ABNORMALITY

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S LETTER

When I first joined Retrospect, the pandemic was in full swing. Everything was online. It is safe to say that COVID-19 was the largest disruption many of us had ever experienced to our lives, and it has not gone away. Despite this, in the last few years the world has struggled to move back to the way things were before—back to "normal", or at least the closest approximation of it we can muster. And as we try to move on, preferring to ignore the damage that has been done, this new normal has left countless people behind.

Normality always does. It is a set of rules that, by definition, some people are excluded from. Across history, definitions of normality have shifted to match the times, but those who do not fit have been forced to the sidelines, disadvantaged, or made invisible. Therefore, I am delighted to present to you our newest print journal, on the theme "Abnormality," to bring these people's stories and struggles to light.

The articles in this edition span across time and space, with each society defining the normal and the abnormal in its own way. We begin with definitions of disability in Ancient Greece, and we finish on present day politicians who break the norm for their own gain. While this journal cannot hope to speak for or to every person who has ever felt abnormal, I am incredibly proud of the range of topics represented. It is particularly exciting that art came to have such a prominent focus. From literature written by leprosy patients to art made by queer artists during the AIDS crisis, we see time and again how those construed as abnormal have still found ways to tell their own stories.

Of course, none of this would have been possible without our Contributors. Another change over the last few years is that Retrospect has grown enormously—this print journal is twice the length of our previous one! I am constantly blown away by the passion and dedication of all the team, whether they write for our website, contributed to this journal, or work behind the scenes to copy edit articles until they are at their best. I must also thank to the illustrators who have made this journal so beautiful. And more than anything, I thank the Senior Editorial Team: Naomi Wallace, Alicia Webb, Georgia Smith, Tristan Craig, Dalma Roman, and Sam Marks. The work you all do cannot be overstated. I am so grateful to work with such a wonderful team.

Finally, I must thank you. Thank you for supporting Retrospect and reading our work. I hope you enjoy reading "Abnormality"—and I hope, if you have ever been made to feel abnormal, that in these pages you feel seen.

Happy reading!

Ailsa Fraser
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH
School of History, Classics and Archaeology

SOCIETY UPDATES

It's been amazing to have the opportunity to be the Archaeology Society President this last semester, and I'd like to take a moment to celebrate all the hard work our committee put in and all the fun events we held! We started our year off with a packed and exciting Welcome Week where we held three events: an archaeology hike in Holyrood Park, our particularly popular artefact cleaning event, and our annual scavenger hunt in the city! Our normal weekly programming of events began, with our Monday dig at the Cammo estate, Wednesday coffee mornings, and Thursday evening lecture series and pub visits. Semester 1 held some other very exciting moments including trips to Craigmillar Castle and Linlithgow Palace, welcoming our First Year Representative Emily and Postgraduate Representative Lydia at our EGM, tour of the exhibition space in the Main Library, merchandise sale, Christmas Dinner, trip to the Edinburgh Dungeons, Black History Walking Tour, and much more! Thank you to anyone who attended these events, I truly loved having the opportunity to meet you all and hope we created a welcoming atmosphere for you.

Looking forward, ArchSoc will be continuing our normal range of events in semester 2, including our coffee mornings, lecture series, Cammo dig, and Historic Environment Scotland site visits. We are looking forward to expanding our event programme in semester 2! On February 17-18 we will be attending the Scottish Student Archaeology Conference, held this year at Glasgow University. We will also be celebrating LGBTQ+ History Month this February, and our Equality and Inclusion Officer Jayden is currently hard at work planning a programme of events to celebrate this, including a visit to Lavender Menace Queer Books Archive! This March will bring our annual Fieldwork and Careers Fair, where students and members have the opportunity to network with potential employers and look for summer fieldwork or internship opportunities. Late semester 2 will also see our events celebrating Women in Heritage, so keep an eye on our social media or sign up for our newsletter to receive updates on that event!

I'd like to take the opportunity to extend a great 'thank-you' to everyone who has helped contribute to such a great semester for ArchSoc. First, thank you to the amazing ArchSoc Committee: Kara, Harriet, Jayden, Maja, Moya, Eva, Emily, Lydia, Paulina, Jonathan, Ben, Hollie, and Elizabeth B. I am so grateful for all your hard work this semester. I'd also like to thank everyone who has come along to ArchSoc events this semester again; all your enthusiasm and friendliness contribute to making ArchSoc the welcoming community that it is!

I'd also like to thank the Edinburgh Archaeological Field Society for continuing us to allow to join their archaeological dig at the Cammo Estate every Monday, as well as for allowing us to borrow some of the artefacts from Cammo to use at our Artefact Cleaning events. Thank you as well to the staff in the Archaeology Department for agreeing to collaborate with us on our lecture series this academic year and for the help they provide with our annual Fieldwork Fair. Lastly, I am grateful to Lyn Kane for hosting a very informative cover letter writing workshop for ArchSoc this semester, to Lisa Williams for hosting us on the Black History Walking Tour of Edinburgh this October, and to the Centre for Research Collections for their fascinating tour of the Charles Lyell exhibit in the Main Library!

I feel incredibly lucky to be part of such an enthusiastic society and I'm looking forward to seeing you all once again after the Winter Break!

Elizabeth Coleman
PRESIDENT
Archaeology Society

Edinburgh University Classics Society

For more information, visit the EUSA website:
https://www.eusa.ed.ac.uk/activities/view/classicssoc

SOCIETY UPDATES

Building community is the central intention of Edinburgh University History Society in 2023/24. The Committee elected in March recognised the specific challenges facing students: pandemic legacies, a cost of living crisis, industrial action, and more besides. Since then, the Committee has worked hard to build community, recognising continued demand from members and others for opportunities to make meaningful connections at university. There remains much to do, but the Committee is confident that it has made progress this semester; what follows is a sample of those contributions.

As Academic Secretaries, Molly McCaig and Isla McLellan have broadened the Society's offering of academic events from our familiar lecture series – most recently with Dr Wendy Ugolini – to include walking tours and a behind-the-scenes view of the National Library of Scotland. A similar insider's guide event is forthcoming, with the National Museum of Scotland. With *Retrospect Journal*, the History Society is delighted to co-organise the Student Seminar Series on *Glory and Gore*. The series returns in semester 2, and all are welcome to present and attend.

Nyah Priestley and Kirsty Ross-Oliver have led on the Society's social calendar, with the Winter Ceilidh at Ghillie Dhu the highlight of the semester. Regular social events at Ballie Ballerson have created opportunities for members to meet in a more relaxed setting – in this case, a ball pit – with more events to look forward to next semester. The Summer Ball, in particular, is eagerly anticipated.

Student Experience Officers Daniel Ferguson and Freya Wilson led on the Society's 125th anniversary drinks reception, celebrating community over a longer period. Fortnightly coffee mornings in the HCA UG Common Room continue to provide space for members to take a study break and chat with others about university life. Careers events this academic year draw on expertise from the Careers Service and the alumni network, to give members tips for the world of work beyond ongoing degree programmes.

Returning as Trip Officers after last year's sojourn in Milan, Olivia Fiorillo and Chelsea Laurik are bringing the History Society over the border to Vienna during Flexible Learning Week in February. This follows a day trip to Stirling Castle this semester, with planning for more day trips underway for semester 2, to offer members a more affordable trip experience through the History Society.

Joining the Committee part-way through semester 1, First Year Undergraduate Representatives Olivia Laughton and Gabrielle Yurin, and Postgraduate Representatives Divya Sharma and Robert Todesco have settled into their roles, attending to the specific interests of two important parts of the History Society community. *Little Women* was the choice for a First Year UG film night, with study sessions and socials expected for next semester. Acknowledging the challenges facing postgraduate students has brought Divya and Rob to organise a Postgraduate Ceilidh next semester, alongside trips and coffee mornings. The History Society seeks to be a place for all students, regardless of degree programme or level of study.

Sports Captains continue History Society activity in Netball, Rugby, and Men's and Women's Football. Bringing like-minded students together has produced success in intramural leagues. Inter-team socials, and a friendly at the end of November, contributed to recognition as EUSU Team of the Week. These teams provide great opportunities to play friendly sport with less commitment than more competitive leagues; all are welcome to get involved.

Finally, I record my personal thanks to Jane Pawlowicz and Logan Breckon. As Secretary and Treasurer, respectively, they have given a fantastic amount of time and effort in managing the Society's administration and finances. Leading the History Society with them has been a treat. Do join us for a second semester of events.

Joshua MacRae
PRESIDENT
Edinburgh University History Society

DEFINING DISABILITY: FROM ANCIENT GREECE TO THE MODERN DISABILITY RIGHTS MOVEMENT

KATE JENSEN

Disability, as a highly individualized experience, can be difficult to define. Still, many public institutions have endeavored to define the term, creating both the protections and barriers that define the lives of people with disabilities today. The United Kingdom defines disability in the Equality Act of 2010, stating:

> "A person (P) has a disability if— (a) P has a physical or mental impairment, and (b) the impairment has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on P's ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities." — United Kingdom Equality Act of 2010

A close reading of this definition reveals a common idea about how disability is conceptualized today—as a deviation from the norm. However, the concept of normality is a relatively new one, only emerging in the nineteenth century. To fully understand the way that we define disability today, and how this definition impacts the lives of people living with disabilities, it can be helpful to look back at the origin of the term normality—and the ideas that preceded it.

Disability in the Ancient World

Visible and invisible disabilities existed long before the term normality was coined, let alone applied to people. In even the earliest works of western literature, such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, people with both congenital and acquired disabilities are depicted in all levels of society. These people served as kings, warriors, citizens, women, and enslaved people, among other roles. In her 2002 book*, The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*, M.L. Rose suggests that Ancient Greeks did not think of disability as a category of people who "were a priori banned from carrying out certain roles and compartmentalized into others." To the modern mind, these conditions may make the ancient

world sound like a much more idyllic and accepting society than our own. However, the absence of "normality" as a concept does not mean that differences between people were not considered and equated with a person's worth. As Jane Draycott points out in her 2022 book, *Prosthetics and Assistive Technology in Ancient Greece and Rome*, "an individual who lost a body part was considered mutilated (*kolobos* in Greek, *colobos* in Latin) and thus curtailed and incomplete."

This harsh viewpoint extended beyond the loss of body parts. Individual health was often tied up with morality in the ancient world. In Ancient Greece, in particular, a prevailing idea was the mutability of the human condition. From its earliest texts, Greek literature shows mortals enduring twists of fate and downfalls often following displays of qualities unfavorable to the gods — hubris, greed, solitude, lack of hospitality, etc. If a person was ill, injured, disabled, or otherwise did not measure up to the societal idea, it was frequently considered a personal failing.

The Creation of the Norm

The moralization of health was an enduring idea. It lasted through the development of Hippocratic, "modern," medicine in the fifth century BCE and other medical advancements that came much later. Even by the time the concept of normality was created and began to be applied to health, echoes of this bias against those with visible and invisible differences were still clearly extant.

The concept of normality is a relatively recent one. In his introduction to *The Disability Studies Reader*, Leonard J. Davis points out that the word "normal," as it is currently used, only came into use around 1840, and the word "norm" followed just a few years later in 1855. These words, and others like them, entered the medical field as borrowed jargon from the field of mathematics during the eugenics movement

in nineteenth century England.

Sir Francis Galton is credited with beginning the eugenics movement. He was an English scientist and a cousin to Charles Darwin. After reading Darwin's *Origin of Species*, he became obsessed with the idea that "it might be possible to improve the human race through selective breeding" (Gilham, 2001). From this idea, Galton turned to statistics, attempting to define a range of normality and abnormality for each physical and mental characteristic.

Galton attempted to create the first intelligence test, which has since been replaced by the IQ test—which creates a bell curve, or normal distribution, of human intelligence levels.

Since the nineteenth century, normal distributions have also been embraced by the medical field. They are now used to measure everything from height to blood composition, with "normal" almost invariably meaning "healthy." As Davis notes, "[w]hen we think of bodies, in a society where the concept of the norm is operative, then people with disabilities will be thought of as deviants."

Normality and Conceptual Models of Disability

The nineteenth-century eugenics movement lasted on how the medical field categorizes individuals. Additionally, because people with disabilities often require higher levels of medical care than those without disabilities, it is relatively
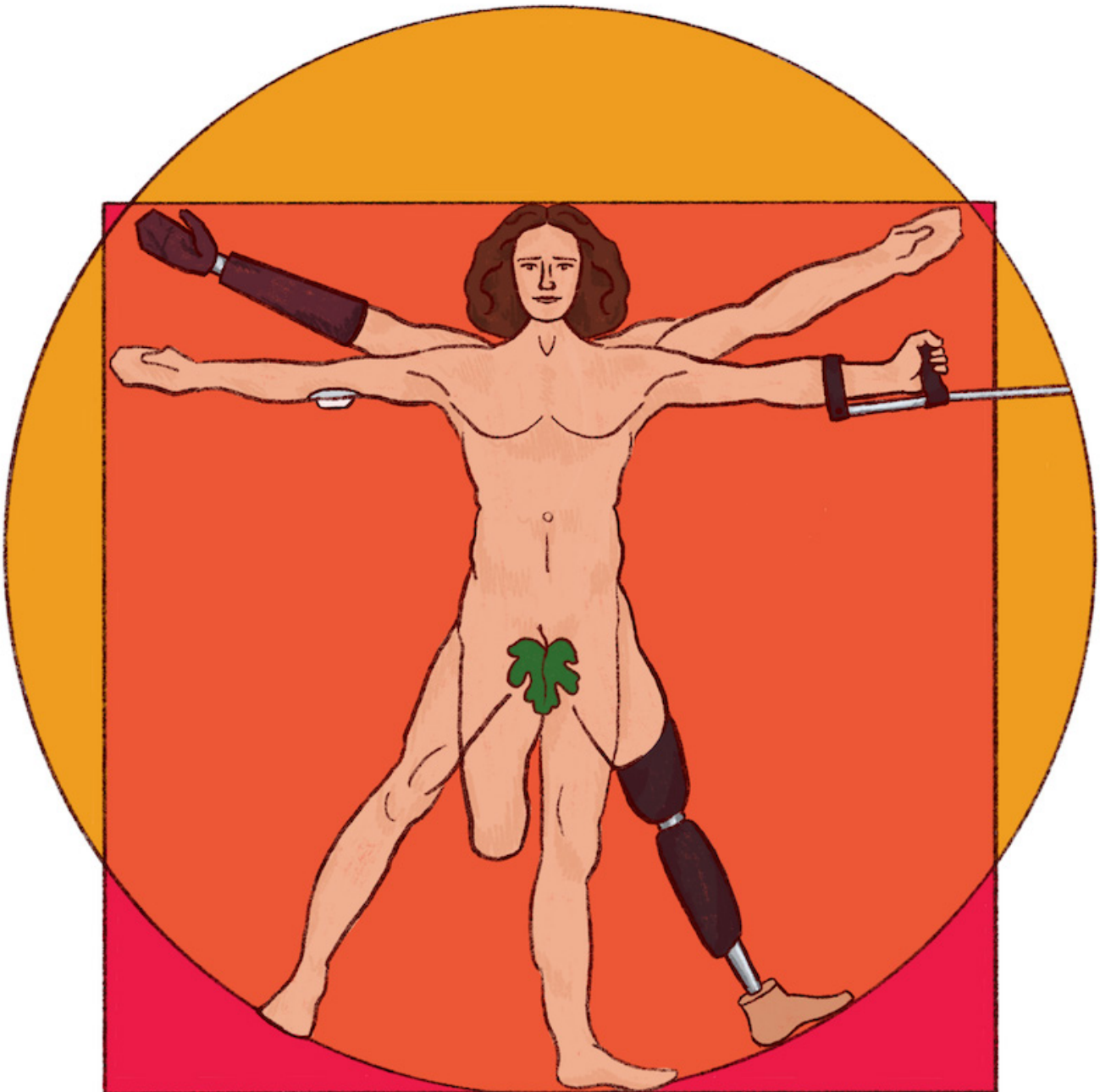
ILLUSTRATION BY AOIFE CÉITINN

easy to see how the concept of disability has become reliant on ideas of normality and abnormality.

The medical model of disability is one framework for understanding disability, and it aligns closely with this medical understanding of normality and abnormality. The medical model assumes that disabilities are primarily medical issues — things that can be managed, treated, or cured through medical intervention.

However, as disability activists and scholars have pointed out, the medical model has several shortcomings. The model assumes that all people with disabilities need specific medical treatment, care, or recommendations and that all issues that people with disabilities face because of their conditions are medical issues. In her 1999 book, *Exile and Pride: Disability, Queerness and Liberation*, Eli Clare succinctly explained the fallacy of these two assumptions:

> "My [cerebral palsy] simply is not a medical condition. I need no specific medical care, medication, or treatment for my CP; the adaptive equipment I use can be found in a computer catalog, not a hospital. … The disability rights movement, like other social change movements, names systems of oppression as the problem, not individual bodies. In short it is ableism that needs the cure, not our bodies." (Clare, 105-106)

Early disability rights groups, inspired by the civil rights movements of the 1960s, considered these shortcomings and developed a new model for understanding the perceived "abnormality" or "deviancy" of disability, known as the social model. The social model argues that disability is a social category that people with impairments are forced into. As Davis mentions in a chapter of *The Disability Studies Reader*, the social model is a model of disability based upon civil rights suggests that people with disabilities are "not plagued by God nor beset by disease," but are merely minority citizens whose rights are overlooked and oppressed by an ableist majority.

Looking forward

The social model formed the basis for the modern disability rights movement. This movement has led to meaningful advancements in the protections available for disabled people in the workplace, in schools, and in other areas of society. Still, there is always more work to be done. As long as the concept of "abnormality" remains a large part of the way that disabilities are defined and categorized, additional questions will remain. Where does normality begin and end? Can disabilities exist within the range of normality? And, above all, why are we defining people by their normality in the first place?

THE ABNORMAL UNIVERSE: HOW ONE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHER LOOKED BEYOND THE GODS AND TO THE STARS

EDITH MARTELL

Stand on the edge of the universe beside me and look beyond it. In the palm of your hand, you will find nothing, and you will go on reaching forever. Or you will find something. Either way, you will not have found an end.

'The universe is an infinite as the atoms that make up you and I,' I say, and you reply without words. A breath in that closely held silence.

'The universe is as never-ending as the Void,' I say. In this metaphor, you are either Odysseus or Orpheus. You want to go home, but you cannot look back. I give you a spear and

you know what to do with it. You have seen the prophets declare a fallen kingdom's peace, and you move your arm back in imitation throw. Along the line of your shoulder, you feel the strain as you heft it. The blade is dull in the starlight and in ten thousand other universes you do the same. Now there are two paths split before you like a broken bone.

Either this spear will move, or it won't. In this metaphor you are Penelope or Eurydice, and you want to go home. The weight of an army is behind you, ready to invade, the weight of the spear is in your hand. In this case, to conquer and kill. It is what the blade was made for, after all. It is not your fault, this declaration of death, but it is someone's. In your mind, you watch from the sidelines as Jove's eagle, and you cough. In this universe it is not your fault, though you cannot stop the people beyond the boundary from blaming you.

Just before you go to throw it the trees around us move like water. I point to them. These atoms mean that we are together in as many worlds as we are not. In this one, I can speak to you but in the darkness of the void and the coldness of the stars you cannot see me.

'The universe is as never ending as it is infinite,' I say, and you frown into the space between my words.

I think you mean to say that they are the same thing, that no story is without both a beginning and an end. Even the gods, who divide their attention between the many planes of our existence, were born. And they will die with us, for us, then they will go to their own version of a grave.

'In this world we are not real. In fact,' I say, 'nothing is.' This is a defeatist point of view, especially when I can hold your hand and feel the sun on my face. However, we are close enough to real that you can dream and hope and hold my hand in return. You look bleakly at the corpse of a fir tree that sits to our right among the stars. I look at you. There is a noise as a faint breeze drops the pine to the ground and mixes it with the lichen and the dirt. The atoms that make up the world are too small to grasp for, but in the shaft of golden light that is beside us I can see the cold pieces of life. They camouflage well amidst the trees. The olive and the poplar and the juniper you've dreamed up, so we are not alone, but

I still know they're here and there. Caught in a spider's silk, wrapped around the riverbank. You sit beside me and run a length of ropy ivy between your knuckles. I let myself dream another creature.

This one is tall, with antlers made for fighting and feet for fleeing. I give it your name. Beside it I let the purple bruise of my thoughts spill onto the ground like flowers. I give them my name. We are still at the end of the universe, facing into infinity, but you have put down the spear. It lies behind you and me on the dampened ground. You will have grass stains on the white cotton of your clothes when you stand, and I don't know yet if we will mind. I will miss you when you leave at the end of all things. You will not recognise me when you do.

I turn my mind to something kinder. The heavy burden of pleasure weighs upon you in such a way that you feel like dying, like you are trapped in an ocean refusing to drown its swimmer. To kill the hunger, you must eat. In this life there are two things from which to free yourself: fear and pain. In this life there are two ways to do this. In the future you will be able to stand in broken trainers beneath the acrylic light of a petrol station; close your eyes to the diesel-smell of the air and beneath it, the scent of pine and moss. In this life, in this time, you can walk the grass with bare feet and call out to the cattle along the roadside. You do not know what a stereo is. You do not know what an angel is. You do not know how to open the glass window to the cool of the night and watch the stars. In some other life you will. In some other life I will not be there to guide you, to take the spear from your hand and the scales from your eyes.

It will be a long time until our atoms are together again.

The hardest part is your indifference to this knowledge. You will not bring yourself to understand it in its abnormality. Perhaps in a different time you will, but for now you still believe that the gods care about your men and that you are the only iteration of yourself. I could show you a king, a poet, an angel. I could show you the ocean you breathe in a different life. I could show you the drop of water you are in another. In this way we can prove that ghosts are real.

ILLUSTRATION BY AOIFE CÉITINN

You would not believe me, of course, but I would like to show you. We return to fear. The yellow gold feeling that flares in your chest when the battle sounds ring. You must get rid of it. I can show you how to store it in Pandora's Jar but that is no guarantee it would remain. I can show you how to seal the jar and place it on the highest shelf, how to construct its contents into a weapon if you would rather. But you have that dreadful spear. A shield then, for a hero, flashing justice on the field. Hiding two men, three, from the end of themselves. I can show you how to alloy your pain within the mix, make the copper strands glow red around its rim. Be judge and juror and guilty all at once, if you'd like. We can craft your dagger from its kindness and the hilt from its cruelty.

But again, this spear. It is fallen behind us and I feel its weight upon my back. You must think this fascination ludicrous within this peaceful place, but we need to know if we can move forward through these woods. It is winter now; the sunlight dappled deer is gone, and we are cold.

My voice is rusty from disuse and when I turn to you, I do not know if it the poet or the king who greets me. 'Pick up the spear,' I say, and once again you take my hand.

This is our reckoning, and before me you are one thousand different people. All made up of your infinite atoms. You will remember me only as a dream when you return. You will wake up to me beside you.

I ask you to repeat all that you have learnt, so that you will not forget when I return you to your world. For the first time in this life, I hear your voice. The atoms move around me the same way they moved the trees as we talked.

"Life," you say. And I think you mean it.

The weight of the weapon between us is a breath and it is the truth. You tie your pain and fear to it, and you heft it to your shoulder. You drop my hand to do it and you close your eyes. We are at once in the petrol station and the forest and the fields. You are finite and infinite all at once. You are nothing at all.

I smile at you as you throw it.

'ALL HER WAYS WERE WICKED, ALL HER INSTINCTS DEVILISH': MORGAN LE FAY AND HER CLASSICAL COUNTERPARTS.

