articles dedicated to appeasing special interest groups (such as London merchants) it also declared grander principles – most notably the right to justice of all 'free men' (though of course, this was a group limited in size in 1215) and the freedom of the church and the cities, particularly London. Most radical of all, the document

created a permanent council of 25 barons who were to ensure the upholding of the charter and who could disobey the king and seize his property if he betrayed its principles. Remarkably, rebellion against the crown was therefore sanctioned as legitimate. Such radicalism mixed in with such local concerns as fish weirs on the Thames makes the Magna Carta an odd read indeed.

Alas, John, as ever deceitful, had the charter annulled by the Pope, as feudal overlord of England, ten weeks later. Thus the Magna Carta failed as a peace treaty – civil war erupted in England once more with the barons inviting the heir to the French throne, Prince Louis, to take the throne of England. Once more disproving the myth that 1066 was the last foreign invasion of England, Louis and the rebels took over much of the country. Luckily, perhaps, John died in the midst of this war of dysentery, in 1216, and his infant son Henry III was proclaimed king. With a new king on the throne and an edited reissue of the Magna Carta by his regents, the rebellion was quelled.

The Magna Carta was reissued in definitive form, in return for a tax, in 1225, bearing the great seal of Henry III. This version is the one promulgated ever since and was edited, removing threatening items such as the one establishing a baronial council to keep the king to account. Nonetheless, it established the rule of law more firmly than ever before and placed the king under the auspices of law, constraining his ability to use arbitrary power.
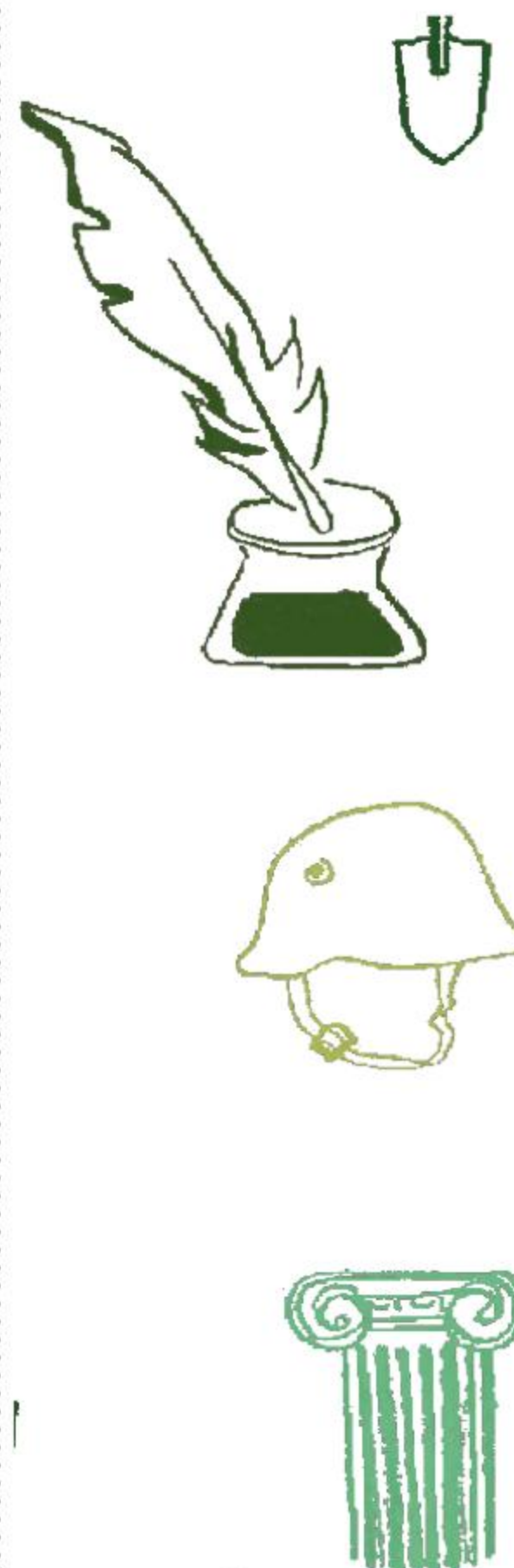
Since 1225, the Great Charter has had a long afterlife. It is echoed in the US Bill of Rights, the European Convention of Human Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and three of its clauses, most notably the one on free men's rights to justice, are still in law today in Britain. It was used as a tool of propaganda against Charles I in the seventeenth century and was enshrined in the constitutions of many colonies in North America, and is on the statute books in its entirety in 17 US states. It was also looked to by Commonwealth countries drawing up their own constitutions in the wake of decolonisation in the 1950s. Ideas such as 'habeas corpus' came out of interpreting and reinterpreting the Magna Carta and it has proved malleable in its uses down the centuries.

Therefore, though there were other charters on the continent at the time of the Magna Carta dealing with ruler-subject relations, the Magna Carta was singular in its situation and has been uniquely felt and reinterpreted

throughout the skein of English, British, European and global history and contains some of the most striking affirmations of justice in world history.

Originating as a peace treaty with amusingly local references and an attack upon royal persecution it has grown far beyond that into a totemic symbol of liberty, justice and the rule of law, despite the repeal of the majority of its articles in Britain – thus, we owe much of the benefits of modern liberal societies to this document and as such it deserves to be studied and remembered widely.

DANIEL SHARP

Fog in August:
The Neglected Stories of the Holocaust

Fog in August (Nebel im August) is a German film written and directed by Kai Wessell and released in 2017. It is based on the investigative journalist Robert Domes's biography of Ernst Lossa (1929-1944) and it reflects well on the imagined experiences of the German Yenish boy who was institutionalised and murdered under the National Socialist regime. Fog in August relays the events of the Holocaust through highlighting untold stories of physically and mentally ill people under the Third Reich, who were committed to institutions through the Nazi euthanasia programme.

From 1933, Nazi legislation enshrined racial pseudo-science, allowing the rationalised murder of innocent people. Laws such as the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935 – although not the starting point of the Nazi's attacks on 'internal' enemies to the 'Aryan race' – illustrate the conviction that the character Dr Veithausen shows towards systematically killing in the name of perceived racial progress.

The film is not complete darkness. Sister Sophia (a pious nurse implicated in the early euthanasia killings) is disgusted and objects to the deaths of innocent people. Her character reflects civilian objections to the killings – people who were uncomfortable with the murder of large groups of people. The charismatic young characters Ernst and Nandl – as well as Sister Sophia and her attempts to save the condemned children – offer a glimpse of light in such a dark, yet necessary, movie.

However, the likely murders of those in the sanatorium is ever present. Fog in August does not fail in capturing Ernst's death in a respectable, yet nonetheless frank and moving way. His death is not over-dramatised or sentimental, and the murder is explicit yet not physically shown. Ernst's death is a realistic conclusion, reminding viewers that while it is often appealing to tell survival stories of the Holocaust, these are exceptional cases.

Fog in August not only respectfully deals with a sensitive subject, but it also raises several important questions for historians to consider. Foremost is that of the differing collective memories of events. We are taught about the unspeakable horrors of the murders of European Jews, yet school textbooks have until very recently neglected to include information about the Roma and Sinti, disabled people and those on the fringes of society – groups who were also victims of Nazi genocidal crimes. As the study of history increasingly utilises and understands 'collective memory', it becomes ever more useful in present political and social circumstances. This is the case concerning European Roma and Sinti populations, who face discrimination not unlike the rhetoric seen prior to the Holocaust.

Fog in August therefore highlights how some groups – not necessarily for malicious political reasons – are not considered in commemoration efforts of historical metanarratives. Collective memory therefore has significant impact on the current lives of groups such as the Roma and Sinti (and Yenish) in Europe, who experience such trauma as violent attacks, exclusionary policies, and Holocaust denial.

The film also highlights the issue of coming to terms with the past. This is an important aspect of the German reflection on their own history and their collective memory of the Holocaust – which is becoming even more important as the last generation with lived experience is slipping away. Fog in August raises the question of what constitutes 'commemoration'. Arguably, anything which Pierre Nora describes as a leuix de memoire, that makes us stop and remember a time, place, or group of people, is commemorative. This is a debate that escapes the limitations of this review but is worth considering the next time you watch Schindler's List or Titanic.

The film Fog in August is available on Amazon Prime with English subtitles.

PETA STAMPER

Ancient Grief and Modern Injustice in Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri

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