ARIANNA NORTH CASTELL

Morgan le Fay is one of the most infamous characters from the world of King Arthur. She is mysterious, powerful and intelligent - but her story is not entirely unique to her. Tales of such women who aid or seek to destroy heroes have been circulating since antiquity, and when examined the resemblance between them is made clear. The debate surrounding the origins of Morgan is a complex one, but rather than examine the likelihood of classical origins in comparison to Irish/Welsh origin theories, this article will simply focus on drawing the connections from the classical sources. It is undoubtable that the authors responsible for creating and developing the character of Morgan were well-versed in classical literature. Her first introduction was in *Vita Merlini* by Geoffrey of Monmouth, where her ability to fly was described as "just like Daedalus with new feathers". Although it is important to note that Latin works would have been more studied and well known by the contemporary authors, the Greek texts that would have influenced the Latin should also not be disregarded.

A key concept that surrounds Morgan and her classical counterparts is the fact that their identities cannot be clearly defined. By ancient standards, characters could be categorised as either gods, demigods, nymphs, monsters and mortals, however the characters previously discussed cannot be defined so easily. Various debates surround both Circe and Calypso, who although possess divine parents are not easily defined as goddesses in their own right. Some identify them as nymphs, however this (especially in regard to Circe) does not fully encapsulate the depth of their power. In the *Odyssey*, they are both referred to as being a "goddess with a human voice", their liminal identities made clear. Medea also has the same intricacies surrounding her identity, although she possesses divine ancestry, in ancient texts she fluctuates from being a goddess (in Hesiod's *Theogony*) to being portrayed as a mortal woman (in the *Argonautica* and arguably Euripides' tragedy). Morgan also exists in this space, not truly a magical

being but not truly mortal either. Religion plays a part in Morgan's fluctuating character - the powers she possessed such as transformation were too powerful to be God-given, therefore she must be learned to acquire such knowledge. As Morgan's character increases her role as a foil to Arthur, her connection to the Devil increases - with one German poet, Harmaan, even stating she had "kin deep in Hell" and giving her the epithet of "goddess". Despite this, Morgan is also called Arthur's sister (something which becomes widely accepted in the canon), and with that her divine status diminishes, gaining her ability in magic through study and Merlin's tutelage. By the time Malory comes to write of Morgan in the fifteenth century, she is given the epithet "le Fay", meaning fairy. For characters with such rich literary histories, it is understandable that some discrepancies in their characters be made. The extent to which their identity is debated, however, is significantly higher than the male characters in the same canons. The inability to define and justify powers of women has proved much more complex in regard to Morgan and her classical parallels.

One aspect of Morgan's early character is the trope of a "luring enchantress", determined to entrap heroes on her island. Although scholars typically agree that Morgan's character in *Vita* is largely benign, there are heavy allusions to this trope in her aid of Arthur. Arthur, wounded, is brought to Avalon to be healed by Morgan, which she states she would be able to do "if he were with her for a long time". Geoffrey's language when describing the scene is rich with conditionals, making it clear that Morgan will aid Arthur on her own terms. Classical characters such as Calypso, Circe and Medea all possess the same stereotype. Whether this is fair to the evidence seen within the texts is a source of debate. Circe, for example, is not seen to actively lure Odysseus to Aiaia - him and his crew stay on the shore of Aiaia for many days before they interact with Circe, and they actively seek her out. When Odysseus says it is time for them to go,

she allows them, offering him advice and sending him on his way. Despite this, her reputation as a desperate, luring enchantress prevails, (see the "Circe effect" when enzymes "lure" their substrate to them). Furthermore, the portrayal of Circe as a love-struck, jealous goddess is prevalent in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (which would have been more known to Geoffrey than the Homeric source). Calypso also suffers from the same stereotype, though wholly more justified than Circe as it takes the urging of Hermes to compel Calypso to release Odysseus. Furthermore, Medea's aid of Jason in his quest for the fleece is provided on the condition she gives to him- that in return, he will marry her. The classical concept of a woman's aid on the condition of companionship is one that has clearly informed Geoffrey's portrayal of Morgan.

The driving force behind the majority of Morgan's actions is love, something she shares with her classical counterparts. A common aspect of what makes these women so villainous is their affiliation with their lovers over their family. This is seen in the *Vulgate Cycle* when Morgan is caught by Guinevere in an adulterous affair with Guiomar (solidifying her role as an antagonist to Guinevere). He is banished from Camelot and Morgan follows him freely, abandoning her role at court and committing to being a foil to Arthur and Guinevere thus. This story is seen before in Medea. From her introduction in the *Argonautica*, she is betraying her family inherently when she decides to aid Jason though this is furthered by her fratricide. She kills her own brother to delay her father in chasing her as she flees with Jason, chopping his body up and dropping the pieces into the ocean so her father has to stop and collect them to give his son a proper burial. Circe does not have the same betrayal of her own family; however, love is certainly a motive for her in her appearances in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. She features three times,

and twice love drives her to curse others. She turns Scylla into a monstrous creature as Glaucus rejects Circe to be with Scylla and turns King Picus into a woodpecker for also not returning her affections. Circe's treatment of Scylla is also echoed in the *Prose Lancelot,* where Morgan attempts to boil a rival noblewoman. These actions of these powerful women are promoted as the result of them being overly emotional or passionate, a trope commonly seen due to the misogyny of their creators - a woman exercising power as the result of

ILLUSTRATION BY AOIFE CÉITINN

careful planning or decision making would be seen to be too masculine. Therefore, love is a motivation that drives both Morgan and her classical parallels.

Morgan's character, despite its various fluctuations, always possesses magical abilities. Whether that be through her connections with the devil or simply a learned skill, this ability unites all her iterations. Furthermore, the type of magic she exercises - using herbs, poisons - is one that is distinctly feminine. This is not a perception that was begun through Morgan's character but can be traced to not just classical literature, but to ancient history as well. Within classical literature, women who possess magic or are *pharmakis* are linked to the idea of gathering herbs and plants to create their magic with. Whether this comes from the hunter-gatherer stereotype, it is undoubtable that such magic was innately feminine. In Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*, Medea is described as using the "herbs of Colchis" and Circe as using the "Perse's magic plants". These plants are then used to execute their magic - Circe poisons Scylla's bathwater with herbs, Medea uses a salve to anoint Jason to protect him and one to cure Atalanta (similar to when Morgan heals Arthur's wound). Outside of mythology, Latin sources such as Tacitus depict women of power as using poison to their will. He famously writes (along with Cassius Dio) that Livia poisoned her husband Augustus so her son Tiberius could be

emperor, along with removing his competitors in a similar way. She is mirrored in Agrippina the Younger, who is said to have poisoned her husband Claudius to make way for her son, Emperor Nero. The trope of powerful female characters using poison and herbs to their own will is a well-established trope in the literary canon, and long standing by the time Morgan's character is being written. In the *Post-Vulgate Cycle*, Morgan attempts to kill Arthur by sending him a poisoned cloak - a story entirely reminiscent of how Medea sends Jason's new wife, Glauce, a poisoned dress. The idea that poison is a woman's weapon is something that unites Morgan and her classical influences, as well as prevailing throughout literature.

The classical influences behind the character of Morgan le Fay are numerous - and are telling of the long-standing narrative surrounding women with power. The links drawn between them make apparent the perception of women as whole throughout history- driven purely by emotion, choosing to act in discreet, manipulative ways. Rather than allowing these women to be powerful and intelligent in their own right, they become tainted by the misogyny of the authors that build upon their characters. However, this does not distract from their merit and quality as characters, as all are the subject of fascination throughout history and in the modern day.

BEYOND 'SOFT' POWER: RETHINKING WOMEN'S INFLUENCE IN MEDIEVAL SOCIETY, A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCUSSION

MATILDE IMPAVIDO

Seldom has gender historiography painted the historical capabilities and accomplishments of women in a favorable light; often relegating their narratives to mere reflections of their male counterparts, never to exist in their own right. This trend is especially conspicuous and raised with increasing frequency in current discourses surrounding women's 'soft' power in medieval societies. In challenging traditional narratives that exclusively attribute power to men, scholars have argued that women in the medieval era

wielded nuanced and passive forms of 'soft' power. However, by categorising women's influence as inherently 'soft', the perspective inadvertently aligns with a hegemonic masculine binary, suggesting that men exclusively held 'hard' power. A crucial aspect of the limitation of this discursive turn in gender historiography lies in recognising how societal norms during this historical period not only shaped but also facilitated the interpretation of abnormality in women's roles. Abnormality is not only perpetuated within the historical moment but is

further entrenched in the interpretation and discursive label of women's 'soft' power of that time.

In medieval societies, the scope of women appeared notably limited, as gender roles were rigorously defined and confined by the structures of the time. Which dictated that the normalised power holder was male and reduced women to secondary roles within the power structures. These societal norms reinforced the perception that anything diverging from these boundaries was abnormal or unusual in comparison to the perceived norm of male dominance. The structural confinement argument aligns with those put forward by Gerda Lerner and Judith Bennett which describe it as a patriarchal system through which women were, and are, subordinate to men. Despite a generalised system in continuously shaping historical narratives, historians have increasingly uncovered instances where women defied societal norms and wielded power. However, the contentious nature in which these experiences are often portrayed perpetuates the misconception that such instances were abnormal rather than commonplace for the time. The abnormality of women's power, therefore, emerges not as a natural state but as a result of societal and historical constructions deliberately defining women's roles as abnormal.

The omission of women from, and inaccuracy of women in, historical narratives is not solely due to the male-centered lens of historians, but also the wrong questions asked about history in relation to women. Focusing on questions unsuitable for understanding women, losing them from the narrative, missing their activities. Hence, rather than asking whether it was abnormal or unusual for women to exercise forms of power in medieval societies, the focus should shift to understand *how* the forms of power existed and *why* certain forms of power could become restricted for women during this period — allowing for a more comprehensive exploration of women's agency throughout history. Emphasising the importance of exemplifying not only women's voices but also their experiences in understanding women's history is crucial in approaches moving forward.

Influenced by perceptions that historically cast women as lacking power, earlier scholarship has considered women exerting forms of authority as abnormal to modern perspectives. However, in doing so our current understanding becomes limited, as it prioritises what historians *say* concerning women exercising power rather than what forms of power women *actually* exerted. The 'soft' power approach has challenged this by emphasising the passivity of women's power, asserting that they were more common, yet labels them as 'soft'. Scholars who raise the argument often tend to segue with troubling readiness into a position that compromises the very traditionalist narrative they seek to challenge: *degendering* the traditional narrative and removing it from its binary state. But doing so has created a further subordinate binary of 'soft' vs. 'hard' power; maintaining a relational approach to the male counterpart. The discursive turn in historiography does not allow for enough distance of the historian to the historical event; deploying subjective meanings that reconstruct the experiences of the time. In doing so, it has relegated women to the background of main events by imposing labels that further limits the studies of women's experiences, focusing predominantly on elite women and leaving gaps for non-Western societies.

Power, as Michel Foucault conceptualises, is "pervasive" and not absolute as it takes several forms. His notion that circumstantial power, beyond direct authoritative force, is relevant as norms of power vary across societies, with spatial, temporal, and social specificity influencing their construction; thus, given the diversity of norms, contextualisation is required as a universal argument cannot encompass a general framework. Leading to a deeper understanding that power was exerted by women in both active and passive forms. The former involving physical positions of authority and women who, through material means, actively challenge gender norms to wield power, especially in political spheres; whereas, the latter encompassed influence acquired through status-enhancing and marital means, operating indirectly and permeating most spheres of medieval societies. Take for example, powerful women in Muslim dynasties during this period, who challenged the preconceived notion that they were devoid of influence. Historians adopting the 'soft' power approach risk viewing these distant societies either as "just like us" or "immeasurably differing from us"; a labelling of abnormality based on contemporary perceptions of women lacking substantial power from that era. In doing so, our current understanding of how women's power was more

commonplace than previously acknowledged narrows since the approach neglects everyday experiences by either having greater emphasis on rare occurrences of power or discounting them altogether.

Subh alBashkunsiyya in al-Andalus (during the Umayyad caliphate), stands out as an example that engaged in commonplace activities normal for the time, but considered abnormal for ours. She was not originally of noble background, but rather the *umm al-walad* (slave) of two leading figures and maneuvered the hierarchical framework to attain full authority alongside al-Hakam al-Mustansir; an instance of how female power could evolve into the sharing of outright power. Concubinage, involving female slaves, was a widespread avenue and source of power for women of Abbasid (750-1258), and Fatimid (909-1171), societies. This source, however, is fraught with controversy and varying interpretations, as although being legally bound to their master's without tangible agency, women could secure freedom upon their masters' death. Concubines secured legal power and financial stability by contributing to the preservation of their masters' lineage, which meant they legally could continue having status and power, exerting it through passive and influential means, demonstrating agency and their capabilities in this period which previous scholarship overlooks.

Considering Subh alBashkunsiyya's circumstance sheds light on how differing interpretations influenced societal perceptions, particularly among popular literature from the time. While satirical literature of the time portrayed concubinage as a means for women to simply earn a living, romantic literature depicted a complex cultural and ethical responsibility, with immense power vested in women to uphold duties to enhance familial identity and wealth. The differing literary interpretations marked a profound change in cultural self-perception, challenging previous norms regarding subordinate identities holding power. Therefore,

one might ask, why do present interpretations, like those of the 'soft' power approach, not mark this change as well?

Joan Scott's insights on gender as a social construct contribute to this understanding, by explaining that societal constructions of gender norms affected perceptions of women's influence in medieval societies. Gendered power dynamics are embedded in these structures and stem from these norms since gender is a relational practice, creating abnormal expectations for women and constraining their perceived power. It affected ability to be perceived as 'normal' in positions of influence, particularly in subsequent historical interpretations.

And so, rejecting the 'soft' power approaches and theory, we must transcend the single-gender system that degenders the historiography, as it is continuously on male-centered terms. It is important to not prioritise or overlook differences among women but to employ an intersectional approach to uncover diverse women's experiences in the past, moving beyond just their silenced voices throughout writing. The new approach reveals that women played a more powerful role in medieval society than previously acknowledged, *normalising* the concept of women holding and exerting power. Further exploration should secure a more objective mindset and take a nuanced understanding of interpretations of abnormality in women's roles and power dynamics. In challenging traditional historiographical views ('soft' power), the new approach can reconcile its contradictory nature, leading to a more accurate representation of women's influence in medieval societies. Perhaps in retrospect, this discussion has not entirely been about the limitations of the discursive turn of gender historiography at all, but about a feminist consciousness, highlighting the persistence of an 'abnormal' interpretation of women — how gendered language perpetuates the subordination of women throughout history and shapes subsequent historical interpretations.

BETWEEN HYSTERIA AND HALLUCINATION: EXPLORING THE MYSTERY OF DANCING MANIA IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN EUROPE

JAKE BEECROFT

In the city of Strasbourg in July 1518, a woman named Frau Troffea began dancing fervently in the streets. Her solo performance continued for a week, and soon, thirty-four others joined her. By August, the number of participants had grown to four hundred, prompting the town to hire a band and stage for the dancers. However, the spectacle took a dark turn as some collapsed, reportedly succumbing to strokes or heart attacks. The dancing plague only subsided when the afflicted individuals were sent to a mountaintop shrine to pray for absolution.

The events over those months in Strasbourg have been marked by historians as the "dancing plague" or in its wider European context, "dancing mania", a phenomenon that occurred mostly around central Europe from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries. The abnormality of these events has been characterised by victims taking to the streets and frantically dancing in a trance-like state, often tearing off their clothes to dance naked, while others begged to be thrown into the air. These spectacles would continue until they either collapsed or were forcibly stopped, often by soldiers or church leaders.

Dancing mania has perplexed historians for centuries as to how these cases of such profoundly bizarre outbreaks occurred and what pushed ordinary people into participating. Many theories have emerged and developed to explain this instance of mass hysteria, ranging from more rational understandings such as fungus poisoning and immune system illnesses such as chorea all the way to those of demonic possession, pagan ritualistic dances, and contagious traumatic hysteria. Historians to the present continue to debate the true origins of this phenomenon, while explanations on the more abstract side have subsided. Considering the perspective of contemporary scholars and those of modern historians, this study provides an interesting study into the case for exploring "dancing mania."

Looking at the more rational explanations for this phenomenon first, historians have often turned to ergot poisoning as one explanation for the potentially hysterical behaviour. Ergot is a type of fungus that develops on crops during periods of flooding and particularly damp harvests. The ergot is supposed to have caused significant hallucinations and convulsions, which historians have linked as a potential cause of the bizarre behaviour. This has been discredited by others due to the limit of ergot's reach in comparison to the areas in which the mania reportedly emerged, the argument being that ergot poisoning occurred primarily on rye wheat, which could not be grown in areas such as central Italy, despite vast records chronicling accounts of the mania in Italy. While ergot has also been ignored due to its geographical shortcomings, further medical research has found the primary outcome to be chronic ergotism, rather than convulsive ergotism, which commonly results in the loss of fingers and toes and the onset of gangrene.

With ergot poisoning falling short of covering the vast geographical range that dancing mania covered over the centuries, historians and contemporary scholars have suggested, in the Italian cases, that Tarantism is to blame. Tarantism refers to the psychological illness resulting from the bite of a specific tarantula that inhabits the Apulian region, but records exist of individuals claiming to have been bitten across much of southern Italy. Tarantism had been the primary explanation for the Italian cases of what is considered dancing mania due to the likeness of the effects; however, modern testing of tarantulas in the region has failed to provide any legitimate connection between that and the conditions of dancing mania.

Looking back at the case of Strasbourg, the city had, in years prior to 1518, experienced floods, famine, outbreaks of the plague, and even a comet in 1492. This series of events

ILLUSTRATION BY SALLY DOLPHIN

had a profound psychological impact on residents, which contemporaries understood as divine intervention. The belief in the divine power of God in the medieval and early modern European world was often considered as another primary cause of dancing mania. For scholars, the outbreak of dancing mania in eleventh-century Kölbigk, Saxony, was believed to be the first instance in which contemporaries believed a godly intervention had occurred on the population, prompting the illness, in which sources point to victims coming from

either divine intervention or demonic possession. In the European context, religion and the church consumed much of an individual's mindsight, and in these scenarios, it was unsurprising then that onlookers and victims of the plague would turn back to the church and its spiritual leaders for guidance in such troubled time, often in the form of praying for absolution in isolation. An account from 1374 recalls a particularly devastating sweep in the cases of dancing mania across northern-central Europe, claiming thousands

of victims, many of whom would scream in agony while imploring priests to save them from the dancing suffering. The only believed solution then came from saints and priests, whose rolls were described as "spiritual healers and exorcists", being the only recalled cure by contemporary accounts.

As an alternative perspective to the power of religion, later historians have focused on dancing mania as a form of pagan worship and rejection of the church, especially in the changing nature of Europe. In Echternach, Luxembourg, St. Willibrord, who is believed to be the patron saint of neurological diseases such as the dancing plague, is buried. His site of burial has provoked many to embark on pilgrimages to his grave to perform ritual dances to cure neurological ailments. In response, the Catholic Church attempted to ban this dance for its pagan connection but failed to enforce this policy. Other research has connected similarities between cases of dancing mania and that of ancient Greek orgiastic rites. Connections like this require further examination but at present, provide interesting cross-century cultural links.

Interestingly dancing mania offers the potential, if studied as a collective psychological movement, to act as an alternative to the authoritarian Catholic church to offer another outlet for solace. The contextual role of religion and the hardship of life in medieval and early modern Europe means historians have pointed to societal stresses- that rather than the dances being of some form of illness, they instead represent a collective coping mechanism for communities in troubled times. Turning back again to the role of the black death, the collective trauma of such a devastating illness on medieval and early modern Europeans just 20 years prior to major outbreaks of what has been coined "dancing mania" across Europe in 1374. German physician Justus Hecker has considered these periods of extreme disease following the Black Death as "morbid sympathy", implying a societal frenzy to cope with the losses incurred.

In delving into the fascinating phenomenon of dancing mania that gripped medieval and early modern Europe, it becomes apparent that this historical curiosity binds the realms of hysteria and hallucination, blending the boundaries between the physical and the psychological. The vivid accounts of spontaneous, uncontrollable dancing, as exemplified by the events in the city of Strasbourg and across Europe, remain an enduring puzzle that invites speculation and exploration. Dancing mania challenges us to consider the fragility of the human psyche and the profound influence of social contexts on individual behaviour. Whether viewed through the lens of mass hysteria, religious fervour, or an infectious illness, the study of this phenomenon no less encapsulates the mysterious circumstances and complexities surrounding the true cause of dancing mania.

MONA'S SECRET DIALOGUE

AMBROSE BROWN

In the city of Florence, where the streets bustled with the chatter of merchants and the smell of roasting meats, stood Leonardo's workshop. A testament to the Renaissance spirit, the workshop's walls adorned with anatomical studies, mechanical designs, and interspersed with canvases capturing the soul of the city. Light filtered through its high windows, casting a warm glow over myriad projects that lay in various stages of completion. Among the apprentices scurrying about, one young man, Matteo, stood out, his hands stained with pigments as he surveyed the workshop.

Matteo was not like the other apprentices who came seeking the secrets of da Vinci's genius. He was a mind captivated not just by the how, but the why; a mind that dared to wander beyond the tangible world into realms of uncharted possibilities. Matteo's days in Leonardo's workshop were punctuated by the rhythmic brushstrokes and the melodic chiseling of marble — a symphony of creations which filled

the air with ambition. It was here where he watched in awe as Leonardo sketched out ideas that seemed to defy the very laws of nature, his hands weaving futures yet unseen.

But now, the workshop felt like a sanctuary in mourning. The recent passing of Leonardo had cast a shadow over everything Matteo had come to cherish. Losing his mentor and guide had left a void, a silence where once the air thrummed with the master's inventive genius. Amidst the subdued chaos of the workshop, an object seemed to mirror Matteo's sense of loss: a painting, veiled and sequestered in a room's quiet corner. It had always been a puzzle, drawing Matteo's gaze each day with its silent promises of unknown mysteries. Now, it was marked by a new significance, a symbol of unfulfilled potential and unfinished stories. Behind the veil, Matteo knew, it was not just a painting, but a fragment of Leonardo's legacy, a piece of the master's soul left behind on the canvas. Matteo felt as if through this unfinished piece he could maintain a link to Leonardo, keeping alive the spirit of inquiry and wonder his master instilled in him.

As the golden hues of dusk painted the workshop in a warm, amber glow, Matteo felt the weight of his grief and the responsibility of carrying forward Leonardo's vision. His hand trembled as he gently lifted the protective cloth from the painting, revealing a masterpiece beneath. It was a portrait of a woman, with lips that curved in a slight smile and eyes filled with mysterious depth. The colors were rich and vibrant, each brushstroke alone, a work of art. Matteo couldn't tear his gaze away from her piercing eyes, which seemed to follow him no matter where he stood. He could almost believe she was real, captured on canvas by Leonardo's unparalleled skill.

Matteo leaned closer, his gaze entranced by the depth of the painted eyes before him. As he did, a miraculous transformation began to unfold. The woman in the painting,

a timeless enigma, blinked slowly. Matteo recoiled in disbelief, his heart racing at the spectacle. With each blink, vibrant colors started to swirl around her, breathing life into the canvas. They dripped and danced in the air, as if emerging from their painted confines by an alchemist's spell. Then, with a grace defying reality, she stepped forward. The colors cascaded around her like a waterfall of hues, leaving trails of crimson, azure, and emerald in her wake. Her serene smile, once confined to the canvas, now beamed in the real world, radiant and full of life.

"Who are you?" Matteo asked, his voice a murmur in the vastness of the workshop.

"I am Mona," she answered, her smile widening, a knowing glint in her painted eyes. "You, Matteo, have unearthed a secret that transcends even Leonardo's renowned genius."

Matteo's gaze darted around the workshop, seeking a semblance of normalcy in the surreal scene before him. The unfinished canvases, once symbols of creative potential, now seemed to mock his own inability to grasp the implications of Mona's existence.

The walls of the workshop receded, giving way to a realm where the material and the imagined converged. Matteo, standing amidst this union of worlds, felt a powerful connection to the human spirit's boundless potential as he beheld a wonder transcending mere artistry. This was a testament to human ingenuity and the pursuit of knowledge definitive of his era. In an extraordinary fusion of canvas and reality, Matteo glimpsed the core of humanism: in challenging and redefining what was deemed possible, the belief in the power of the individual to reshape the fabric of existence.

A surge of trepidation coursed through Matteo's veins as he

pondered the implications of Mona's presence. "What does it mean for humanity to create life, to defy the very laws of nature?" he asked, his voice laced with both wonder and apprehension.

Mona regarded him, her visage a haunting blend of ethereal beauty and enigmatic depths, seemed to reflect the complexity of her existence. "I stand at the crossroads of art and existence, a convergence of science and the divine. To fear me is as natural as the apprehension of the unknown," her words resonating with an unsettling truth.

"Mona," Matteo began, his voice quivering with awe, "You are a marvel, a testament not just to Master Leonardo's brilliance, but to the very ideals of our time."

Matteo again paced the room, his gestures animated with a fervor of discovery. "You are alive! Does that not grant you the right to exist beyond this canvas, beyond the confines of mere art?"

Mona's smile was tinged with a melancholy wisdom. The air was redolent with the scent of oil paints, mingled with the earthy aroma of the workshop – a reminder of the transformative process of creation. "To exist is more than to be seen or recognized. I am the manifestation of a vision dreamt by Leonardo. But in our world, where dreams and reality are distinct, where does a dream such as I belong?"

Her words stirred in Matteo a profound realization of the ethical quandaries Leonardo, even posthumously, had imparted to the world. Mona was not merely a masterpiece of art; she was a question posed to their era, a challenge to the established norms of what constitutes life, art, and the divine. Leonardo's creation, in granting life to paint and canvas, had not only defied the laws of nature but also ventured into the

realm of moral ambiguity, leaving a legacy that questioned the very essence of human achievement and the limits of human endeavor.

Matteo halted, his eyes locked onto Mona's. "I cannot bear the thought of covering you up, returning you to a state of lifeless paint."

Mona's voice was soft but firm. "My existence here, in this moment with you, is enough. It is a beautiful secret that we share."

A tear trickled down Matteo's cheek and sorrow lingered on his tongue, as he struggled with the idea of saying goodbye to Mona. It was bittersweet, as he said, "it feels like a loss, Mona, a loss of something extraordinary."

"It is," Mona agreed, "but remember, Matteo, the greatest creations of humanity often remain unseen, known only to their creators. This conversation, our connection, is a creation of its own. It's a memory that will live on in you, inspiring you in ways you cannot yet imagine." The sound of Mona's voice, like a soft brush on canvas, echoed in the workshop. Matteo nodded, understanding the weight of her words as her form whirled back into the canvas.

"Then this is goodbye, Mona. You will forever be a part of me."

"And you, a part of me," Mona whispered, as Matteo's hand hovered over the cloth that covers Mona's painting, his fingers itching to touch her. The fabric felt smooth against his skin, but also heavy with the weight of a secret.

The workshop fell silent, the mystery of Mona's sentience hidden once more beneath the cloth. Matteo stood alone,

a changed man, carrying within him the memory of a conversation that transcended the boundaries of time and art, a secret dialogue between an apprentice and a masterpiece. Matteo kept the secret of the Mona Lisa to his grave, a silent guardian of Leonardo's most profound creation. In her smile a hint of hidden life lingered, a testament to the boundless possibilities of art and the eternal mysteries of existence.

Author's Note

The inspiration for this story came from the portrait of Mona Lisa by Leonardo da Vinci. The story explores themes of creativity, humanism, and the nature of reality. Matteo's journey is one of loss and growth, as he is challenged to think about the implications of Mona's existence.

"VERY BAD TONGUES": PHYSICAL SPEECH AND ABNORMALITY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH WITCHCRAFT BELIEF

MELISSA KANE

The witch's curse, a powerful tool of fear, anger, and magic, invokes images of spell books, ancient texts, and symbolic language. However, related imagery rarely considers the body of the witch herself as a publisher of such curses and language. Blood, urine, and even breastmilk is recorded throughout the early modern period as essential ingredients to the mystic pantry – a witch's cake, made with the urine of the afflicted and fed to a dog, was instrumental in beginning the hysteria that would lead to the Salem Witch Trials in 1692, for example. The witch herself, specifically her tongue and speech as a physical, bodily function, is inherent to these events and can be seen to infect those who hear her curses and transgressive speeches outside the domestic norm. Sound and speech, for example, are frequently referred to as physical objects due to their relationship with the body, specifically in terms of the tongue. In Henry Goodcole's *The Wonderfull Disoverie of ELIZABETH SAWYER, a Witch, Late of Edmonton, her Conviction and Condemnation and Death* (1621), descriptions are frequently seen that speak of "that tongue" as its own entity and "the means of her owne destruction." Similarly, in the trial of Joanne Williford (1645), it is recorded "Goodwife Dadson, Ioan Argoe, William Argos wife, Goodwife Cox have very bad tongues" or "very ill tongue[s]."

The role of speech and hearing in witch trials already appears in the historiography as it often plays a role in the accusation itself, that the mumbling of the haggard woman is seen as curse, particularly prevailing in the Thomas-MacFarlane charity refuse model. Others, such as Tim Harris, have also argued that speech acted as the fighting weapon in female branches of tension, in comparison to male violence which lends itself too to the "feminine space" exemplary for producing accusations.

However, by examining the tongue, as a bodily function in the former and speech as the latter, we add another layer to the relationship between bodily output and mental change. In the above accounts, the tongue is objectified as an infected organ who spreads disease through abusive "cursing, swearing, blaspheming and imprecating." In Goodcole's account, this plays a particular role in moralising literature. Goodcole intends to demonstrate how the affliction of the tongue leads to the greater infection of the body, and how such speech leads to the greater infection of the mind and one's relationships. Speech, in this way, is derivative of transgressive natures, both in body and mind. Goodcole, throughout the pamphlet, is particularly interested in the physical nature of the witch's relationships, denoting "the Divels accesse unto her" through her tongue. It is a symbolic opening provided by her transgressive speech, which infects throughout to lead to a transgressive body. Once again, these items are treated in symbiosis: as one declines, so does the other. This can be seen throughout trial records, where "swearing and cursing"

perform a physical transformation that opens the body to demonic rot, turning the witch into a "wretch" such as "The Damnable Practices of three Lincoln-shire Witches" (1619) and *The Examination and Confession of Certain Witches at Chelmsford* (1566).

Furthermore, if speech is interpreted as "liquid expressiveness," as argued by Gail Kern Paster, these transgressions can be understood to have a sexual element. As the woman's speech becomes unruly, so does her leaky body and sexuality, threatening to bypass her boundaries to that of her neighbours and bring with it her demonic trail. They symbolise oral sexual connotations that taint her speech with moral transgressions. The typical stereotype of the "foolish talke[ing]" woman fits well with this narrative, in which it is determined to be out of place and embarking on strict social-gender boundaries as seen in *The Tragedy of Sophonisba* (1606) – "my tongue Swears I am woman still. I talk too long." The means in which the woman speaks too is also under scrutiny for transgression, as seen in Mother Shipton's Christmas Carrols (1668) where she is criticised for "such a thundering voice" more attributed to male speech, demonstrating yet another broken boundary on gender lines.

Through the opening of speech, the body of either the witch of her victim is open to change, deformity, and illness as well as moral deflation and social decline. The tongue therefore can be a bridge between bodily and social meaning and is a natural focus of witchcraft folklore and belief.

ILLUSTRATION BY AOIFE CÉITINN

LADY MARY GREY: NOT JUST "THE DWARF WHO MARRIED A GIANT"

MARNIE CAMPING-HARRIS

Author's Note

Some of the sources I have used in this article employ the terms "dwarf" and "dwarfism", so when referencing them I will also use those terms - apart from those instances, I will use the term "little person".

Described as standing at four foot tall, today Lady Mary Grey would be considered a little person. However, in the sixteenth century, Mary's smaller stature was portrayed as abnormal, with contemporaries claiming that she was "little, crook-backed and very ugly". Nevertheless, Mary's life was far more intriguing than simply her appearance, and this article hopes to prove that Mary should be remembered for more than her image, perhaps for her time as both claimant and prisoner.

The youngest of three sisters, Mary was born in 1545 to her parents Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk and Lady Frances Brandon. Through her mother, Mary and her sisters were all potential heirs to the throne, as Frances was the daughter of Mary Tudor; this made Mary the great niece of Henry VIII and the great granddaughter of Henry VII. Mary's father also had close connections to the throne, as the great grandson of Elizabeth Woodville, from her marriage before Edward IV. This made Henry Grey the half-first cousin of his wife Frances, as well as second cousins to his own daughters. Some historians have speculated as to whether it is this blatant example of inbreeding that caused Mary's short stature, as well as her possible scoliosis from contemporary reports. Nevertheless, despite this abnormality, Mary still was raised in a household befitting of her station, but as the youngest daughter, she would soon learn to take a backseat to her elder sisters, Jane and Katherine.

At the age of eight, Mary's cousin and king, Edward VI, died. In his will, he named Jane as his heir. This surprising move from Edward can be most likely attributed to the Duke of Northumberland, who had just married his own son, Guildford Dudley, to Jane. Northumberland's ambitions were clear: he wanted a Protestant succession and for his son to be king, so that ultimately, he would still be holding the reins. Mary also found herself at the centre of this Protestant succession, with Northumberland betrothing her to another distant cousin in hopes that another betrothal would secure their fate. However, this aim at a Protestant succession ultimately failed. The failure was largely down to the complete overlook of Edward's own two half sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, with the Privy Council eventually proclaiming Mary as queen, only nine days after Edward's death; earning Jane the title of England's "nine-day queen". At first, Queen Mary saw Jane and her sisters as nothing more than pawns in Northumberland's game, with him being executed in August 1553.

However, the Wyatt Rebellion of early 1544 changed everything. The uprising was spearheaded by four courtiers, one of whom
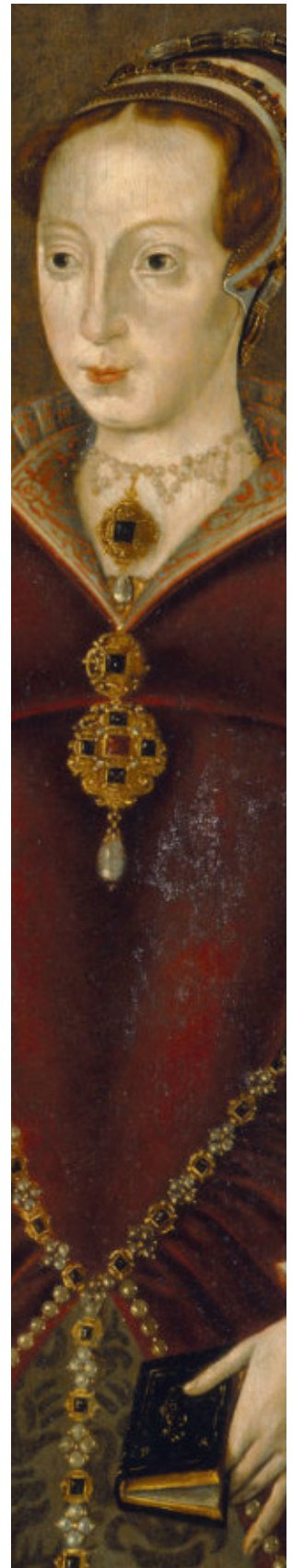
was Mary and Jane's father. Their main grievance was Mary I's plan to marry Phillip II of Spain. This marriage would have ruined the Protestant changes Edward and his government had worked so hard to make, ultimately reverting the country back to Catholicism with allegiance to the pope. In order to stop this, the rebels planned to dethrone Mary I, replacing her with her half-sister Elizabeth. Yet, as suspected, this plot also failed. It was understood that Elizabeth had no role in the rebellion, so her life was spared. But Mary would end up being heavily affected by this rebellion, losing both a father and a sister to it. Despite having no part in the uprising, Mary's sister Jane, and her husband Guildford, were both executed on 12 February 1554. Soon after, on 23 February, Mary's father was also executed. During the rest of Mary I's reign, Mary and her sister Katherine lived with their mother and her new husband, making sure to not arouse any further suspicion.

Circumstances for Mary changed under Elizabeth's accession to the throne, with her being appointed one of the queen's new maids of honour. This position reflected Mary's new position at court, as she and Katherine were now seen as the next in line to the throne, seeing as Elizabeth did not have any children. Due to this close proximity, the two Grey sisters were kept under close supervision and were not allowed to marry without Elizabeth's permission, as any marriage they made in secret could be seen as a potential vie for the throne. Despite this being made abundantly clear to them, both sisters would defy the rule and marry their husbands in secret and against the queen's wishes. First was Katherine, who married Edward Seymour in secret in December of 1560. Yet, this marriage was a little different to most, with the priest never being identified and the only witness (Edward's sister) dying shortly after; this allowed Elizabeth to act as if the marriage did not exist. However, it did not stop her confining both Katherine and Edward to the tower, and later holding them under house arrest. Their children were made illegitimate, with Katherine being permanently separated from them and her husband.

Despite the grievances marrying in secret caused her sister, Mary would go onto do the exact same. On 16 July 1565, Mary married Thomas Keyes. She made sure to not commit the same mistakes as her sister, in an attempt to make sure her

marriage remained legal in the eyes of the law. For instance, Mary had three of her cousins and a friend from childhood attend the ceremony as witnesses. Nevertheless, the marriage was still extremely unsuitable for a number of reasons. Firstly, Thomas was from a minor gentry family, working at the court as a sergeant porter; this was far below Mary's social standing. He had also been married before, was twice her age, and came with six or seven children. What is quite remarkable is that Thomas stood at a whopping six feet eight inches tall. For Tudor times, he would have been considered a giant of sorts, and next to the smaller stature of Mary at four foot tall, it would have made a spectacle at court; with even Sir William Cecil noting how the tallest gentlemen had married the smallest woman.

As expected, Queen Elizabeth was furious. Mary and Thomas were immediately separated, with both being sent on separate house arrests. Mary was first confined at Chequers, under the supervision of William Hawtrey. This lasted two years until she was sent to her step-grandmother, the Duchess of Suffolk. Sadly, in 1568, Mary learned the news of her sister, Katherine's, untimely death at the age of twenty-seven. Like Mary, Katherine had been kept under house arrest since her marriage and there was speculation that she had starved herself to death. Her sister's death moved Mary even closer to the throne, as according to the last will of Henry VIII, Mary was now Elizabeth's heir. Due to this change in circumstance, Mary's house arrest conditions were also altered, and she was sent to live with Sir Thomas Gresham and his wife. A few more years of confinement passed, yet grief continued to follow Mary when the news of her husband's death came in 1571. Heartbroken, she petitioned to raise Thomas' now orphaned children, however this was denied by Elizabeth and she was forced to continue living under house arrest, until 1573.

After sufficient time had passed from her husband's death, Mary was allowed to live on her own in a house of her choosing. In 1577, her station had returned to its initial position, and she was reappointed as one of the queen's maids of honour at court. Sadly, not even six months later, Mary would contract the plague and on her thirty-third birthday she passed away. Her funeral was held in Westminster Abbey, as ordered by Queen Elizabeth, and she was buried alongside

her mother - not her husband.

Mary's story is rather a sad one, full of heartbreak and loss. However, she deserves to be remembered for all that she experienced, and not just for her height. My hopes for this article are that people can look pass Mary's small stature and sympathise with her for all that she had to endure. Mary has since been relegated to the background of history, with her probable dwarfism serving as the only interesting fact others can conjure up about her. Yet here I present, in black and white, a multitude of ideas to those who say they can't find one. Yes, Lady Mary was four foot tall, and happened to marry a man who was nearly three feet taller. But she was also the younger sister of our nine-day queen, who dared to marry the man she loved, spending the majority of her life paying the price for it.

THE SUPERNATURAL IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND: THE NORMALITY OF THE ABNORMAL

ELLIE WHITEHEAD

Figure 1: Drawing showing witches and spirits dancing to the bagpipes being played by the Devil (Public Domain).

Scotland has a unique and rich supernatural history – from witches and ghosts to highland charms and fairies. Much of this belief in spirits reached its peak in the seventeenth century, particularly in a literary sense. From elite intellectuals to popular culture, these beliefs penetrated Scotland's imaginations and grasp on reality. In the early modern period, the supernatural was far from abnormal. People lived, worked, and thrived alongside spirits, witches, and fairies. To understand the importance of these stories, and why they prevailed through the centuries, we first need to challenge our own bias and look to their origins. This article will explore the dichotomy between what we, twenty-first century dwellers, deem as 'abnormal' being what seventeenth-century contemporaries viewed as astonishingly commonplace – or

'normal'. This line of thinking was not as out of the box as it might appear to us at first glance, it was sustained by complex lines of ancient folkloric belief, theological reasoning, and philosophical investigation. Two seventeenth-century figures, George Sinclair and Robert Kirk, were the supernatural investigators of their day (think Yvette Fielding with less screaming and no production budget). They collected the stories of the everyday people in Scotland, retelling their uncanny experiences. Within these stories we can see just how normal the supernatural was to the people of Scotland.
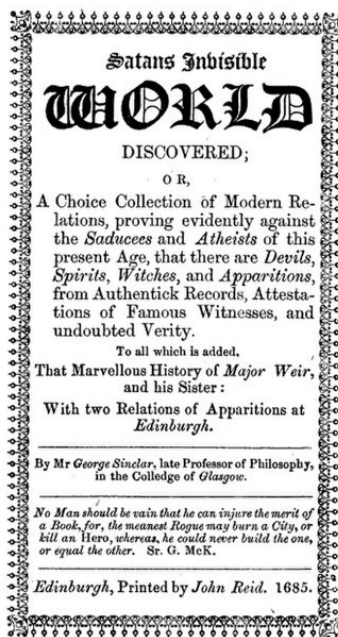

Figure 2: Satan's Invisible World Discovered (1685, Public Domain).

Whilst it is easy to see that the supernatural was familiar to Scots in the seventeenth century, it is harder to pin down their exact understanding of it. The relative normality of stories regarding the supernatural by no means suggests that there was a 'one-size-fits-all' mentality to the supernatural at this time. Reasons for understanding and experiencing the supernatural shifted from person to person and place to place depending on religious, social and environmental factors. This was particularly true for the seventeenth century in Scotland, where worldviews were being challenged by religious upheaval, the beginnings of the Scientific Revolution, and the emergence of new philosophies. The threat posed by concepts such as Cartesianism, or materialism, to traditional beliefs about the supernatural meant that during the course of the 1600s, people had to invent new frameworks through which to understand and justify a belief in spirits. And, for the first time ever on a mass scale, people were having to defend this belief in the face of scepticism. Broadly speaking, the definition of a seventeenth-century spirit was dictated to by Protestant principles, philosophical investigation, and traditional folklore. This informed both elite levels of learned demonology and popular belief in the supernatural.

One such example of this rebuttal of scepticism came from George Sinclair. Sinclair was a mathematician, an inventor, a professor in mathematics and natural philosophy at both Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, and, most importantly for this article, he was the author of *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685). *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* is a collection of supernatural stories covering a wide range of topics, from witches and ghosts to fairies and charms, and was the first one of its kind to be written by a Scottish author. These stories come from Scotland, England, and Europe. It was written with the aim to "prove the existence of Devils, Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions", in the face of scepticism and new philosophies which Sinclair refers to as "Atheism, and…that Sink of, Folly and Madness".

These types of works, collecting physical evidence or "proof" of supernatural phenomena became increasingly popular and influential during the seventeenth century. Sinclair warned of the everyday presence of spirits, detailing stories of poltergeists haunting ministers, fairies spoiling butter, witches cursing neighbours, and demons terrorising ordinary people. He took a lot of

Figure 3: Saducismus Triumphatus (1681, Creative Commons Attribution).

inspiration, and his stories, from the very first publication of this kind – an English work called *Saducismus Triumphatus*. *Saducismus Triumphatus* was first published in 1681 by Joseph Glanvill and Henry More, early fellows of the Royal Society. This is demonstrative of the scientific interest in the supernatural and spirits at this time. Other members of the Royal Society, such as Sir Robert Boyle and Sir Robert Moray, also took a scientific interest in the supernatural.

Advances in the scientific revolution meant that people were looking for tangible evidence of the intangible. It was no longer enough to say something was true because you *know* it to be so, you now had to *show* it as well. This philosophy was

at the heart of works such as these. Stories describing these experiences of ghosts, witches and devil were predominantly considered to be legitimate evidence in the seventeenth century. For Sinclair, More, and Glanvill, this evidence not only proved the existence of spirts, but the existence of God too. Belief in these spirits was central in maintaining people's experiences of a normal of life in Early Modern Scotland; without this belief, the religious and philosophical foundations on which they built their world would crumble.

Later in the century, continuing on from Sinclair's work, another work was published with the same intention to combat atheism by proving the existence of spirits. Minister Robert Kirk, also known as the "Fairy Minister", collected stories and wrote his treatise *The Secret Commonwealth* in manuscript up until his death in 1692. Kirk spent many years as a minister for different small parishes around Scotland, particularly in the southern parts of the Highlands. His work was published as a book after his death, first by Sir Walter Scott in 1815, and was widely circulated. It goes further than Sinclair's work, focusing more upon stories of fairies and a phenomenon called Second Sight [being able to tell the future] which is primarily found in the Highlands. Similarly, to Sinclair, More, and Glanvill, *The Secret Commonwealth* uses its stories of the supernatural to prove the existence of the supernatural to so-called "atheists". Kirk visited London in 1689, where he most likely came across expressions of doubt and scepticism about the existence of the supernatural in coffeehouses – the intellectual meeting places of their time. This probably influenced his decision to write a work refuting these beliefs.

Typically, as we have seen in other works on the supernatural during this time, Kirk attempted to exhibit his work as a "scientific" one. On this same trip to London, Kirk met with Sir Robert Boyle who almost certainly encouraged him to begin this project. Boyle himself was particularly interested in Second Sight and may have exchanged ideas and stories with Kirk regarding this. Once more, the scientific interest in the Scottish supernatural shown by the intellectual elite demonstrates the normality of these beliefs in both popular and elite early modern cultures.
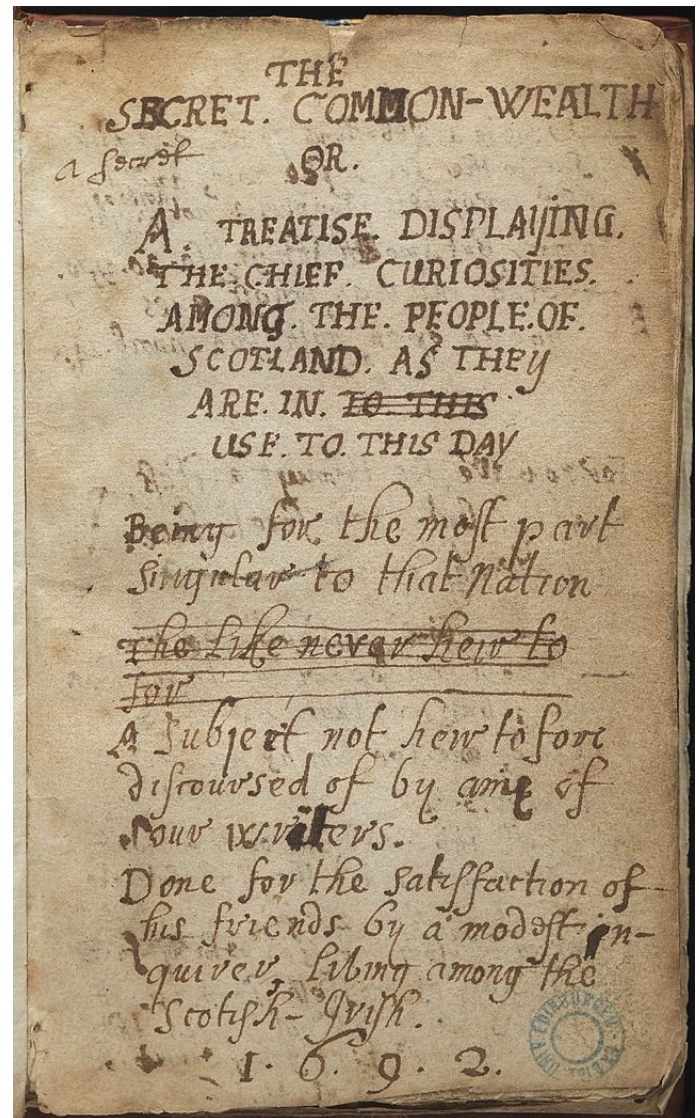
Figure 4: The Secret Commonwealth (Manuscript form, 1692, University of Edinburgh Heritage Collection).

Overall, it is undeniable that by the end of the seventeenth century there was growing scepticism and an increasingly tumultuous philosophical and religious environment, prompting a reassessment in belief in the supernatural. However, as we can see through the above works, in spite of this mounting criticism, belief in the supernatural continued to be part of everyday life for Scottish people throughout the 1600s. This "normality" of the supernatural and spirits did not only thrive in popular culture but continued to pervade into elite cultures too. Normality adapts to contemporary belief, and the supernatural was still very much alive in people's lives during the seventeenth century – making it far from abnormal.

"MARRIAGE IS A CURSE WE FIND": FEMALE SUBJECTIVITY AND GENDER PERFORMANCE IN MARGARET CAVENDISH'S THE CONVENT OF PLEASURE

NAOMI WALLACE

On multiple occasions in his diary Samuel Pepys expresses his eagerness to meet the Duchess of Newcastle, tantalised by descriptions of her eccentric behaviour and risqué clothing. He writes: "all the town-talk is now-a-days of her extravagancies." Far more than a unique sense of style, however, Margaret Cavendish was a poet, author, philosopher, and scientist, who has been widely regarded as a trailblazing figure by feminist literary critics. Much scholarly attention has been awarded to her prose work *The Blazing World*—often considered to be a precursor to the modern science fiction novel—but her plays have been given less consideration until recent decades. *The Convent of Pleasure* depicts a feminist separatist utopia, in which Lady Happy and a group of noblewomen enclose themselves in a palace, entirely cut off from the company of men. Read using critical lenses offered by feminist and queer theorists, the play undermines the heterosexual normativity of its Restoration context by allowing its women to occupy a unique subject position in which they operate radically, and arguably queerly. Despite never being performed, *The Convent of Pleasure* is saturated in performative elements: the women in the convent perform masques and plays, and notably, they perform gender. As the visiting Princess comments to Lady Happy, "some of your Ladies to accoustre Themselves in Masculine-Habits, and act Lovers-parts." The performance of gender is complicated further by the revelation that the Princess is, in fact, a Prince disguised as a woman. In this sense, *The Convent of Pleasure* resists a stable delineation, situating its women not merely in opposition to patriarchal power structures, but parallel to, and distinct from, them.

Theodora Jankowski aptly notes that when queer theory was in its genesis, most theorists, including influential figures such as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, only considered sexuality in an active context, thus excluding those who do not engage in sexual behaviour at all. As the field of queer studies has expanded to amalgamate a wider range of identities and behaviours, asexuality has gained increasing attention in both literary and historical contexts. As Megan Cole notes, *The Convent of Pleasure* is an important contribution to the emerging archive of asexuality in the early modern period. Of course, identifying asexual conventions within the play is not a case of ascribing anachronistic identities to the characters, or its author, but it is a useful lens through which to expound the ways in which the play engages with, and transcends, the heterosexual regime. Placing virginity and chastity in a queer category, as both Jankowski and Cole do, emphasises that the decision of the women in the play to remove themselves from the company of men—sexual or otherwise—serves to reorientate their subjecthood away from the oppressive institution of marriage.

Though the women inside the convent elect to abstain from heterosexual sex, the convent itself may be considered an asexual structure. It resists penetration by any man who wishes to enter, with "Yard-thick" walls, and "not so much as to a Grate" through which one may converse with the women inside. Further evidenced by the fact that the convent is never actually seen, only described. Katherine Kellet argues: "by failing so often actually to materialise and by coming into being only through utterance, the convent resists the kind of stability that reproduces oppressive power structures." The convent's lack of materiality allows it to exist alongside the pervasive, hegemonic heterosexual structures, rather than in opposition to them. Its impenetrable nature echoes the queer choice of the women inside to separate themselves from the heterosexual regime. The Princess/Prince therefore represents an unwanted impregnation of the convent. Cole draws attention to the fact that the dominance of marriage and its permanent modification of the woman's subject position was,

in the late seventeenth century, largely configured through reproduction and childbirth. This seems obvious yet salient; heterosexual reproduction triggers the metamorphosis of woman into mother, towards which *The Convent of Pleasure* is particularly negative. The play within the play, performed by the convent women, presents a grim view of marriage and childbearing. Wives lament their husbands' avarice, drunkenness, gambling, and physical violence towards them, in a sequence of scenarios that are interjected by scenes depicting traumatic births. The unsettling conclusion to the birth scenes (the death of one of the two labouring women) substantiates Cole's interpretation that within the play "heteronormative sexuality is equated with violence and death." The woman delivering the Epilogue patently declares: "Marriage is a Curse we find, Especially to Women Kind." Thus, the construction of a queer space in which the threats posed by marriage and, by default, reproduction, are absent, allows a female subjectivity to flourish that is not imposed upon by the presiding structures that exist beyond the sturdy walls of the convent.

The presence of the Princess/Prince, and his subsequent marriage to Lady Happy at the play's conclusion, is therefore highly disruptive to the queer setting of the convent. The final act is disappointing, and dissonant with the play's earlier rejection of heterosexuality and utopian separation from the perils of marriage. It is notable that once the Prince's identity is revealed, Lady Happy never speaks again, an undeniably troubling sign of the end of the convent, and consequently its radical separatism. Despite this, one must be cautious not to take from the heteronormative ending of *The Convent of Pleasure* a supposition that the character of the Princess/Prince is synonymous with heterosexual hegemony. Considering the play in its fullness, particularly looking to its performative conventions, offers a more complex understanding of the Princess/Prince and the character's relation to the queerness of the convent.

In Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, which marks a groundbreaking contribution to feminist studies, they argue that "gender is instituted through the stylisation of the body, and hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gesture, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding

gendered self." The Princess/Prince's deception is a theatrical manifestation of gender performance; by dressing as a woman, the character, in effect, becomes one. Even when the Prince, still under the guise of his assumed female identity, dresses in the male fashion, it does not imminently become clear to the other characters that he is male, because he is performing as a woman in men's clothing. Other members of the convent also cross-dress, further destabilising the position of gender within the play and blurring distinctions between the sexes. Similar to earlier cross-dressing drama such as Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, the reveal that the Princess is a Prince does not erase from memory the duration of the play which he spent performing as a woman. This intertextual nod is significant in the play's dramatic context, giving it a self-referential quality that facilitates an engagement with Cavendish's literary form of choice. Some critics are quick to disregard the performativity of the play, given that it was never staged and more closely resembles closet drama, written to be read. This dismissal seems unproductive, as Cavendish made the intentional choice to utilise the mode of drama, and therefore the performative elements of the play are useful when considering its construction of gender and sexuality.

Most problematic for those wishing to consider how *The Convent of Pleasure* may operate in performance is the casting of the Princess/Prince. Sophie Tomlinson argues that the text intends for a woman to play the character, citing the *Dramatis Personae* which lists only "The Princess." Casting a woman as the ultimately male Prince problematises this revelation later in the play and disrupts the apparent return to heterosexual order through the character's marriage to Lady Happy, as a female body remains on stage. It is noteworthy that it was only in the 1660s that English law allowed female actors, with men performing women's roles previously. The illusion of theatre until this point relied on an understanding of gender as performative, as a role one virtually assumes through arbitrary signifiers such as clothing and gesture. The sixteenth century audience of *Romeo and Juliet* did not understand the boy actor to be as he was, nor did they fully believe him to be the female Juliet. Julie Crawford argues that Shakespearean boy heroines indicate the lack of ontological grounds for gender essentialism and suggests that they undermine the heterosexual social order of marriage. Early modern theatre itself is a queer space which elucidates

Butler's theory; if the performance of gender is simply a case of re-signifying one's body, then "the transvestite's gender is as fully real as anyone whose performance complies with social expectations." A visibly male actor in the role, at the time of the play, would not necessarily undermine the ways in which the play questions the stability of the Princess/Prince's gender throughout, as it does not guarantee the character is male. The Princess/Prince occupies the position of the woman through the "performative accomplishment" of conforming to cultural ideas of gender. As Kellet argues, "Cavendish resists the idea that there can ever be a stable body beneath a performance," and the Princess/Prince demonstrates this. Though by nature the play, as closet drama, avoids the issue of casting and the inevitable implications this carries, it is nonetheless worth considering, to emphasise the ways in which *The Convent of Pleasure* destabilises notions of gender and sexuality, leaving a great deal of uncertainty even once it reaches its seemingly heterosexual conclusion.

Outside the theatrical setting, Butler argues that "the gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space." By constructing a space outside of this in the fictional utopian setting of the convent, Cavendish alters the subject positions of the women inside. Resisting the confines placed upon them by heterosexual marriage, they occupy a queer space which cultivates asexual female separatism. The contamination of this by the Princess/Prince is problematic, but ultimately serves as further evidence of the view that gender is realised through performative elements. Undoubtedly unconventional for its seventeenth century context, *The Convent of Pleasure* is a play suffused with queer overtones that deserves its place in both historical and literary scholarship on the subject of gender and sexuality.

'REPRESENTING THE OTHER': ORIENTALIST NARRATIVES IN WESTERN ART

EDIE CHRISTIAN

The term 'Orientalism' has historically been taken to mean a denomination of academic scholarship. However, this was transformed by the 1978 publication of Edward Said's seminal work *Orientalism,* in which he explores the Western perception and depiction of the East in literature, photography, and art. Orientalist narratives culminate in an ultimate 'othering' of non-Western societies and are dominated by overarching imperialist and colonialist connotations. Nowhere is this depiction clearer than within nineteenth-century paintings – embedded with stereotypes which seek to show the inherent barbarism, idleness, and backwardness of Eastern countries. Not only are these images misrepresentative, but they are often used as visual agents of colonial power in an illustration of cultural superiority. On the other hand, Orientalism has historically manifested itself in the eroticisation and fetishisation of Eastern women; the 'othering' of so-called abnormal cultures is therefore paradoxical in that it highlights both the disgust and desire which were aroused in the Western viewer. Although Said's *Orientalism* has been heavily criticised and is certainly not an infallible theory, it is an immensely important postcolonial lens through which to view visual depictions of colonised populations and the impact upon the culture of their colonisers.

Said's literary theory of *Orientalism* has subsequently become one of the most influential postcolonial theories of all time. Although Said originally focused upon Western perceptions of the Middle East, Orientalism has come to mean any Western exploitation of the cultural relationship with those they have colonised. In *Orientalism*, Said argues that the West essentialises the Orient, portraying lazy stereotypes and thereby constructing an imaginary and eroticised fantasy that becomes real for the Western audience. Not only are visual stereotypes reinforced, but these Orientalist writings and images become instruments of colonial authority. There is undoubtedly a paternalistic dimension to the theory, as despite being entirely unfamiliar with their culture, the West views

ILLUSTRATION BY DALMA ROMAN

itself as the saviour of "decaying countries" of former glory. In this way, Eastern countries are forced into the Western perspective, with the concept of Western exceptionalism portrayed as ultimately unerring. However, critics of Orientalism have found fault with its binary categorisations, notion of unchallenged Western dominance, and essentialist view of the West. As a Palestinian, critics of Said have defensively argued his theory to be a product of anti-Western and anti-Zionist anger. Although Said argues Orientalism is not intended to be an encyclopaedic summary, accusations of essentialising the Orient into a single entity victimised by the West are well-founded. Despite this, it is undeniable that nineteenth-century paintings hold Orientalist narratives – whether intentional or not – which 'other' the East and establish the cultural and colonial superiority of the West.

One of the most famous Orientalist images is that of Jean-Léon Gérôme's *The Snake Charmer* (c.1870) – it previously adorned the cover of Said's seminal work. The almost photographic quality of the image helps to construct this false reality – as Gérôme was thought of as an ethnographic artist, and the painting's style was a persuasive tool for its Western audience. This painting is characterised by Orientalist stereotypes – the evident themes of eroticism, moral corruption, and decay are compounded by the absence of time. This depiction of the timelessness of the Orient is a recurring motif within Orientalist art, related to their perceived idleness. The passivity and childish portrayal of the spectators presents them as the charmed snakes, unable to act as the building falls into ruin behind them. The notion

of a decaying East was particularly prominent and acted almost as a justification for Western colonialism – evidence of a need to 'rescue' the declining civilisation. This motif was particularly apparent in early Orientalist photography, in which the indigenous population are "ruthlessly excised" from images, thereby depicting empty space "awaiting its (re) possession and reclamation by Europe". This physical decay is apparent in the cracks amongst the wall and floor, ignored by the inhabitants. Moreover, Gérôme depicts the East as being morally corrupt, as well as materially. The eroticised depiction of the snake charmer reflects the visual fetishisation of the "mystique" as the genderless child's nudity feeds into the perceived abnormality of the East. The passive audience are depicted as the depraved spectators, even though it is the Western viewer who leers at them. This feeling of moral superiority is ubiquitous through Orientalist art and is the predominant tool for facilitating the 'othering' and alienation of the indigenous citizens. Furthermore, there is a tangible Western presence despite its visible absence – the intended Western audience are voyeuristic, observing both the spectacle and the spectators and thereby reinforcing the idea of Western supremacy within Orientalist art.

Whilst Orientalist paintings contribute to cultural hegemony, arguably more sinister is their direct contribution to the continuance of colonial power. Antoine-Jean Gros' *Bonaparte Visits the Plague Stricken in Jaffa* (1804) is presumed to be commissioned by Napoleon to rehabilitate his image following the brutality of the French invasion of Egypt. The propagandist dimension to the painting is

undeniable, with Gros employing Christian iconography to deify Napoleon – the painting is reminiscent of Rembrandt's etching, *The Hundred Guilder Print* (c.1647 – 49), in which Christ is healing the ill. Indeed, the colonisation was categorised, like many others, as a 'civilising mission' to bring enlightenment to the East, with this concept of Western exceptionalism permeating practically the entirety of history. It is this exceptionalism which is at the core of colonial justification. Gros also draws on classical antiquity by depicting Napoleon in the pose from Montorsoli's *Apollo Belvedere* (c.350 B.C.). Interestingly, it is the French troops that take on the Orientalist stereotypes typically depicted by the indigenous population. They are painted frieze-like in varying states of nudity and pain - the taking on of the Eastern role by the French has led some scholars to categorise it as a contrast to typical Orientalist depictions. Conversely, the inherent dishonesty of the image – as Napoleon is now known to have tried to poison his plague-ridden troops – consolidates the motifs of Western and Christian supremacy. The misrepresentation and justification of French colonialism in Egypt, epitomised by Napoleon's status as a deified figure, helps to create a quintessentially Orientalist image.

A prominent criticism of Said's *Orientalism* is its neglect of gender – he arguably conflates the experience of men and women into a singular entity culturally colonised by the West. It would be remiss to overlook the projection of sexual desire in the depiction of indigenous women and harems. As a female-only space, these are some of the most inaccurate depictions within Orientalist paintings; male painters allow their imagination to construct a fictitious reality that often default into presentations of lesbianism and other sexual taboos in order to gratify the fascinated Western audience. This contrast between reality and falsehood is apparent in the contrasting paintings of Browne's *A Visit: Harem Interior* (1860) and Leroy's *A Scene From the Harem* (n.d.). As a woman with access to the harem, Browne's depiction is undoubtedly more accurate in its desexualisation of the space. Whilst Browne focuses on the community women have built inside the harems, Leroy isolates his subjects and transforms them into objects of sexual desire for his Western audience. Despite the lack of visual Western presence, the central focus of the Orientalist paintings of women is arguably that of the Western male audience and their desire. Said fails to comprehensively explore the intersectionality of Orientalist power – both men's power over women and the white man's superiority. In this way, the depiction of indigenous women is almost disregarded despite the fact they face multiple forms of exoticisation and fetishisation.

Overall, Orientalist painters depict the East as abnormal and therefore inferior to the dominant West. Whether in its portrayal of prevailing stereotypes or a concerted justification of colonial power, nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings constructed a culturally damaging image of the East that deeply impacted both contemporary audiences and twentieth-century scholars. There were clearly cultural differences between the Occident and the Orient – some of which still persist today – but Orientalist painters exploited this contrast to spotlight the supposed abnormality of non-Western cultures. Although Said's theory is undoubtedly flawed by its breadth and essentialism, the core concept of a paternalistic West using propagandist and degrading visual imagery in order to subdue and depower the colonised population is extremely compelling. As a precursor to Orientalist photography, paintings laid the foundation for Orientalism to become one of the founding tools of cultural colonialism.

THE STOLEN GENERATION: CHILD REMOVAL POLICIES THAT TORE INDIGENOUS CHILDREN FROM THEIR FAMILIES

DARCY GRESHAM

This article acknowledges Australia's First Nations People as the Traditional Owners and Custodians of the land and gives respect to the Elders, both past and present, and through them, to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, recognising their continuous connection to culture, community, and Country.

Content Warning: Reference to the child removal policies put in place in nineteenth and twentieth-century Australia that targeted Indigenous children on racial and cultural grounds. There is inclusion of the systematic annihilation of Indigenous culture that was pursued through genocide and abusive policies. There are references to the experiences of children who were victims of government legislation, and the racist justifications that were imposed in efforts to explain political motivations.

———————————

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture has developed over sixty thousand years of history, with over five hundred First Nations groups living in Australia prior to British colonial control. Prior to and during settlement, there was a distinct lack of colonial regard for the lives, culture, autonomy and rights of First Nations People, highlighted by Captain James Cook's declaration of Australia as *terra nullius*. Consequent dispossession and mistreatments have shaped Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations ever since. A policy of assimilation to destroy Indigenous cultures was pursued within Australia over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including the removal of children on the grounds of their parentage.

This article examines the policies that created the Stolen Generation, through the justification and motivations behind the legislation, establishment of guardianship, and continued legacy. The perception of the 'abnormalities' of Indigenous families was a vital influencing factor in instigating

assimilation policies. In order for colonial justification of child removal policies, ideological support for such actions was required. This was achieved through creating the image of Indigenous peoples as inferior through social Darwinist theories that perpetuated the myth of child neglect within Indigenous communities. Imposition of a colonial notion of 'civilisation' was also a method of empirical control that enabled the destruction through cultural policies.

Construction of a racial societal hierarchy in the colonial setting of Australia was crucial in control over Indigenous populations. Status rankings placed Indigenous peoples at the very lowest point, with belief of inferiority that stemmed from colonial assurances of supremacy, and conceptions of 'others' as racially, culturally, and socially, primitive. The creation of the 'other' marked Indigenous peoples as abnormal within Australia, fuelling racist policies and diminishing their agency. Many negative characteristics such as passivity, laziness, and lack of intelligence were unfairly attributed to Indigenous peoples. Not only did these generalisations influence policies, but social Darwinist theory also served to intensify the vilification of Indigenous peoples that occurred. Social exclusion perpetuated beliefs that Indigenous peoples were 'incompatible with the mainstream ideology.' It was a vicious cycle; they were forced out of society due to the process of 'otherisation,' and absence from society further consecrated their perception as 'others.' Not only were ideas of racial inferiority perpetuated, but cultural inferiority was highlighted as well, providing the grounds to instigate policies against Indigenous peoples. Additionally, the belief that Indigenous families neglected their children facilitated the justification of removal. These assumptions stemmed from cultural misunderstanding of family networks; within Indigenous communities the responsibility of raising of children fell not only to parents, but also places emphasis on extended kin. The juxtaposition of this with the Western ideas of a nuclear family challenged the government and

led to prejudices that presumed parents were negligent. Resultingly, government officials carried out child removal under the guise of "saving" Indigenous children from their families.

The motivation behind such ideas lay in the imposition of control and spreading of Western civilisation. It was believed that the so-called "Indigenous problem" would be solved by the separation of children from parents, with White institutions stepping in to take up the raising of children. Civilising the population of Australia was the most central organising concept of colonialism and the measure by which success could be marked. The entire destruction of Indigenous peoples was proposed by some members of the

government in the nineteenth century, particularly Chief Protector Neville, who subscribed to the "breeding out" of physical and cultural Indigenous traits. By effect, this would destroy Aboriginality in its entirety. For success, these characteristics needed to be extinguished at the root, leading to systematic social engineering through annihilation. The "breeding out" of Indigenous people went even further then social exclusion, targeting complete destruction of anyone who did not fit the White Australian mode. Child removal policies were an extension of this as they aimed to stop the spread and continuation of Aboriginality to next generations.

An estimated ten to thirty percent of Indigenous children were affected by removal legislation, forcing huge swathes

ILLUSTRATION BY DALMA ROMAN
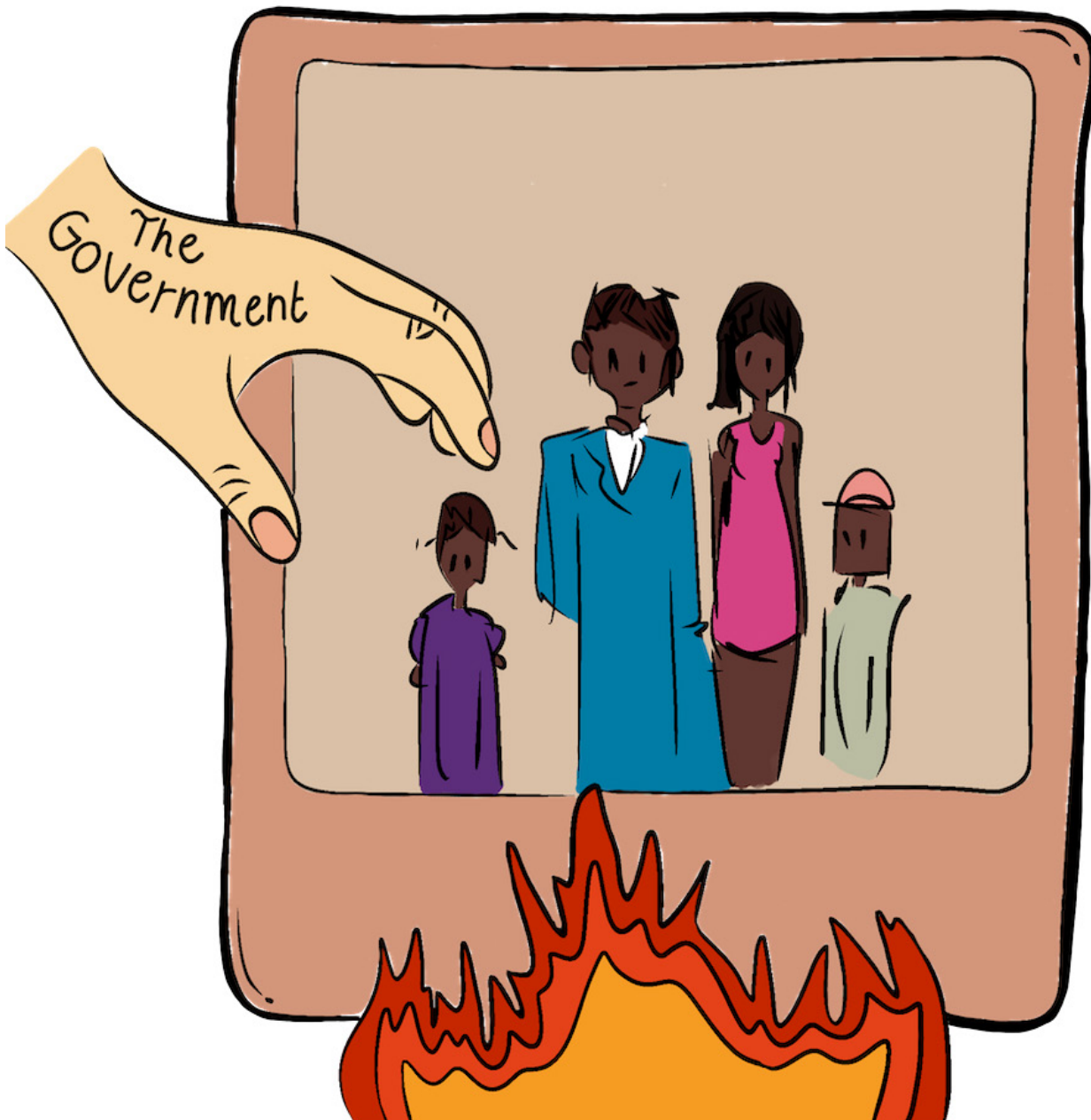
of the population away from everything familiar. Legal guardianship of Indigenous children was a beginning step in assimilationist strategy, delegating responsibility to the White Australian government for the way the 'children of the nation' were raised. Official guardianship took the form of withdrawing Aboriginal parents' common-law right over their own children, giving the state custody and therefore the ability to remove children, sending them into White communities through foster families, schools, or labour institutions. From 1869, Australian state laws permitted the removal of children based on their parentage. Whilst remaining within their own culture, Aboriginal children could not fully become new Australian citizens. Therefore this forceful removal was vital for successful indoctrination. Parentage threatened the White civilising mission, previously established as a key component of colonialism, hence the absence of this allowed permeation of state ideas.

The Stolen Generation, as they have become to be known, refers to the children who were affected by these Indigenous removal policies. During the nineteenth century, the welfare of displaced Indigenous children was absent from policymakers' decisions and only in recent history as the trauma responses of victims been investigated. Children were led to believe their parents had abandoned them, a feature crucial to making them even more susceptible to indoctrination. Correspondence from parents attempting to contact their children was seized, intensifying the trauma of the experience and keeping both parties in the dark as to the reasoning behind such action. Emotional concern for victims is clearly absent in all governmental discourse and there is a distinct lack of research into the psychological impacts of the policies.

Into the late twentieth and twenty-first century, political response categorised much of the national feeling towards the Indigenous child removal policies. Three consecutive Australian Prime Ministers made seminal remarks that address such issues. The first was Paul Keating, who in 1992 spoke at Redfern, claiming it was White Australians who were responsible for the devastation of Indigenous culture and the continuation of horrific conditions. Keating stated the starting point was admission of the dispossession, murder, discrimination, and exclusion that was practiced. His

successor John Howard limited the cause of reconciliation by denying the claims of the Stolen Generation. Howard proclaimed Indigenous children had been 'rescued', in a blatant evasion to come to terms with the past. It was not until 2008 that Prime Minister Kevin Rudd delivered an official apology, recognised the mistreatment of Indigenous children. This finally recognised the necessity of national apologies for the future of democracy and equality.

Further shift in narratives surrounding Indigenous child removal began as policies diminished and human rights declarations became entwined with constitutions. In the 1967 referendum, Indigenous peoples were for the first time recognised as part of the Australian population. The 'Great Australian Silence' epitomises much of the ignorance surrounding Indigenous history in Australia. The convenience of brushing past the hardest parts of national history serves as an avoidance tactic, allowing colonisation and removal to be neglected in discourse. The dominance of White Australian and coloniser narratives enables the negligence of Indigenous experiences. The reversal of such institutionalised historical amnesia is a slow and complicated process, but vital for the teaching of history and recognition of First Nations People. Acknowledge of wrongdoing, race relations, and the misgovernance of Indigenous peoples starts the fight for future justice. Without this there is no realistic hope for equity within Australia.

The Stolen Generation demonstrates the horrors of the child removal policies that tore Indigenous children away from their families for societal control. The justification for such appalling treatments found origins in British control and continued White Australian rule that wished to create a civilisation based upon the Western ideas that had been imposed under imperialism. Motivationally, the continuation of White settler society aimed to keep control of the population so they could be moulded to fit ideals. The direct conflict of Aboriginality with these desires meant the government felt it necessary to crush as many traces of Indigenous lives as possible. Removal of Indigenous children was one of the most abominable ways to carry this out. The victims could never recover from such terrors, and it has been difficult to come to terms with the policies. The full effects can never be known as emotion reaction is so difficult to measure,

but countless lives were destroyed. National reconciliation is making ground in coming to terms with the past, aided by government apologies, albeit after many years. There is hope for a future that recognises the mistreatment and abuse of Indigenous children under removal policies and all acts against Indigenous peoples, giving correct acknowledgement to Australia's First Nations People.

Postscript: By no means does this encompass the extent of Indigenous suffering through Australian history. It seeks to give a small window into the appalling removal of Indigenous children from their families and consequent assimilation programmes, touching on the horrors. There have been hundreds more abuses committed against First Nations People, many of which are not openly discussed or taught. There are increased testimonies, particularly from projects at the turn of the twenty-first century that give Indigenous voices greater platform, but far more is still to be done for Indigenous history to be recognised and find its deserved place within history. British history teaching, across ages but especially in schools, fails to recognise the role of colonial influences in atrocities such as those that affected the Stolen Generation.

ELITE PANIC: WHY "EATING THE RICH" ISN'T AS ABNORMAL AS IT SOUNDS

OSCAR VIRDEE

Before delving into what the core of the term "elite panic" is, it's probably best to define a few terms. In this context, "elite" does not refer to a seven-foot-tall alien carrying an iridescent cerulean sword that burns with a murderous light. But rather the so-called "elites" of society, as Korom's *Elites: History of The Concept* highlights, the term "elites" has been floating around western vernacular since Plato, with everyone from Bourdieu to Mosca having a different take on its definition. For the sake of this article, we will be following a Machiavellian tradition: "elites" is an interchangeable term for the supposed upper echelons of society such as aristocrats, billionaires, CEOs, nobles, presidents and politicians. All of these people, as Machiavelli believed, could be a threat to democracy in that they could manipulate laws to suit their own interests. Panic, on the other hand, is defined by The Cambridge Dictionary as "a sudden strong feeling of fear that prevents reasonable thought and action."

With the structure of "elite panic" laid out, let us now address the meat of the article. Clarke and Chess first coined the term "elite panic" in *Elites and Panic: More to Fear Than Fear Itself*. Within the article, Clarke & Chess highlight that for their purposes, panic is "a breakdown in social order, a breaking of social bonds, as a result of some fear, which itself creates more danger." The authors continue to state that, contrary to how they wished to be perceived, elites themselves can panic, can also fear panic, and can deliberately cause panic. Furthermore, disaster sociologist Kathleen Tierney maintains that elites fear disruption of the social order and will go to extreme lengths to protect their 'normal'. Tierney listed the key areas that would cause elite panic as fear of social disorder, poor, minorities, immigrants, looting, crime. With all of this in mind, in the following article, I will show a series of events that caused panic—with a breakdown in social order—and present the abnormal responses of a given set of elites.

Plague of Athens

For the first example of elites reacting abnormally to an event that inspired panic, we begin with Thucydides' account of the plague of Athens. Cunha highlights the causes of the plague are still extremely disputed on account of the lack of microbiologic evidence. Classics scholars stress that there may be interpretational issues with the Thucydides account of the plague, which his extremely significant as it is also the only surviving account. Fortunately, for the purposes of this article, we are not too concerned about the root microbial cause of the plague, rather its effects on society. Thucydides

asserts, "All the burial rites before in use were entirely upset." In a vacuum, this statement fails to show the depth of the elite panic occurring in Athens due to the plague. It is only with context that we can see the extent of the panic. As Pritchard lays out, funeral orations were an integral part of an Athenian funeral. Stevens adds to the discussion in stating that it was commonplace for Athenians to practice a "Charon's obol" custom: a ritual where they would place a coin of a small denomination into the mouth of the recently deceased to pay Charon, the ferryman of the dead for the safe passage of a soul across the river Styx and into Hades.

The absence of these funeral customs is twofold and shows the extent of elite panic within Athenian society. According to the Greek mythology of the time, without the necessary funds—from Charon's obol—to bribe Charon for passage across the Styx, the deceased would have an abnormal journey into the Underworld and run the risk of not making it into Hades. A lack of funeral orations for the dead reveals a larger devolution of Athenian society, as Pritchard explains: "funeral oration can be seen not simply as an introduction of Athenian traits but also as a justification of their claim to be the champions, and […] the leaders of the Greeks." A comparable example of "elite panic" can be seen in the re-establishment of a citizenship legislation which confined Athenian citizenship to only those who had Athenian citizens as parents. The re-enactment of this law appears to defy logic, as it occurs not only after Athens loses a prolonged Peloponnesian War, but also after a plague. Both of these events contributed to a decline of the Athenian populous, hence repealing citizenship laws would have only benefitted Athens' rebirth and revival. Overall, the abnormal abandoning of funeral rites shows "elite panic" in one of two ways. The first, where elected elites of Athenian society panicked to the extent they were unable to ensure the correct funeral practices were observed. As a result of their panic, and in the second way, the Athenians also lost the ability to call themselves the "elites" of the Greeks, foreshadowing the eventual loss of their hegemony.

San Francisco Earthquake

A slightly more modern example of "elite panic" comes from the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. At 5.12am on 18 April 1906 an earthquake with an estimated magnitude of 7.9 devasted the city of San Francisco. It decimated thousands of unreinforced brick buildings, and fires fuelled by broken gas mains erupted across the city, engulfing wooden Victorian-style homes. Officials attempted to fight the fire by using explosives to induce fire breaks; as you could imagine, this had the opposite effect anticipated, and the resulting inferno became one of history's largest blazes before the advent of aerial warfare. Nearly every official building was destroyed and three thousand dead. It was expected that due to a complete breakdown of social order and society, mass panic would ensue. Yet, humanity clawed itself out of the flames. Amelia Holshouser set up a soup kitchen in the Golden Gate Park, attempting to feed the thousands with one tin can for them to drink from and one pie plate to eat off. People took stoves out of destroyed buildings in order to build up Holshouser's kitchen. Love bloomed out of the rubble, with an overworked marriage license clerk recording that the fees collected for issuing licences during April and May 1906 were far higher than the four previous years.

The element of "elite panic" comes into play through the reaction of a certain Brigadier General Frederick Funston. Whilst Funston originally marched his troops into the devastated city with mayoral consent, it soon became obvious to residents that the military was becoming the oppressor. As the blaze burned, Funston's forces drove residents away from areas of the city that could have been saved through traditional firefighting methods. Instead, Funston elected to blow up parts of the city, killing anywhere between seventy five to five hundred residents of San Francisco.

Funston was not the worst "elite" in the 1906 fire, however. That horror belongs to Mayor Eugene Schmitz. On that day Schmitz issued the following order: "The Federal Troops, […] Police Force, have been authorized by me to KILL any and all persons found engaged in Looting or in the Commission of Any Other Crime." This shoot-to-kill order aptly encapsulates "elite panic": the looting that Schmitz was so afraid of was citizens combing through the rubble and salvaging all they could for communal soup kitchens. Moreover, the very soldiers who were stationed to prevent looting actually ended up becoming the looters.

Closing Thoughts

To close, mass social panic in reaction to disaster events is abnormal. People are much more likely to band together in events such as the San Francisco fire, the London Blitz, in the wake of 9/11. A desire to work together has proven to be a normal, inherently a human trait.

The risk of "elite panic" in the modern day is abnormal and it can be catastrophic. For the Athenians, they lost their social hierarchy. The residents of San Francisco lost their homes. What will we lose when our *elites* panic? As more restrictions become placed upon our freedoms, such as the attempt to stop the Armistice Day protests, it is vital that we remain aware of our 'elites' and hold them in check if they start to panic. Henry Anderson Lafler (a San Francisco resident) summed up the consequences of "elite panic" when he said:

"The stories have but one beginning and one end. They begin with the criminal idiocy of the military; they end with the surmounting heroism of the citizen. During those unforgettable days the city of San Francisco was even as, a city captured in war, the possession of an alien foe. … we, the citizens of San Francisco—that we should have thus been suddenly gripped by the throat by a stupid soldiery, and held fast till all our city burned?"

HALF SEEN, HALF UNSEEN: RETHINKING BIRACIAL HISTORY

HARRY FRY

"Whether they call themselves mixed, biracial, interracial, or multiracial, these individuals represent the next logical step in the progression of civil rights." Reginald Daniel writes with not only a focus on black and white ethnicities common in scholarship, but also with 'iconoclastic attitudes towards racial identity'. Instead, given biracial history was formalised under the wave of late twentieth-century progressive discussions, its identity and labels must be evaluated in detachment; impeded from collapsing into more researched fields. Shifting epistemologies are necessary, yet historiography cannot be revised unless exclusive models on biracial selfhood are redrawn and fully recognised. This youthful field of inquiry into biracial identities and experiences has been submerged within established methodologies on racial history. Biracial historiography remains in need of individuality, and more grounded comprehension of their actual emotions, which were inconstant throughout history. Biracial individuals are unique in their continual portrayal as genetically unconventional and socially atypical until the recent day. One must rescope themes of white supremacy, fears on hybridity, and interracial marriage, as well as how the feelings of non-white groups played out within this topic.

Biracial history spans back to the Ancient World, albeit not existing as a title, through intense migration levels under the Roman Empire. Multiracial identities were brought to attention and formalised during the colonial period, notably as segregation in the United States was maintained despite interracial relations under Antebellum slavery and subsequently within society. Whilst biracial history did not enter scholarly consideration until the turn of the past century, their existences were scrutinised heavily in law, politics, and society from colonial periods. This activity has been monitored closely in historiography, yet sufficient command of biracial selfhood - prior to this official recognition of them and even through this period - remains absent. Therefore, true comprehension of their actual existences until the present day, particularly in sociological and wider racial history discussions, is impaired. A point could be made even on their lack of consideration as a unique racial entity away from academia. Within historiography, this is largely due to its field of inquiry being merged within more established racial studies, typically with a focus on the experience of biracial African Americans in the modern United States. These parallels are an intriguing segment of research yet have caused significant biracial narratives to be overlooked and misinterpreted. It is necessary to locate more grounded frameworks around biracial selfhood and identity, and to

consider biracial experiences under Western as well as non-Western environments from all perspectives.

Sentiments towards genetic purity in Western minds originated from monoracial normality, refuting that biracial individuals were anything but unconventional. In 'modern' science post-Enlightenment, the argument was to maintain white purity, hence narrating themselves as supreme. From the 1840s, leading evolutionists argued that different races breeding would cause their offspring to be infertile: eugenic (aligned races) could interact, yet dysgenic (opposing races) could not. Aspinall infers that fear amongst experts was rooted in the idea of 'hybrid degeneration', where white genetics (perceived as intelligence) and non-white genetics (named physical strength) both would not exist in biracial offspring. This argument can be extended through connecting it to eugenic theory, which rose from Darwin's *Origins of Species* (1859) and Galton's *Hereditary Genius* (1869), insisting that artificial selection would optimise human breeding. Probed by racist ideology, scientists believed mixing races would interfere with European/WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) genetics. For instance, Hitler's mission to preserve an Aryan bloodline made all non-white individuals appear inferior. However, this evaluation can be strengthened through naming a difference in biracial individuals and entirely non-white individuals. Interracial mixing appeared too experimental and problematic for scientists who contemporarily proposed it caused genetic deletion, such as heterochromia in Anglo-Chinese males. A range of physical abnormalities were connected to the biracial populace, as if they were dirty: in British ports during the Race Riots of 1919, biracial interaction made authorities question "social hygiene" and "moral welfare". This isolated them as not merely pointless creations, but atypical humans.

Traditionalists such as Naomi Zack consolidated marriage as a central theme in biracial history, but the treatment of interracial couples needs to be threaded into the experiences of their children. The monumental social stigma around biracial families directly impacted the core of them: children growing up in an unwelcome environment where communities questioned their existence. This is where interdisciplinary scrutiny can be productive, as historical sociologists detect the consequences of first-time biracial

parents caring for their children under societal intolerance and absent support. *Loving v. Virginia* (1967) ended legal restriction in the US on anti-miscegenation, following a monumental end of identical laws throughout the Western World; post-colonial states faced inbuilt activity between races under colonisation and therefore had largely indirectly accepted their existence. In conjunction with the end of numerous Western anti-immigration legislation, the number of biracial families grew substantially. Nevertheless, grassroot support groups were only formed upon this legalisation and mostly were contained inside the United States, notably Chicago's Biracial Family Network (1981), Washington DC's Interracial Family Circle (1983) and the Multiracial Americans of South Carolina (1986). These examples are slim and confirm the limited support for these families and resultant shortage of biracial empowerment. Even within popular belief, biracial couples were made invisible: an early Asian Hollywood actress, Anna May Wong, and her portraits kissing co-star Jameson Thomas, were banned in the United States. Ultimately, following desegregation and postcolonialism, biracial individuals were placed in the centre of nothing; still without a solidified bracket in academia. In society, they were and are regularly perceived not as their own identity, but as white or a person of colour.

The personal identity of biracial communities has not been established, as historiographical understanding of their selfhood as well as non-Eurocentric perspectives is limited. The biracial populace should consistently be viewed in scholarship as any individual belonging with two ethnicities or more. This is vital as Minkah Makalani repeatedly suggested a "colour-blind society" exists concerning perceptions on biracial individuals, as regardless of what percentage of each culture they belong to, their environment decides how they will be recognised. Broadly, in the West, biracial individuals are commonly viewed through solely their non-white ethnicity, and outside the West, they will inversely be observed as white. Being deemed the "other" historically and contemporarily, the lack of identity awarded to the biracial community is due to accidental stereotyping from both Western and non-Western environments. Relating the present day to the past is significant, as connections should be made between realities. Importantly, biracial African Americans "passing" through white society through

lightening their skin throughout the 1900's and East Asian as well as South African post-colonial beauty standards, feeding into how "lighter" biracial physicalities are often deemed as fortunate in appearance. It can be noted that biracial individuals likely have begun to connect on their united feelings of cultural dysphoria, especially as discussions on multicultural and diasporic experiences have grown. This premise of universal cultural dysphoria means Makalani's critique on mixed parentage evaluation being limited to the "black historical experience" in historiography is justified. In order for a sense of individuality to be established, all forms of biracial existences throughout history must be placed at the forefront. Albert Mosley revives formal classification of biracial individuals in scholarship, acknowledging how these tendencies in opposing racial studies are unproductive for biracial history. Being frequently diminished as neither their cultures, the biracial populace has frequently been positioned into the wrong categories, simultaneously preventing their own identities from being sufficiently formed.

The world of biracial studies needs to be distinguished from past assumptions and oversight into even their contemporary experiences. In supporting novel approaches, isolated from overlapping topics, historiography will move closer towards comprehending the emotions felt by multiracial individuals throughout history; allowing them to be fully seen. Their distinctive perception as abnormal beings resulting from cultures interacting is tough to unravel, yet of central importance. The first university course which examined biracial experiences was Reginald Daniel's *Betwixt and Between*, dating back to 1989. While Ifekwunigwe's subsequent "four global pillars" on racial mixing is elevated as formalising biracial history, it merely surrounded the topic with European gender and racial hierarchies. Rather than persisting confining the scope of inquiry, glueing it to unmovable frameworks, we ought to return to some initial theories made by Daniel. Biracial people have always been viewed uniquely, and comments proposed on their selfhood must reflect that.

NO, ASEXUALITY IS NOT A NEW 'INTERNET ORIENTATION'

ELENA FRITZSCH

Whilst the term "asexuality" is understood by some as a new internet phenomenon, asexual people have always existed – though perhaps not in the terms we know today.

The recent Stonewall *Ace in the UK Report* highlights how asexual respondents have lower life satisfaction, more prevalent mental health issues and are less likely to be out to friends, family and colleagues compared to others in the LGBTQ+ community. Recent representations on screen, in hit Netflix shows *Sex Education* and Heartstopper, have led to current conversations of what asexuality is and what it means to be asexual.

Asexual activist Yasmin Benoit, collaborator on the Stonewall report, has received criticism for what has been tokened "the endless quest for victimhood" in the call for asexual people's legal recognition and protection under UK law.

As the largest archive on asexuality (*The Asexual Visibility and Education Network* or *AVEN*) exists online, and the term gained prominence at the turn of the century with the rise of the internet, the label "the world's first internet orientation" has seemed inescapable. This label is generally used to suggest that asexuality was invented online, or as a trend amongst Gen Z to find a label of anything other than straight. This not only undermines the identity of many people but offers a dangerous narrative that delegitimises a minority group. As such, impacting their protection in law and leaving them vulnerable to medical intervention.

Asexuality's presence in renowned sexological texts demonstrates that asexuality is just as prevalent in the history of sexology – and the medicalisation of sex – as its lesbian, gay and bisexual counterparts. Thus, claims that asexuality is a new internet identity are not only dismissive of a whole sexual minority, but ahistorical. Whilst the specific term

ILLUSTRATION BY AILSA FRASER

'asexual' has only gained popular use in the last twenty years, the history of asexuality in its understanding of people who experience little or no sexual attraction is as long as the history of sexology itself. Like most histories of sexual minorities, asexual people were always there, you just need to look for them.

Where are the asexuals?

On screen….

One would assume that if asexuality really was an internet orientation, asexuals would be better represented on screen, where television and film is desperate to be relevant to the everchanging concept of identity.

Whilst the characters of O in season four of *Sex Education* and

Heartstopper's Isaac both point to wider asexual representation on screen, they are still only two examples out of eight in the 2022-2023 television season. The American non-profit organisation GLAAD counted eight ace characters across broadcast, cable and streaming services, an increase from just two the year before. This lack of representation is particularly important when we look at how this group is represented, with criticisms from the ace community of the character arc of O. Her characterisation as an antagonist to the main character Otis, particularly in their battle to be sex therapist, positions her as cold and calculating – a common stereotype of ace or ace assumed characters.

However, representations of an ace woman of colour are important to note, especially when the majority of onscreen asexual representation has been white and male. This male representation contrasts historical sexological narratives,

which have perpetuated the idea that women have a lower sex drive than men, focusing on "frigidity" as a mental disorder in women (in the rare occasions women were studied). This connects to the modern medicalisation of asexuality, where *Hypoactive Sexual Desire Disorder* (HSDD), a current medicalised definition related to having low or no sex drive, is disproportionately diagnosed in heterosexual women.

In medical institutions…

The shift from the criminalisation to the medicalisation of homosexuality – from the late nineteenth to middle of the twentieth century – marked a change in the history of Western European sexology. This included scientists like Magnus Hirschfield, who attempted to repeal Paragraph 175 (which criminalised homosexuality in Germany) on the grounds it opposed scientific knowledge, highlighting the importance of science in who is considered an expert in sexual identity.

Hypoactive Sexual Desire Disorder highlights how asexuality is still medicalised in the International Classification of Diseases, offering a modern example of medicalisation of sexuality. Whilst some argue it is considered a disorder because of emotional impact, this seems unconvincing due to the lack of recognition of asexuality as a sexual orientation.

An internet search on treatments of HSDD in the UK offered conflicting results, especially in relation to asexuality. It has long been a medical trend, specifically in psychiatry, to attempt to 'treat' sexual difference. Homosexual men in post-war Britain were subject to a range of chemical and electrical experiments, performed as part of "aversion therapy" which was intent on altering sexual orientation. This practice continued until the early 1970s. As such, the treatment of both homosexuality and asexuality as medical conditions is inherently outdated.

Whilst we could consider HSDD as adjacent to, rather than the same as, asexuality, the lack of protection of asexual people under UK law means the two cannot be legally separated. This means someone who identifies as asexual is particularly vulnerable to being medically 'treated'. The protection and recognition of asexuality as a sexual orientation under the

2010 Equality Act would legitimise it as more than an "internet orientation" and lead to inclusion of asexuals in the proposed ban on conversion therapy, something asexual people are 10 per cent more likely to be offered or to undergo than other orientations. The ban's exclusion of asexuals shows the role of both governmental and medical institutions, rather than the internet, in normalising or repressing identities.

In the history of sexology…

The presence of asexuality in the history of sexology highlights how its medicalisation is not a modern phenomenon.

In his infamous 1886 *Psychopathia Sexualis,* Richard von Krafft Ebing discussed ten cases of what he termed "Anaesthesia Sexualis" (Absence of Sexual Feeling). Krafft Ebing viewed this 'absence' as a "congenital anomaly", describing the subjects as people completely disinclined to sexual activity of any kind, noting some who only masturbated. This, like most variants in sexuality at the time, was considered a type of mental disorder. While Krafft Ebing's thinking is symbolic of the medicalisation of sexuality it also offers some form of asexual representation in a history that focuses on its male homosexual counterparts.

In his 1948 report *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male*, Alfred Kinsey established what is now popularly known as the Kinsey Scale, used to gauge a person's sexual orientation. The scale ranges from 0 to 6, with 0 being marked as "exclusively heterosexual" and 6 marking "exclusively homosexual". The numbers between mark a graded scale of bisexuality. Though this is widely known, the existence of the 'X' category in this data, which he defined as "men with no socio sexual contacts or response" (with women included in his later 1953 report) is less discussed. Through his creation of a new category, positioned in relation to hetero-, homo- and bi- sexuality, Kinsey implied that not feeling sexual attraction could exist as its own category and thus its own sexual orientation.

Whilst these are just two examples of the presence of asexuality in the history of sexology, their prominence in key texts demonstrates the historical presence of an orientation that involves not feeling sexual attraction, though not in words we recognise today.

In conclusion…

Whilst asexuality is new to our screens, asexual people have always existed. Claims asexuality is an "internet orientation" can be disputed through historical sexologists, where lack of sexual desire is defined in relation to other sexual identities. Asexuality's existence in relation to the disorder HSDD points to wider questions of how medical contexts have stunted acceptance of asexuality as an identity and highlights science's role in creating sexual norms, both in the past and present.

Failures to protect asexual people as a sexual orientation under the 2010 Equality Act and to include them in the ban on conversion therapy highlights a misunderstanding of asexuality, legitimised by medical institutions and disorders that suggest something is inherently wrong with experiencing little to no sex drive.

Whilst the "internet orientation" is a joke to some, these misunderstandings legitimise discrimination against a minority group, offering a tale as old as sexology itself – governments and medical institutions always seem to fail those they deem 'different'.

THE ORIGINS OF DRAG: FROM PERFORMANCE TO POLITICS

FLORA GILCHRIST

The art of drag is typically assumed by many to just be "an art." The act of dressing and performing as a gender different from your own is often undervalued and eschewed, deemed abnormal, silly dress-up, excessive, and unnecessary. Drag undercuts typical notions of gender, which have, for so long, made conventional people feel uncomfortable; for centuries, the public and those in charge have looked down on those daring to defy gender stereotypes and transgress boundaries. Many underestimate the sheer power of drag, with its political weight most often being overlooked. In order to explore drag as a form of activism, it is necessary to delve into the history of drag, its origins and turning points, noting where drag shifted from performance art into effective and eye-catching political activism.

Arguably, the earliest form of drag dates back to the Ancient Greek and Roman times. However, during this time, drag was not used as a form of activism but instead as a way to perpetuate misogyny. In the sixth century BC, women performed with men on stage in the Athenian festivals of Dionysus; yet; by the fifth century BC, these women were replaced by male counterparts dressed as women, turning them into passive spectators. From this point onwards, women were banned from the stage and performing. In a sense, drag could be seen as a political tool from the beginning, used as a means to justify why women did not need to be performers: men dressed as women were deemed just as, if not more, successful. This ban on female performers continued to facilitate the normalisation of the art of drag, famously used in Elizabethan times for Shakespeare's plays, where, once again, men dressed up as women to play female characters.

It was not until the late 1800s that drag and the act of dressing as the opposite gender started to become a means of cultural expression. Drag moved off the public stages, ceasing to be used as a political tool by the state to ban women from performing, and transformed into a creative means of expressing identity and sexuality. This brings us to the first self-identifying drag queen, William Dorsey Swann, who shows us that drag was not only transformational as a cultural medium, but also integral as part of people's identities. This period is also when drag becomes a source of political activism. Swann was the leader of a queer activist group made up of drag queens known as the House of Swann. This initiative started arguably as a bottom-up movement, with

ILLUSTRATION BY AOIFE CÉITINN

Swann's being born into slavery and living on a plantation in Maryland, America; however, the movement transformed into a political weapon, sparking dialogues between Congress and the queer community. In 1896, Swann requested a pardon from President Grover Cleveland for holding a drag ball. Swann requested the pardon due to many drag balls being secretive and then consequentially raided and shut down by the police. The very fact Swann chose to communicate with the political sphere shows the attempt at bridging the gap between art and politics, and normalising perceptions towards drag. Whilst Cleveland denied the request, the act of Swann taking legal action and bringing his art to the top of the political hierarchy shows that drag is so much more than just dressing as a different gender. The House of Swann remains a striking example of how drag also holds the ability to penetrate the political sphere.

If we progress into the twentieth century, it is clear that this political dimension of drag only flourishes further, with more drag groups, balls, and performances, thus subverting societal standards and what is considered 'normal.' Although the first drag balls took place as early as 1869 at Harlem's Hamilton Lodge, it was not until the 1920s that drag regained visibility and started to infiltrate into the public sphere. The exciting and enticing nature of the balls helped to gain attention from the public and to recruit respectable attendees, including poet Charles Henri Ford and author Parker Tyler. Drag balls shifted from being underground clandestine initiatives to diverse events (club nights, day festivals, balls) open to the public, thus sparking a dialogue between drag, politics, and society. Drag was no longer a secret activity, but instead co-existed with the state. For example, the drag ball masquerade of Rockland Palace had nearly 6,000 attendees and was accepted by state officials, who only refused entry to people when the venue could not hold anyone else. In Harlem, there was the yearly 'Fairies Ball which provided a space for different races, ethnicities, and genders to intersect, with poet Langston Hughes calling the balls 'spectacles in colour.' Drag unapologetically forced itself into the public sphere, pioneered by the queer community's longing to be included

instead of shunned as 'abnormal.' The increasing visibility given to drag balls exemplifies the active role drag held in society through shifting perspectives on what is 'normal,' and subverting expectations on how you should act in order to uphold your gender.

An integral turning point in the history of drag that must be acknowledged is the Stonewall Riots. The Stonewall Riots effectively connected the art of drag with important political advances in LGBTQIA+ rights. During the riots, drag was used as a political tool, where drag queens promoted inclusivity and acceptance, raising awareness about the lack of respect and marginalisation of the queer community. Prominent figures such as self-proclaimed drag queen Marsha P. Johnson engaged in the protests, standing up against the oppression and alienation felt by so many queer people across America. Arguably, it was at this moment in history that drag became a credible, legitimate, and integral means of protest, heavily intertwined into the web of politics, society, and culture.

Nowadays, drag continues to be openly used as a political tool as well as a mode of self-expression. Pop culture has aided the inclusion and normalisation of drag in mainstream media. RuPaul's *Drag Race* has catapulted drag into the limelight, being aired to mainstream audiences in many different countries. This allows drag to be seen by people who would otherwise not be exposed to it, creating a community of exploration and acceptance. However, despite this positivity, the queer community and drag continue to receive threats and be deemed 'abnormal.'

With the sudden rise of anti-LGBTQIA+ legislation, many drag queens have taken to the streets to protest. Those against drag claim it is inappropriate for young people, with Tennessee Republican lawmakers aiming to ban drag performances to "protect children." These initiatives to ban drag and silence the queer community have been met with opposition, exemplified by the drag queen led protest in Los Angeles in Easter 2023. These protests are exemplary of the wide intersection between the art of drag and politics, which has often been negated from the historical and political canon.

By delving into the history of drag, we are able to see its power as a political tool, cultural community, and means of artistic expression, which continues to echo through society amidst the hatred. The efforts of past drag icons have allowed drag to become a platform for exploration, creativity, and change. With the continuing anti-LGBTQIA+ pejorative, this means drag is still on the precipice, not entirely being accepted by all, but always providing a space of love, refuge, and safety for queer people of all ages.

JOSEPH MERRICK, 'THE ELEPHANT MAN', IN DISABLISM DISCOURSE

MEGAN CRUTCHLEY

Joseph Merrick, or more degradingly known as 'The Elephant Man', was famous during the last years of the ninetieth century due to his extreme deformities. It is still debated as to what his real diagnoses was, as his skeleton has been bleached so often that modern testing often comes back inconclusive. Merrick has remained a prominent subject of the public eye, with a film by David Lynch made about him in 1980, nearly one hundred years after his death. It is the tragedy of Merrick's life which attracts many modern audiences to his story, and this tragic narrative is constructed in Lynch's film. However, as with many films, there is a dramatic narrative spun which does not always speak to real life. When looking at Merrick and his life, we must take into account the context in which he lived, as well as avoid seeing him as a helpless victim. As I will discuss in this piece, Merrick often suffered due to the interpretation of his life being something to be pitied.

It is important to acknowledge that the film *The Elephant Man* was predominantly inspired by the memoirs of Frederick Treves, the doctor who cared for Merrick after he became a patient at the London Hospital. Treves, for his own interests and possibly because he did see himself as the hero of Merricks story, painted himself out to be a sort of saviour to Merrick, rescuing him from the backstreet freakshows of London and placing him amongst civilised society. The film continues this narrative, having Treves only briefly reflect on whether he is just as bad as the freakshow runners by having Merrick displayed for medical reasons. Ultimately, it concludes that Treves is a good man who only has good intentions for Merrick, and the hospital is surely a better place than the conditions in which Merrick was living before.

Merrick himself, in the film, is made out to be this archetype of a gentle giant. Although he frightens other characters due to his deformity, he is secretly a gentleman. He speaks eloquently, has beautiful manners, is grateful to all those around him and his deepest desire is simply to be like everyone else. Although this is the perfect way to create this sense of tragedy that viewers feel, in the realisation that he is uncurable and therefore can never be like anyone else, it enhances a dangerous narrative that normality is all he should want.

As I mentioned, the narrative spun in the film is predominantly taken from Treves web of memoirs about Merrick. However, Tom Norman, the man who Merrick himself worked with when he worked at the freakshows, also wrote memoirs on Merrick's life. Merrick was a working-class man who was

ILLUSTRATION BY DALMA ROMAN

born in Leicester in 1862. From the age of eleven he was employed as an unskilled labourer, first at a cigar factory and then as a pedlar. He ended up being kicked out of his stepmother and father's house due to his appearance, as his stepmother found him grotesque, and then lived intermittently with his uncle and in lodging houses, until he had to check himself into the workhouse. He stayed there for five years. Norman claims that Merrick believed those days to be the worst of his life. It was through the freakshow that Merrick was able to leave the workhouse, as it was the only way he could earn a living with his disability. Although the freakshows were exploitative of people with disabilities or deformities, they did provide a way for people in Victorian society to make a living when the typical option of manual labour became available. Merrick was able to support himself financially and live independently due to the money he made from the freakshows, with Norman reporting that Merrick was able to save £50 in five months, a considerable sum for a working-class man during this period.

Merrick was found by Treves at the freakshow, who became fascinated with his potential for medical research. Before Merrick was checked into the London Hospital, Treves would turn up to the freakshow tent that Merrick worked in out of hours and demand to see him in order to show him to his colleagues. This demonstrates Treves lack of respect for Merrick's bodily autonomy, which Merrick chose to exercise by charging people to see him. Treves refused to go to view Merrick with the rest of the freakshow goers, presuming a right to Merrick's body that no-one else had, and at the disregard of Merrick.

This only worsened by the time Merrick had been checked into the hospital. He was expected to be prepared for examination at any given moment, with Treves constantly displaying him nude for other colleagues, and photographing him. This was perpetuated by the fact that while Merrick was in the hospital, he was unable to make a living – he became financially dependent on the hospital, a charity case who had to appeal to the public for funds to support him. Due to this, he lost his independence and was always at the mercy of the upper-class public which supported him financially. He became a sort of celebrity of high society, being inundated by visitors. Treves was putting Merrick up for display the same way he had been at the freakshow, but because his viewers were better dressed, he could not see the resemblance. For Merrick, he was emasculated and made dependent by Treves, taking away the one thing he valued most in the world – his freedom.

Another point of contention between Norman and Treves memoirs is Merrick's cause of death. Treves maintains that Merrick died of a dislocated neck and asphyxiation, trying to sleep lying down like other people. Norman, after giving the reports from hospital staff who claimed that Merrick was depressed and would often ask when he could leave the hospital and continue work with Norman, believes that Merrick's death was suicide. Treves, however, reports that Merrick was happy at the hospital.

David Lynch's film also misses out what happens after Merrick's death. Treves stripped Merrick's body of its flesh, had his bones boiled down and the rest buried in an unmarked grave in the hospital graveyard. Merrick's bones were put on display, for doctors and upper-class society to see. Norman also continued to profit from Merrick after his death, with his waxwork stall which used to travel with the freakshows, had a bust of Merrick's head in it. It was taken off display when Norman sold the show, put into a special stirring case, and has never been exhibited since.

Going back to Lynch's representation of Merrick after having heard the two narratives around Merrick's life may be constructed, a valid question to ask is why Merrick was presented as the way he was in the film, as the way Treves wrote him? Is this choosing one exploitative narrative for another, due to Treves status as an upper-class doctor? Although both narratives demonstrate that Merrick's deformity and disability were taken advantage of, does Treves narrative appeal to this hero archetype so typically portrayed in Hollywood, and Merrick as the damsel?

I think it is also important to question why Merrick, in Lynch's film, speaks so eloquently, despite him having been treated so poorly for his entire life. Where has he learnt to speak in this way? Is his portrayal as a gentleman stuck in his own body meant to create a heightened sense of tragedy, more so than if Merrick had a Leicestershire accent and less than perfect manners? It begs the question of whether people with disabilities receive the same kind of sympathy and understanding from the public when they are not portrayed to be 'just like them' as Treves labelled Merrick. This narrative of people with disabilities only being deserving of sympathy when they are deemed by members of the public to be 'just like them' is something which continues in disablism and ablism discourse even now. For example, people with disabilities are inundated with hate online and often the subject of online jokes. One case in which this is particularly prevalent was with Harvey Price, whose mother, Katie Price, has been trying since 2017 to pass a law which makes hate against people with disabilities online illegal.

In conclusion, when we think of Joseph Merrick, it is important that we do not simplify his story to a typical damsel in distress, as Treves would have us, nor should we forget the exploitation of the freakshows during the Victorian era, as Norman would have us. We should take into account all these factors which influenced this man's life. When telling his story, it is important that he is no longer simply a body to be looked at, nor an object to place our sympathy on, but a human who was capable of articulating and supporting himself, albeit by problematic means. His story was tragic due to the time in which he lived and the exploitation he suffered. Jospeh Merrick's life is important because it allows us to look at our own society and the way we treat people with disabilities – it provides a mirror into which we can look and ask ourselves how far we have come.

SILENT BOYS OR BROKEN MEN?
TRAUMA, COMPASSION, AND ART IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

ISHAABHYA TRIPATHI

Content Warning: Mentions of war, mental illness, death, and a graphic image of a war zone.

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder has been known by many different names over the last century; early variants included "combat stress" or "combat neurosis", but the name that has most endured publicly was "shell shock". It was first observed on a large scale in men who returned from the battlefields of the First World War, and both awareness of it and attitudes towards people who suffered from it changed massively in the years following the Great War. Depictions of shell shock in the art and literature of the period reflect the feelings and experiences of veterans of this war, as well as being a cultural expression of the passionate anti-war movements that developed after 1918.

At first, the image that existed in the public mind of the First World War soldier was that of a hero. This made little allowance for acknowledging the horrific conditions inside the trenches and understanding the reactions of people who had survived the conflict. Public opinion surrounding war itself changed drastically from 1914 to 1918, with the intense patriotism at the beginning shifting to something more subdued later on. Army nurse Vera Brittain wrote about how propaganda that previously encouraged a 'pro patria' sentiment changed midway to inspire resilience in a population that was growing tired of the constant economic struggles and constraints of the wartime period. It was this sort of fatigue in the public consciousness that brought up questions about the purpose of war and the meaning of the pain, suffering, and death on the Western Front. War poet Siegfried Sassoon commented in a parliamentary address shortly before the 1917 Battle of Passchendaele: "I believe that the War is being deliberately prolonged by those who have the power to end it".

This reflected the view of many people who started to think that the war went from a genuine defence of the realm to a reckless desire for military glory. The image of the soldier as a hero changed accordingly, taking on a more sombre effect as the hero was displaced by the notion of a victim. Viewing the war as pointless invalidated the service of people who had fought in it. Maintaining an element of patriotism meant that the conflict's casualties and deaths could be seen as sacrifices rather than the product of a complete disregard of human life. Far-left political movements used this image as part of anti-war protests, stating that the trauma that they suffered was the result of an unnecessary, protracted, and devastating war.

Generally, neither military nor medical communities at the time could be credited as being compassionate or sympathetic. Medically, there were three main categories into which the causes of shell shock were consigned. The first category viewed shell shock as the result of physical illness or injury. The second viewed it as a type of "malingering", i.e., shirking duty. The third posited that shell shock originated in the mind and was not intrinsically connected to physical injury. A Canadian army officer's report from 1919 examines the pasts of soldiers suffering from shell shock and suggests throughout that emotional reactions to the war could be attributed to individual insufficiency instead of the intensely traumatic nature of the situations endured as a result of service in the military. In this document, Canadian Army Medical Corps Captain C.F. Tisdall describes the mannerisms of soldiers from the very beginning of their service, stating that the nervousness that some of these men exhibited after experiencing combat had been present all along. The implication is that an individual's demeanour made them more susceptible to the mental toll of war. Placing the fault on something as intrinsic, specific, and unchangeable as personal disposition shows how the soldiers were expected to adapt to war zones without issue, and that there was minimal

Figure 1: Paul Klee, The Great Emperor, Armed for Battle, 1921

Figure 2: Otto Dix, Gas Victims (Templeux-La-Fosse, August 1916) (Gastote [Templeux-La-Fosse, August 1916]) from The War (Der Krieg), 1924
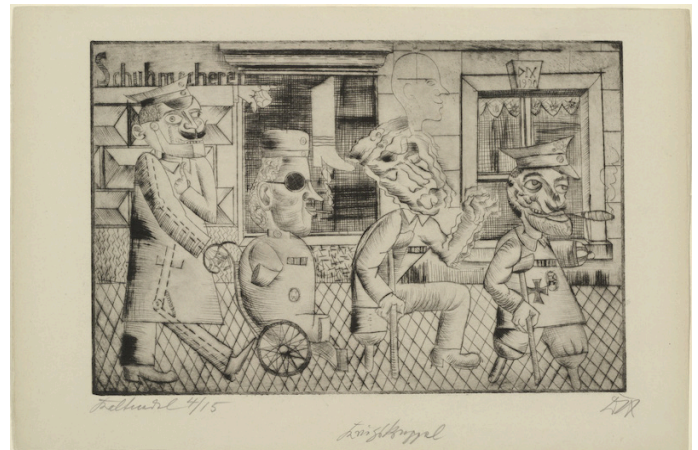

Figure 3: Otto Dix, War cripples (Kriegskrüppel), 1920

acknowledgment of the negative mental impact of combat itself.

The idea that shell shock was a manifestation of moral weakness was widespread in medical literature, with a publication from British India mentioning how difficult it was to distinguish genuine manifestations of trauma from displays of cowardice. Also mentioned was the link—or sometimes, lack thereof—between physical and mental injury. The term "shell shock" was criticised because so few trauma cases came from actual physical contact with shells or explosions. The negative mental impact of combat on soldiers who had witnessed it without sustaining any physical injuries themselves was legitimised to a certain extent, but this was limited by general suspicions about the validity of shell shock. There were concerns that reports of shell shock were nothing more than "malingering" and excuses for not serving time in the army. Just like in Canada, military officials in British India attributed nervous breakdowns following combat to either underlying mental health conditions or simply a personality type that was seen as inadequately suited for enduring war.

Art and culture provided an invaluable outlet for the expression of war trauma and public awareness surrounding it. Aspects of surrealism were informed by ideas about mental unrest, such as hallucinations and delirium. Surrealist art came to be considered the product of "madmen", resulting from psychiatric conditions—such as mania and dementia—that formed part of the trauma caused by the war and supposedly inspired such pieces. The basis of surrealism is a distortion of the human experience, and this was present in different ways in the artwork produced during and after the First World War. Swiss-German artist Paul Klee's artwork featured the First World War, but in a more indirect sense since his military role involved logistics rather than actual combat. In his 1921 painting *The Great Emperor, Armed for Battle*, the exaggerated and uneven proportions of the

'emperor' indicate the surrealist style of the work. The clubs held by the 'emperor' are interesting in this context, because the First World War is widely considered the first truly mechanised conflict. Klee's depiction of such rudimentary weapons could therefore be interpreted as a commentary on civilisation. The mixed religious symbols—the cross hanging from the central figure's neck and the menorah balancing on his head—and the fact that the 'emperor's' arms appear to be rainbows suggest that the painting demonstrates the blurred lines between civilian and military realities through its incorporation of themes that intersect said realities, such as religion.

The darker side of surrealism looked at war more directly and perhaps provided a clearer picture of trauma and its effects. German artist Otto Dix served in the Battle of the Somme and on the Eastern Front during the First World War. In his collection of prints entitled *Der Krieg* or *The War*, he illustrated his experiences. His work confronts the war in a very direct and graphic way. Whilst the titular gas victims are very easily identifiable, the scratched-out faces of the dead soldiers, as well as the lack of perspective, is how reality is distorted in this work. Surrealist aspects and the effects of war are shown throughout the collection, but arguably the most jarring is *Kriegskrüppel*, in which disabled veterans make their way down a street. Ironically, they go past a shoemaker, despite them not being able to wear shoes as a result of their injuries and amputations.

Despite its widespread presence in both personal life and the cultural scene, shell shock remained an underreported and misunderstood topic for the first few decades of the twentieth century. The conflicts that followed the First World War resulted in increased cases and increased public awareness of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

"A VISION OF BLUE MOUNTAINS": RE-CONCEPTUALISING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LEPROSY LITERATURE WITHIN TWENTIETH-CENTURY JAPANESE SANITARIA

KAT JIVKOVA

For most of the twentieth century, leprosy sufferers in Japan were ostracised from broader society. A combination of government health policy, social stigma, and disease misconception rendered victims of leprosy voiceless against these prejudices. This was exacerbated by the promulgation of the 1931 Leprosy Prevention Law, which forcibly confined sufferers within a network of thirteen national sanitaria – by 1955, these specialised hospitals housed approximately 12,000 people. Isolated from their families and subjected to human rights abuses, many leprosy patients turned to writing as a means of coping with their situation. From the sanitaria rose a distinct literary genre, "leprosy literature", which empowered patients to freely express their identities and experiences as sufferers of Hansen's Disease. In some cases, these pieces of literature were produced in the poetic forms of tanka and haiku, or as short stories, and were circulated in intramural magazines across sanitaria.

Since the 1990s, twentieth-century leper communities in Japan have been increasingly investigated by historians, resulting in a rich body of scholarship centred on public health policy. However, much of this earlier scholarship placed disproportionate focus on the establishment of sanitaria under government quarantine policy, while neglecting patient agency *within* these sanitaria. To rectify this, Kathryn Tanaka calls for a closer reading of patient writing in these institutions, which can shed light on patient agency. In my analysis of several important pieces of literature that arose from within Tokyo's sanitaria, I extend Tanaka's argument. In particular, I challenge the dominant narrative of Japanese leprosy history, most famously argued by Fujino Yukata, as a story of patients achieving victory over

their oppressive governments. Indeed, a revised analysis of leprosy literature can reveal a more nuanced account of the experiences of leprosy patients which does not necessarily fall into the dichotomy of victim and oppressor.

Leprosy, or Hansen's Disease, is a chronic infectious disease, which can affect the eyes and skin, mucous membranes, and the peripheral nerves. Historically, Japanese society classified leprosy sufferers as "nonpersons" (*hinin)*, which can be attributed to fears of the visible deformities that the disease produced. Documents from as early as 712 describe leprosy patients as hermits, who had allegedly acquired their disease from bad karma. The earliest accounts of segregation for leprosy sufferers in Japan comes from the Kamakura period, during which Buddhist facilities were established to house those affected. This was extended further in the Tokugawa period, with lepers creating their own villages tied to spaces of religious significance, such as nearby Buddhist temples.

Meanwhile, the governments of the Taisho and Meiji periods considered leprosy as a threat to the nation's development. The rise of eugenics in the inter-war period furthered the government's concern for the spread of leprosy, and resulted in the enforcement of the prevention law, described as "fascist" by Yukata. Subsequently, the 1930s saw the emergence of leprosy literature (*rai bungaku)*, which was circulated in magazines; *Aisei*, for instance, was established in 1931 in the Nagashina Aisei-en sanitarium and comprised specific sections dedicated to poems and prose written by leprosy

patients. Leprosy literature became specifically defined as "literature written by lepers which takes leprosy as its theme" and became popular outside of the sanitaria as well – though patients were confined within hospital walls, their thoughts, ideas and experiences were not. As argued by Tanaka, patient writing in this period was not simply a form of resistance against oppressive government policy. While some writers used writing as a platform to speak out against hospital conditions, others found happiness in the sanitaria, and their writings reflected this. In this respect, leprosy literature can be viewed as a translation of their diverse experiences as victims of perceived abnormality.

The most well-known figure of leprosy literature in the 1930s was Tamio Hojo. After his hospitalisation at Zensho, he briefly wrote for the sanitaria's magazine, *Yamazakura*. Following this, he progressed to writing short stories, backed by the famous author Yasunari Kawabata, which enjoyed acclaim outside of the sanitaria. I briefly analyse the contents of his most celebrated story, *The First Night of Life*. Published in 1936, this piece recounts the experiences of a young leprosy patient called Oda grappling with the psychological implications of his illness, and his place within the sanitaria. Arguably the most powerful point of the short story is Oda's encounter with a sight-impaired patient, Saeki, who legitimises his existence. Saeki calls them both "phoenixes", who can only be revived as human "when we completely accept the life of lepers". Thus, we see that leprosy offers its sufferers the opportunity to let go of their old selves and embrace a new human lifestyle. Clinging onto the past, before leprosy was a part of their life, is no longer

a sustainable option for Oda's suffering. In spite of Saeki's own visual impediment, he tells Oda that he will continue to write until he turns blind and, after that, "there will be another way to live". Once again, Oda is implored to learn a new way of living rather than dwell on the past, and to positively interpret his existence within the sanitarium.

Hojo's writings brought the literary pieces of leprosy patients into public prominence, resulting in numerous book compilations of poetry and prose being published by major publishers from 1939 onwards for a wider audience. In spite of Hojo's premature death in 1937 from tuberculosis, his influence on the genre of leprosy literature remains unforgotten. Kaijin Akashi similarly interprets leprosy in his poetry collection, *Hakubyo*. He initially describes leprosy as "a divine scourge" but later re-interprets it as "divine revelation". Akashi begins to understand his existence beyond "the bonds of flesh" as his health deteriorates, and his finds that humanness is not intrinsically tied to bodily condition. He states: "Only after I lost my sight did a vision of blue mountains and white clouds flare up within me". Thus, we see that Akashi no longer views his blindness as a weakness, but as a means of seeing the world as different from before. This account does not necessarily criticise the sanitaria institution, but instead reflects Akashi's poetic acceptance of life in forced isolation, and his need to find happiness in this situation. *Hakubyo* was published in the year of Akashi's death from intestinal tuberculosis and sold 250,000 copies outside of the hospital.

Indeed, while leprosy literature was first confined to official hospital magazines (*kikanshi*), this genre of writing was increasingly circulated outside of the sanitaria, sometimes aided by relief groups, including the Leprosy Prevention Association. The Association published a series of collections of patient compositions in 1933, one of which was Nagata Honami's *Recovering the Light*. The story begins with the protagonist Keikichi, and his lover Satoko, both of whom are diagnosed with leprosy and subsequently enter the sanitaria. The couple find "life in an ideal paradise" in the hospital, and the tale ends with Keikichi finding a cure for their illness. The idea of the sanitaria as a utopia was particularly prevalent in short stories published by the Association because it supported government policy regarding the isolation of leprosy patients and was a means by which these patients could still identify as citizens of Japan. In his study of industrial disease in Japan, Brett Walker convincingly argues that many leprosy sufferers saw it as their national duty to segregate themselves from broader society and were willing to sacrifice the conditions of their life for the greater good of the country. Certainly, this was not the case for all sanitaria patients; however, the presence of a large collection of stories, like Honami's, centred on finding happiness in isolation, suggests that the patient-government dichotomy was not always as clear-cut as historians have initially assumed.

Leprosy patients were physically segregated from Japanese society, but this did not erase their humanness. Japanese leprosy literature reflects the experiences of patients, who were forced to endure hardships, including loss of reproductive rights, separation from family, and deteriorating health. In spite of these harrowing conditions, the short stories written by Hojo, Akashi, and Honami provide evidence to suggest that some leprosy patients were able to find happiness in their new situation. Certainly, after the repeal of the 1931 law, many former patients led a lawsuit against the government in an effort to make clear the blatant human rights violations that had permeated state sanitaria. This analysis does not

seek to undermine the importance of such infringements, but rather to consider that leprosy literature was not necessarily always subversive; many patients accepted their situation and the possibility for a meaningful life. I end with another consideration: the publication of leprosy literature was regulated by the hospital, which calls to question how many patient works could have been refused for distribution. A comprehensive study of less popular and less circulated patient accounts originating from the sanitaria may tell us something very different about the purpose of leprosy literature.

WHY DO WE WORSHIP: A CASE STUDY ON ATATÜRK'S CULT OF PERSONALITY

ALIYA OKAMOTO ABDULLAEVA

'One day my mortal body will turn to dust, but the Turkish Republic will stand forever.'
– Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

It is 9:05 am on 10 November. Sirens sound across the Republic of Türkiye, calling forth a minute of sombre silence. A seemingly sudden paralysis, the traffic and people come to a standstill on the streets, as ferryboats on the Bosphorus blare their horns and seagulls flood the sky, commemorating the founder of the nation on the day of his death. After the minute elapses, the national anthem sings, as the nation, grateful to its Father, mourns its new state of orphanhood.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, instantly recognisable by his dignified, stern expression, piercing blue eyes and respectable European dress, fills countless schoolrooms, workrooms and living rooms with his boundless black and white portraits, which emanate his undying dynamism. He became the first president of the Republic of Türkiye in 1923 after securing victory in the Turkish War of Independence against the Ottoman monarchy, which was in a state of decline for decades. In the following years, Atatürk would modernise the constitution, abandon Sharia law, latinise the Turkish alphabet, and grant women suffrage. Embodying the 'spirit of the times', Atatürk's aspirations for the nation, coupled with his charismatic personality, garnered him great admiration as the 'Father of the Turks', not only amongst the Turkish population, but also beyond the borders of the new nation. Praise particularly came from the Western world, where his secular reforms resonated and proved Türkiye's civility and break from the perceived 'otherness' and 'backwardness' of the Ottoman Empire. Winston Churchill, John F. Kennedy and Charles De Gaulle among others, have expressed their respect for the 'immortal hero.' In addition, interestingly, the Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Square in Chile and the Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Monument in Mexico, as well as the Kemal Atatürk Avenues in Bangladesh, are three of the numerous examples of memorials built for, and streets named after, the revolutionary leader outside Türkiye. The seemingly universal appreciation for the former leader helps to emphasise the pedestal on which he is placed in the nation he founded. In Türkiye, his peculiar personality cult's pervasiveness is not only observed in the physical realm, with statues, busts, and portraits, typical of other cults of personality, but also in the mental space of the Turkish people and their sense of national identity, finding its uniqueness in the 'cultural baggage' post-Ottoman Türkiye inherited.

Religion, as argued by philosopher Benedetto Croce, is fundamental to human existence, as it possesses a certain quality that gives society political, social, and moral cohesion. Philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's advocacy of 'civil religion' adds to this argument, which acknowledges the rather pervasive nature of religion, and contends for the necessity of a communal belief system while simultaneously rejecting its metaphysical proponents. With the absence of traditional religious figures and institutions, the phenomenon of 'political religion' may occur, in which a 'sacred status' is extended to 'earthy entities' such as the nation, history, or leader. This narrative can unquestionably be seen in the

cult of Atatürk and Kemalism, the political philosophy that developed alongside his leadership. In the context of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in which the religion of Islam held authority and established the 'order of society', the formation of the Republic of Türkiye and the leadership of Atatürk meant the abandonment of the old order, with the abolition of the Caliphate, the banning of public religious practices, and replacing of the Islamic calendar. Moving towards reform, the establishment of a secular government meant a vacancy had opened for public religious expression, and with this vacancy emerged an attempt to create a new form of religion.

The contemporary secularist culture of Türkiye and the actualisation of Atatürk as the father of the nation, should therefore be understood not through the frameworks of secular ideology, rather the commonalities it holds with religion, magic and mysticism. Through deconstructing secularism, metaphors with underlying religious connotations become apparent and pervasive in the idealisation that surrounds Atatürk and his politics. With the preservation of his physical body, Atatürk is given spiritual immortality, resembling a god-like figure who transcends temporal and spatial boundaries, unifying the 'Turkish experience'. Ritualisation of the visiting of Atatürk's mausoleum in Anıtkabir began in 1953, but it was in the 1990s when the 'ritualistic protocol' became reinvigorated, as the decade saw the rise of Kurdish and Islamist social movements, which ignited public anxiety over a possible disintegration of Türkiye. Experiencing political instability, many Turks wrote personal letters to their deceased leader, complaining about the current state of the nation and seeking guidance, as a common rhetoric amongst Kemalists was the notion that if Atatürk had not died a premature death, the nation of Türkiye would be, vaguely put, in a better condition. The visiting of his resting place has not waned, with 1,659,000 visitors recorded in the month of October 2023, which held the 100th year anniversary of the Republic Day of Türkiye. The grieving and solacing experienced in Atatürk's mausoleum makes it difficult to ignore the resemblance of the sacred Sufi practice of 'visiting a saint's tomb', with journeys to Anıtkabir echoing a sort of pilgrimage.

State fetishism—a term developed by anthropologist

Micheal Taussig—referring to the 'feelings of reverence for the state', identifies the symbolic weight attached to Atatürk as an extension of the state, and thus, of Turkish nationalism. Located in northeastern Türkiye, Ardahan is an ethnically diverse and therefore contentious city, with Kurdish claims to the territory. In 1994, reports on a sighting of the silhouette of Atatürk's face looming on a mountainside in Ardahan, in mystic fashion, was used to legitimise the belief of the 'indivisible unity [of Türkiye]', subsequently denying Kurdish claims as 'unnatural', cleverly combining elements of mysticism and the fetishised symbol of Atatürk as the human form of the state. The excess of emotion felt for Atatürk was further projected onto the stone on which his face was carved, as ordinary people began to purchase and place statues and busts, in what could be argued to resemble idolatry. This is witnessed in the case of eleven-year-old Savaş, who illustrates the interdependence between the image of the state through Atatürk and the people who participated in creating and preserving it, believing that his skin would 'chip off like a statue' if scratched.

'Ne Mutlu Türkum Diyene' (how happy is the one who says I am a Turk) is one of the most repeated sayings of Atatürk as it highlighted a crucial aspect of his politics. Importantly, it was part of the *Andımız* (Our Oath), a student oath of allegiance, recited daily in Turkish primary schools between 1972 and 2013. This morning recitation could be seen as another reiteration of state fetishism, serving to instil a sense of Turkish nationalism in the form of emotional expression in the young citizenry, regardless of the classroom's ethnic makeup. Outside the school environment, quotes by Atatürk are not only heard in conversation, but can be found on banners in the streets, as tattoos on bodies and stickers on vehicles. Continuing the metaphor of religion, these *vecizeler* (sayings) by Atatürk, can be likened to *hadis* (sayings) of the Prophet Muhammad as oral transmissions of knowledge and guidance. In addition, in 1927, Atatürk chronicled the events that led to the birth of the nation in *Nutuk* (The Speech), which spanned across six days. Reprinted throughout the decades, as well as scribed into a little book, the Speech created the premise for Kemalist historiography, in which he is mythified as the sole founder of Türkiye.

Public worship was further sustained and normalised by the legal system, with the passing of the Law on Crimes Committed Against Atatürk in 1951. This law, still in process to the present day, makes insulting the memory of Atatürk, as well as damaging physical representations of the leader punishable by up to five years in prison. However, despite the abundance of institutionalised aspects of the cult of personality surrounding Atatürk—such as the widespread practice of naming schools, streets, and cultural centres after the former leader—the general public plays a pivotal role in producing and intensifying the veneration of the personality cult. Historian Emelio Gentile, echoing the theory that states the innate need for faith, proposes the fideistic interpretation for the construction of a cult of personality, in which 'spontaneous expressions of the masses' lead to the deification of a charismatic leader who 'promises them salvation', after experiencing political, social, and religious turmoil. Chantal Zakari, protesting against Islamist demonstrations in 1997, as one holds a Christian cross against evil, held up a portrait of Atatürk as though his image

itself encapsulated not only her identity as a Turk, but also the secularist and western political ideologies he championed. Revered a 'public hero of Atatürkism', Zakari is an extreme example of ordinary people taking action in strengthening the symbol of Atatürk. Calling the cult surrounding Atatürk an 'exaggeration', İzzettin Doğan, a known member of the Alevi community—a sect of Islam—nonetheless compared him to Imam Ali, the righteous successor, according to Shia Muslims, of the Prophet Muhammad. In using this analogy, Atatürk is subjected to further deification as a figure of both political and religious importance.

A majority Muslim community, Atatürk's reforms in Türkiye have always faced criticism from Islamists. However, the image of Atatürk, in its versatile nature, has historically and currently been used in contradictory ways; undermining the original doctrines of Kemalism, as well as distorting Atatürk's personality and political stance. In the religious vocational school attended by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, hung a portrait of Atatürk which depicted him in Syria wearing

Arabic clothing, instead of the significantly more popular portraits of him in western attire. Atatürk was not only seen as the man who represented the possibilities of 'European modernity' on the future of the Turkish nation and its people, but also as the manifestation of the history and heritage of the Turks, becoming Gazi (a Muslim warrior against opponents of Islam) in 1921, after victory in a battle against the Greeks. Despite being a mere honorific, referring to Mustafa Kemal as Gazi is commonplace, and its religious connotations of Muslim identity should not be overlooked.

Although the modernity of the 'cult of personality' is a manifestation of the radical breaks away from religious institutions witnessed in the early twentieth century, its tradition can be traced back to antiquity. The notion of establishing authority through charisma is evidenced in late tribal societies. Reminiscent of the polytheistic beliefs of the ancient world, which was utilised by Alexander the Great to legitimise his 'divine status' as descendant of Zeus, Atatürk was glorified as a 'secular God' alongside the monotheistic religion of Islam. The parallels between Atatürk's cult and traditional religion could be taken as evidence for the tribal psychology of humans, and hence explaining the population's acceptance in normalising the omnipresence of a deceased leader decades after political and cultural changes, subsequently rendering questions on the rationality behind acts such as of collectively standing still on 10 November to become absent from discourse. In conclusion, an outlier, there is no single person who fuels the worship around Atatürk. It is a work of both the government and the people, feeding off each other in attempts to nationalise and solidify the answer to the question of what it means to be a Turk.

DEMOLITION D-DAY: THE IMPACT OF "HOBART'S FUNNIES" ON ARMORED VEHICLE DESIGN

SAM MARKS

Since 1942, Nazi Germany had prepared for an allied invasion of continental Europe. Following the botched Allied raids at St Nazaire and at Dieppe that year, German forces became increasingly suspicious of further attempts to enter their occupied lands. The fascist regime saw the construction of the Atlantic Wall, fortifying coasts from France to Norway. General Erwin von Rommel specifically focused his efforts on fortifying the beaches of Normandy, believing it to be the key area for an Allied Invasion. Concrete fortresses and artillery cannons were built across the cliffs to take out any threats from the sea. If Allied forces somehow made it through the bombardment and to the beaches, the coastal terrain would be mired with landmines, trenches, tank traps, barbed wire, and other hazards to halt any further progress. If infantry somehow managed to make it past the traps, they would need to scale up cliffs, over one hundred feet tall in some instances, to secure a pathway to victory in Europe. These arrangements set the stage for what would become the D-Day on June 6, 1944, the first major Allied breakthrough to Nazi German-dominated Europe.

The tantamount "mission impossible" required ingenuity and a creative strategy that learned from the failings of the raids on St Nazaire and Dieppe. A key aspect of the failure of the Dieppe raid in particular was the failure of tanks to advance forward on the beaches, leaving infantry without necessary firing support. Tanks were too heavy, cumbersome, and lacked the mobility to adequately carry out a sea-based assault on fortified coasts. U.K. Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared the situation was "a time to try men of force and vision, and not be confined exclusively to those who are judged safe by conventional standards" to succeed in an invasion. The man not confined to conventional standards was Percy Hobart. His creativity and abnormal engineering practices gave Allied forces "Hobarts Funnies": a series of customized tanks specifically for more challenging terrain, to help their tide-changing victory at Normandy.

Percy Cleghorn Stanley Hobart (born June 14, 1885) was an expert in armored vehicle design. His ironclad will and intellect

made him an irreplicable figure in ensuring the success of the D-Day invasion. Prior to the siege of Normandy, Hobart had served as a Brigadier in the British Army's Royal Tank Corps since 1934. Nicknamed "Hobo", he had gained notoriety for forming the British Mobile Force in Egypt, defending the Suez Canal and later participating in the Italian Campaign during WWII. General Richard O'Connor of the Western Desert Force claimed the Mobile force was the best trained formation he had ever seen. Hobart's engineering and tactical maneuvering was so prominent that even Axis powers took notice; German General Hienz Guderian regularly used translated copies of Hobart's writings for inspiration on vehicle design. In 1937, Hobart was promoted to Major-General and made Deputy Director of Staff for Armoured Fighting Vehicles.

In the military circles however, Hobart struggled with commanding officers due to his unconventional ideas and disagreements with local officers. Both personal and professional disagreements among the brass caused significant friction and Hobart was forced into retirement in 1940. He briefly served in the Local Defense Volunteers (precursor to the Home Guard) as a Lance Corporal for Chipping Camden at age fifty-five. After Prime Minister Churchill was made aware of Hobart's retirement, he had Hobart return to active duty in command of the 11th Armoured Division. His consistent clashes with officers, as well as his advanced age, ultimately led to his transference from the 11th Division after it had been deployed to train the 79th Armoured Division. It was in this assignment where "Hobart became an irresistible powerhouse of creative energy".

The 79th Division was tasked to become a specialized armoured unit with new, innovative Churchill and Sherman Tanks specifically designed to compensate for the failures of previous Allied raids on Europe. While traditional tank warfare was slow and heavy, completely unfit for both the sea or the terrain of beaches, Hobart and his Division defied all odds by bringing tanks to the beaches of Normandy. The lineup of converted tanks, known as "Hobart's Funnies", consisted of:

Double Duplex (DD) Tank: *Tanks fitted with a watertight canvas to be able to float after being released from landing crafts.*

The Churchill Crocodile: *A Mark IV Landship equipped with a flame thrower.*

Armoured Ramp Carrier: *A Landship that had a retractable ramp instead of a turret to function as a mobile bridge for other vehicles to get over soft terrain.*

The Crab: *A tank with a "mine flail" (a series of chains upheld in front of the tank to clear a path through minefields and barbed wire). It could spin up to 140 rpm.*

An Armoured Bulldozer:

The Canal Defense Light: *A tank modified with a searchlight for nighttime attacks or spotting enemy invaders.*

Armoured Vehicles for Royal Engineers (AVREs): *Tanks were fitted with a variety of **fascines** (bundle of sticks that were deployed to bridge gaps between trenches), **bobbin's** (canvas sheets tanks could deploy on the ground so other vehicles following it would not get stuck in the ground), or **bullshorn ploughs** (excavators in front of the tank to dig up on landmines)*

The modified Churchill and Sherman tanks they produced were far from conventional. They could float, turn into a bridge or mobile ramp, disable landmines and barbed wire, and shoot fire. Hobart's impressive engineering landed him at conferences with top American Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and Omar Bradley, as well as British General Miles Dempsy, all three of whom were key figures in planning the D-Day Invasion. Despite the wide array of tanks produced by Hobart for various functions, the American Generals were primarily interested in using the floating DD Tanks. The rest of the designs were believed to require special training and not used during D-Day. Even then, the American Allied landings at Omaha and Utah beaches saw incredibly harsh currents that sunk a plethora of the DD Tanks before they even landed. Overall, while the Funnies were credited with being useful to the Invasion, their full potential was not recognized in what was the most pivotal moment of the Second World War.

The Allied casualties at Normandy on June 6, 1944, have totaled upwards of ten thousand, with only 4,414 confirmed

dead. D-Day gave the Allies a foothold in Europe that ultimately secured their victory in the Second World War. While the Funnies were only minorly used in the Invasion, they were credited with significantly helping infantry when deployed and providing a greater foothold on the beaches. The Generals who planned D-Day received criticism for not using more designs of the Funnies that would have potentially saved more lives. Hobart himself received praise for his feats, with military historian B. D. Liddell Hart describing the Funnies as "the decisive factor on D-Day" for the Allied victory.

The 79th Armoured Division continued through the Normandy campaign and became the largest armoured division in Western Europe. After it was disbanded in 1945, the Funnies were integrated into other Divisions and used in future campaigns on the European Theater of the War. Even after the Second World War, models used in the Funnies such as the bulldozer and the fire-breathing Crocodile were used in the Korean War and other militaries began developing their own armoured bulldozers for counterinsurgency. The innovation cultivated by Hobart and overseen by the 79th Armoured Division ultimately paved the way—literally and figuratively—for more out-of-the-box methods of vehicle design. While not appreciated to its full extent on D-Day, the lasting impact of the Funnies exemplifies how even the smallest and most abnormal military techniques can change the outcome of battle.

VICTIMS OF A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF MORALITY: *KASUTORI* MAGAZINES AND POSTWAR JAPAN

ALEKSANDRS SKULTE

"I wonder how it would be if I let go and yielded myself to real depravity." These are the words of Kazuko, a fallen aristocrat in Osamu Dazai's novel, *The Setting Sun*. The despair and focus on morality reflect the vast social change Japan underwent during the immediate postwar period under American occupation.

Japan's long Imperial War began with its invasion of China in 1937 and widened by a surprise attack at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 that brought the United States into the war. However, Japan could not match the US's productive and technological capacity and the war ended following the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with the surrender of Japan onboard the USS Missouri on the 2nd of September 1945.

The surrender of Japan led to a US military occupation that would last from 1945 to 1952 and one that would be profoundly transformative. The Japanese people were exhausted from the war and the militarism that had caused it. This is reflected in a term popular at the time— *kyodatsu,*

a collective condition of despair and exhaustion. But from this *kyodatsu* condition also came a sense of liberation and opportunity as the military occupation inaugurated the end of oppressive militarist rule. A significant and remarkable manifestation of this was *kasutori* magazines.

Kasutori magazines were a type of magazine and a subculture that emerged in Japan in the immediate postwar period. Their emergence was facilitated by relaxed censorship under the American occupation. It was named after *kasutori* shochu, a cheap, strong, and vile illegal liquor made of potatoes and industrial alcohol, popular on the black market and among artists. The third cup of *kasutori* shochu was said to cause a person to pass out and similarly, these magazines rarely went beyond a third issue. The pronunciations of "three cups" and "three issues" are the same in Japanese (*sango*) leading to the pun *sangome de tsubureru*—gone by the third. Printed out of recycled paper available outside the ration system, these magazines specialized in pornography, crime, grotesquery, and exposes, often featuring pictures of naked women for a primarily male audience.

Figure 1: Object: Riibe, 3 リーベ, 3 (Liebe, vol.3), Magazine, 1947. The British Museum, London.

Furthermore, they were widely available even in the countryside as entrepreneurs bought them in bulk in cities and sold them in rural areas for a markup. With their avant-garde nature and widespread availability, these magazines formed a counterculture movement that ran in opposition to authority and dogma. This repudiation of authority manifested with publishers of *kasutori* magazines claiming that they had no serious purpose whatsoever, as illustrated by the magazine *Ryoki* (Bizarre) claiming they had: "no intention whatsoever to educate or enlighten" its readers and, in a manifestation of the *kyodatsu* condition, declared that it was intended for those "exhausted by the task of reconstructing the nation."

It was in this context of liberation, the repudiation of authority, and the *kyodatsu* condition, with writers like Dazai who linked carnal behavior with authenticity and individuality, that *kasutori* magazines took off. *Kasutori* magazines boldly challenged conventional morality and promoted sexual liberation. Before the War, kissing in Japan

and public displays of affection were considered extremely immoral. A frequent topic featured in *kasutori* magazines, they were crucial in challenging the conventional morality around kissing. Articles discussed its history, physiology, and techniques. Many in the *kasutori* press also debated whether kissing was a practice that had a place in Japanese tradition since so many considered it to be unhygienic, unaesthetic, and culturally inappropriate. However, many associated kissing with free love, and the end of an old militaristic and authoritarian era and the beginning of a free and liberating postwar era. This is illustrated in the opening article of the first issue of *kasutori* magazine *Liebe* (Love)*:*

> "The old social system, festering, ulcerating and rotten to the bottom, is now crumbling with loud noises. And look how a new life is putting forth shoots in the shades of the debris of great fires. Now it is the time when we should liberate our long-suppressed "youth" under the free, clear sky. Yes, now should be the time when young people should heartily enjoy their youth where beautiful lilacs are showering their petals just like abundant thrown kisses upon the streets."

Another aspect of sexual liberation, *kasutori* magazines helped those who previously only saw sex for pleasure in the context of brothel districts to conceive it as an aspect of everyday life. *Kasutori* newspapers along with other media such as film thus successfully challenged the old morality, particularly on lovemaking, and replaced it with one more progressive and less restrictive. Moreover, *kasutori* magazines drew a connection between lovemaking and freedom as well as Western culture, a result of American occupation. Many *kasutori* magazines had titles with words borrowed from English and were often related to love: *Oru Ryoki* (All Bizarre) *Sei Ryoki* (Sex Bizarre), *Madamu* (Madam), *Guro (*Grotesque). They frequently featured pictures of young, semi-naked Caucasian women. Thus, in viewing the West in terms of its women it formed a counterpart to the occupying American army viewing Japan through their sexual encounters. The frequent feature of Western women in *kasutori* magazines led to their idealization as the standard

for Japanese women to emulate.

To many at the time, *kasutori* magazines seemed vulgar or groundbreaking. Yet nowadays they seem rather tame and are thus often seen as merely a footnote in Japan's postwar history. In *The Setting Sun,* Kazuko in her letter to her secret lover declares that they are "Victims of a transitional period of morality." Perhaps *kasutori* magazines too can be viewed as "victims of a transitional period of morality"—misunderstood remnants of an era when their audacious content sparked profound moral debates and paved the way for societal transformation. In the words of Kazuko, as penned within the pages of these magazines, we glimpse the essence of a bygone era—a testament to the transient nature of morality and the profoundly transformative postwar epoch."

OTHERING THE PUNISHED, PUNISHING THE OTHER: PRISONS AND THE PRODUCTION OF ABNORMALITY

AILSA FRASER

From their first appearances in the eighteenth century to today, prisons have been the ultimate representation of abnormality in Britain and America. They physically remove criminals from the rest of society, allowing a mental perception of them as fundamentally different. As of 2012, England used imprisonment more than anywhere else in Europe, with 153 inmates for every 100,000 citizens. A BBC poll from around the same time found that 95% of respondents believed prisoners should not be allowed to vote. This demonstrates two things: the public's general belief that criminals are somehow inherently other, but also that most prisoners are already excluded from various citizen rights. Despite that, this is rarely given attention in public discourse. This illustrates what Foucault observed in his 1977 analysis of the birth of the prison, that prison 'cannot fail to produce delinquents.' It is endemic to the prison's design. Since it became the primary form of punishment in the Anglosphere in the late-eighteenth century, the prison has been symbolic of the separation of criminals from society. This leads to the narrative that has defined the prison for the last two hundred years, that criminals are inherently 'other' to the rest of society and should be treated as such. Such a narrative then prevents us from paying adequate attention to that which creates and produces these 'delinquents' in the first place – disguising social and political reasons for crime and instead placing the blame solely on the individual themselves. By seeking to remove them from society, the prison produces them anew,

creating a vicious circle.

While prisons share similarities with earlier institutions, like dungeons and jails, these systems are fundamentally different. Imprisonment was not punishment; it was a means to an end. The jail kept the accused contained to ensure they attended their trial, and even served as a profit-making structure, as fees could be charged for admission, food, lodgings, discharge, and alcohol. The prison itself grew in popularity as a form of punishment from the late-eighteenth century onwards, drawing on a social precedent of imprisonment as a tool for reform, such as the use of houses of correction for vagrants and workhouses for the poor. Reformation underlined most work in prisons in the first half of the nineteenth century, but this was undermined by constant overcrowding and poor funding—a pattern still seen in the justice system today. However, interest in reformation fell by the wayside in the later nineteenth century due to its perceived inefficacy. Attention instead turned to the hope that fear of being deprived of one's

liberty would prevent crime from occurring. Additionally, Soothill points to the Victorian cultural preference for 'out of sight, out of mind' in the growth of prisons, which sort to remove 'abnormal' people from public perception—this also caused a rise in asylums. Ultimately, even as the philosophy underlying imprisonment changed over the centuries, the prison's capacity for othering its inhabitants is constant by nature of the institution itself. It forms a space where people perceived as abnormal are physically removed from the rest of society, thus reinforcing perceptions of them as such.

This issue is epitomised by the work of nineteenth-century criminal anthropologists, particularly that of Cesare Lombroso. Lombroso led the Italian school of criminal anthropology and worked to produce scientific knowledge that would predict criminal behaviour and thus justify imprisoning criminals. Using methods like craniometry, he studied criminals in prisons, operating on the assumption that these criminals were inherently abnormal. In his 1897 book *The Criminal Man*, he catalogued the frequency of family histories of epilepsy, mental illness, 'eccentricity', and disability among prisoners. The range of conditions described have no common denominator or reason to be grouped together, other than that he was categorising all of them as abnormal. He argued that criminals were inferior to normal citizens through the same logic as contemporary race science, claiming that characteristics common to non-white peoples often appeared in 'born criminals.' This research had dangerous implications. Lombroso's conclusions were such that once when he encountered a man during a prison visit whom he considered to be entirely normal, he declared that this man must have been wrongfully convicted. He could not be a criminal: he did not possess the undesirable traits that Lombroso had observed among criminals. He was normal, and therefore he must be innocent. Likewise, Lombroso's research led to darker conclusions about the necessity of punishment, particularly in regard to the death penalty, which he supported. The fact that he reported that there was a higher than usual proportion of 'mad and feeble-minded' individuals among criminals did not mean that their responsibility for their actions or the subsequent punishment should be reduced. Instead, he believed they were 'born criminals.' They should be feared.

ILLUSTRATION BY DALMA ROMAN

Criminal anthropology ultimately came under attack from other branches of anthropology, but the othering of criminals remained an issue, and prison from its inception produced this. It creates its own society within its walls through separation; it brings criminals together and establishes hierarchies among them; it watches and oppresses inmates constantly, including after they are released. Once released, as well, the individual is left adrift and othered within the rest of society. While this has varied across the decades, when prisoners engage in labour it is rarely skilled or productive labour. In some cases, like in America during the Great Depression, prisoners' productive labour was outright banned due to the view that convicts were taking work away from good working-class families. Such a law is another example of how prisoners are placed in opposition to and excluded from being normal citizens, but the general lack of skilled labour that prisoners are able to perform limits their economic chances once they are released. Not only do they now have a criminal record, but they lack the skills to work and participate as 'normal' again, which is compounded by the fact their family were likely put under economic pressure by their imprisonment. This economic exclusion in particular impacts the former prisoner, as they may be forced to steal or commit crime in order to survive, thus continuing the cycle.

This demonstrates how prisons' production of abnormality causes them to produce a cycle of imprisonment, where the criminal again commits a crime and is punished due to their desperate situation. But it also demonstrates another crucial point: that prisons disproportionately punish people already perceived as abnormal, as well as making prisoners perceived as abnormal. This is especially evident when one views the makeup of prisons. Prisoners are disproportionately from lower socio-economic backgrounds, as well as people of colour and other minority groups—groups often seen as abnormal. This is because the law itself punishes abnormality. Law claims to be neutral. However, crimes committed by the wealthy, like tax evasion and domestic violence, are far less likely to be prosecuted than the crimes of the poor,

like theft, drug use, and homelessness. There is also a racial element: in the United States, a 1986 federal law punished the dealing of crack cocaine, primarily done by black people, one hundred times more severely than it did the dealing of cocaine, primarily done by white people. This means that groups already perceived as abnormal are more likely to be prosecuted and sent to prison, where their abnormality is reinforced. To return to Lombroso's observations in criminal anthropology, that the majority of prisoners he studied were considered abnormal by him, although vague, is significant. They were likely there *because of* their abnormality—not because of the conclusions that he draws, but because criminal laws unfairly impact those perceived as such.

As such, prisons by nature are spaces that both produce abnormality and punish it. From prisons' first introduction, they were conceived to remove criminals from public space, and thus serve as a physical symbol of that separation. That they originated as reformatory institutions makes little difference. The subsequent othering of criminals can be epitomised by the work of eighteenth-century anthropologists, who studied the prisoners confined in these prisons in the interests of identifying the 'born criminal', and through this producing an image of criminals as both physically and morally abnormal. Even once criminal anthropology was discredited, prisons continued to other their prisoners in more subtle ways: through that physical separation and the social dynamics that accompany it, but also by economically undermining the prisoner by denying them useful work and thus sabotaging their attempts to operate once they are released back into 'normal' society. Finally, it is vital to note that abnormality does not begin within the prison. Disproportionately, those imprisoned have already been othered by society, and it was laws that unequally target them that put them there. All of this characterises the criminal as abnormal without interrogating the social and political forces that may have led to their crime. As shown by my earlier statistics, the legacy of this has given us a cyclical, ineffective, and too-often ignored criminal justice system today.

"THEY'RE SELLING HIPPIE WIGS IN WOOLWORTHS, MAN!" INVESTIGATING THE ALLEGED ABNORMALITY OF 1960S YOUTH COUNTERCULTURE

COCO BARRETT

Timothy Leary coined the phrase 'turn on, tune in, drop out' at the "Human Be-In" in 1968. The "drop out" would be particularly pertinent to the youth counterculture in the 1960s—to drop out of conventional society and engage in a purely hedonistic lifestyle. The young people were rejecting the teachings and values of their parents, of the 1950s, of the "American Dream", preferring instead sex, drugs, and rock and roll, or rather cannabis, LSD, and the Grateful Dead. They broke down the social boundaries and subverted expectations. The only problem left—now what? This article will explore the romanticised notion of the hippies, whether it really was the cultural phenomenon many believe it to be, or a mere flash in the pan of teenage rebellion that did not even last the entirety of the decade. It will investigate whether they truly embodied "abnormality" and offered an alternative way of living, or whether we have ascribed a social movement and political agenda where one did not really exist.

In 1967, tens of thousands of young people arrived in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco during the 'Summer of Love'. The idea was to escape traditional society—to protest the Vietnam War, commercialism and materialism, and traditional family values, breaking down social norms by dropping acid, smoking marijuana, and living communally. One could walk around and conceivably bump into Allen Ginsburg, Janis Joplin, the Grateful Dead, Jimi Hendrix, and more. While those who saw themselves as leaders of the alleged movement were middle-aged men, the group itself encompassed largely middle-class young teenage runaways. The leaders included characters such as Timothy Leary, former Harvard psychologist turned LSD advocate, Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, activists and co-founders of the Youth International Party or 'Yippies', and Allen Ginsburg, poet and writer most famous for 'Howl'. While some of the older participants of the counterculture movement had concrete political stances—anti-war,

legalisation of hallucinogens etc.—some also had none; journalist Richard Goldstein characterised Jerry Rubin as a "make-believe revolutionary" who "really believed he was a revolutionary". The Youth International Party, or 'Yippies', mainly carried out pranks such as attempting to levitate the Pentagon. Happening throughout the Civil Rights Era, where activists were campaigning for very real concrete law and policy changes such as voter registration drives, ending segregation, widening access to employment, and freedom from discrimination, this section of the counterculture cheapened the political tone. It almost satirised the values of the era, reducing ideas of change and reform to their bare minimum until they were essentially meaningless.

Peter Braunstein, cultural historian, in *Imagine Nation* emphasises that attending Golden Gate Park, listening to the Grateful Dead, and dropping acid did not constitute a social movement. This was a common enough view from those familiar with the intricacies of the counterculture, especially within Haight-Ashbury. After having lived among the youth of San Francisco to explore the alternative lifestyle, Joan Didion wrote a series of essays that served as an expose for the day-to-day goings-on in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury. The publishing of "Slouching towards Bethlehem" in September 1967 marked the beginning of the end for the idea of the 'hippie'. One critic described the essay collection as "a devastating depiction of the aimless lives of the disaffected and incoherent young". The most shocking element to the American public was exactly how young these children were, especially to be engaging in activities considered either illegal or immoral. Didion's piece revealed frequent disturbing scenes, such as a young child, no more than six, being given LSD by their parents, or teenagers as young as fourteen running away from home to live the counterculture lifestyle. She highlights how they were apolitical, simply rejecting their parents' authority rather than the authority of society at

ILLUSTRATION BY SALLY DOLPHIN

large. One child she met described their parent's strictness as the cause for their running away - "If I didn't finish ironing my shirts for the week, I couldn't go out for the weekend". Didion described these teenagers as "less in rebellion against the society than ignorant of it." The key revelation from the publishing of Didion's book was the idea of a real disconnect between what the leaders of the counterculture claimed it to be, and what the average participant experienced. The fourteen-year-olds who ran away from home to do drugs in San Francisco were not particularly well read, politically active, or philosophically minded. There was no new way of living or lifestyle choice; it was simply hedonistic teenage rebellion.

October 1967 represents the end of what we conceptualise as the hippies, as it reached such mainstream relevance that it morphed into something it was not, or never even was. The 'Summer of Love' was well over by this point. It is notable that the phenomenon was at its height from the school holiday of spring break to September—most of the student population, while seemingly rejecting traditional values and metaphorically 'dropping out' of society, did not in fact drop out of school. The idea and concept of a 'hippie' became more of a cultural phenomenon than was reflected in real life, almost a caricature. The musical 'Hair,' which depicted the counterculture, had its off-Broadway debut on October 17, 1967, demonstrating the rapid commodification and commercialisation of the phenomenon. Journalist Richard Goldstein says the media "chose to report a charade as a movement. In doing so, they created one". However, the so-called 'hippies' themselves were not pleased with this false representation. On 4 October 1967, Psychedelic Shop owner Ron Thelin announced a funeral procession for the 'Death of the Hippie' complete with a casket and mourners. Hundreds turned up for the procession, with flyers denouncing the commercialisation of the Summer of Love. "Hippie, devoted son of mass media" was written on the back of the coffin, emphasising the idea that the hippie was an ascribed label, not reflected in real life. Thelin asserted that:

"It must all go - a casualty of narcissism and plebeian vanity. [Haight-Ashbury] was portioned to us by the media-police, and the tourists came to the zoo to see the captive animals, and we growled fiercely behind the bars we accepted, and now we are no longer hippies and never were"

So, was the 1960s youth culture abnormal? What we can categorise as abnormal is the concept of the Summer of Love itself, that tens of thousands of young people would choose to leave their families and regular lives to participate in the Haight-Ashbury lifestyle. However, what is not altogether clear is what happened afterwards. Did people slowly drift home, return to school or university, or did they settle in San Francisco permanently? The communal living and squatting dried up, as did the community kitchens and free meal programmes. The imminent threat of society loomed—that once the haze lifted, they would be faced with the need to pay for housing, bills, and food. It seems many participants simply returned to their regular lives with the Summer of Love reduced to a fond memory of their youth, a simpler time where they escaped and indulged, if only for a short while. The remnants of the 1960s and the counterculture would linger in the San Francisco Bay Area, however, seen through a tendency for leftist politics, alternative fashion, and community organising.

LIFE AND HOPE OVER DEATH AND DESPAIR: THE HISTORICISM OF ART IN THE AIDS CRISIS

MICHAL WUJCIKOWSKI

"In those days, people died really fast. I watched almost everyone I knew die," says Nan Goldin in a 2010 Interview with *Sleek* magazine. With such heart wrenching, brutal and honest testimony the common trope of the AIDS epidemic remains an image of death and despair. When I saw that the theme for this piece would be abnormality, I immediately knew I wanted to write a piece on the epidemic of the 1980s and 90s, partly falling for this same trope myself. I asked, what better subject for this article than an epidemic, coming from seemingly nowhere, affecting mostly those on the fringe of society? However, upon further research and discovering the rich library of art from the time, I noticed a sentiment which often escapes the popular mind: life and hope.

The earliest part of the American AIDS policy story begins in 1981 with the CDC's first report on HIV. The 1980s is commonly defined by historians as a period of delayed and limited action by national leadership. AIDS quickly took hold of urban communities in America, but Ronald Raegen didn't acknowledge the disease until 1985. It wasn't until 1987 that the US government took steps to raise awareness for AIDS. Such delayed and limited response only served to isolate, exclude, and stigmatise the community. I pick New York here as an epicentre of the AIDS epidemic, but also as a microcosm of Americas political condemnation. New York with its size and density magnified the problematic voices of the time while at the same time building outsider communities within the very same city. A political context filled with rich soil for art and expression.

Goldin is a prominent artist who emerged from this context particularly working in the medium of photography in the 1980s and 1990s. She photographed the experience of people living with HIV and AIDS in America but across Europe as well. Her most famous work, and my personal favourite, includes the likes of *Gilles and Gotscho* from the 1990s. The series of photographs walks the viewer through the lives of Giles and Gotscho, a gay couple living with HIV. When asked to look back on the photographs. Goldin points out that some of the photographs fit in with the trope which I pointed out earlier. However, she notes that, "The pictures have to show their lives." Pieces like *Giles and Gotscho Embracing* remind us of the everyday reality of those living with HIV at the time. Both Giles and Gotscho look healthy, normal. What I'm trying to say is, you would not be able to tell either of the couple has the virus unless I told you. In fact, Goldin's photography focuses so heavily on form which accentuates the strength of the couple. Simultaneously, the mundanity in the cup of tea serves as a reminder of the everyday rituals they have in their lives.

In this way, the collection crushes perceptions and serves as a celebration of life and love not mourning. Queer art during the peak of the epidemic served to normalise that which was deemed abnormal while serving as an act of remembrance. The very natural and everyday style of Goldin's photography further accentuates this. The lack of a cure was part of the fear people held for HIV and AIDS. A diagnosis, due to government inaction, was viewed as almost certainly fatal. Therefore, when considering this context within which gay people were stigmatised this is a rebellious act of expression and an act of self-preservation beyond death.

Nan Goldin, "Gilles and Gotscho Embracing," 1992.

Dawid Wojnarowicz, a friend of Goldin's, was an artist who also emerged from this context. He was a gay man who was diagnosed with AIDS, but his art was predominantly political in nature. His 1990 piece *One Day This Kid* is probably his most famous, emerging from his experimentation with text in art. The piece contains the artist as a child in the centre. From afar, his cheesy smile and innocent face draw you in, and then you read the text. The text details the societal injustices he will experience once he discovers he is gay. It is a brutal piece that once again serves to humanise those deemed abnormal by society. Through mixing biography and political protest Wojnarowicz reminds the viewers of the dangers human liberty faces when society and governments become repressive. Interestingly AIDS isn't the subject of this piece at all, rather, as the New York times says, the piece "diagnoses society not the individual". The piece criticises the status quo which allows humans to be pushed to the outskirts of society. The real damage of the epidemic was not the virus itself but the injustice in the responsiveness. His art faces death with anger. Therefore, despite the morbid themes of the piece, I

do not view the piece to be about death at all; he did not give up self-expression when making his art. This piece is an act of authenticity which normalises that which was deemed abnormal without losing one's identity. It is a statement of presence, an act of vitality and hope not of death and despair.
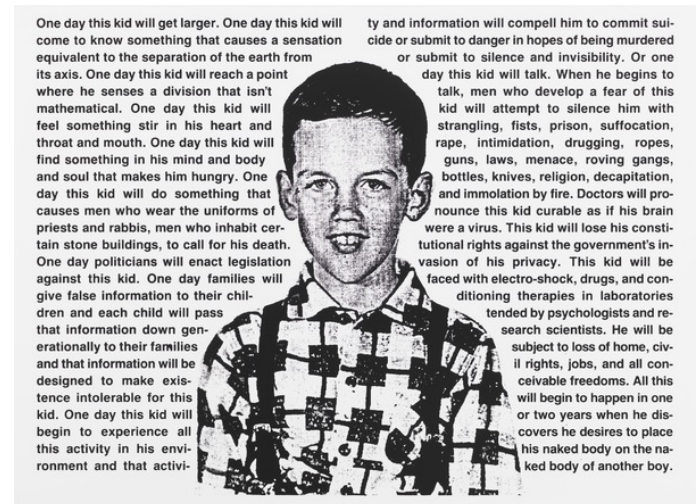
David Wojnarowicz, "Untitled (One Day This Kid...)," 1990.

Finally, I want to talk about Keith Haring, probably the most famous artist coming out of this context. Haring started his artistic career through graffiti pieces around the New York subway. He never catered to the art establishment and through this medium he forged his path as an outsider early in his career. What draws so many people to Haring's art is its carefree yet universal nature. It is simple, vibrant, and full of life; within its simplicity lies its beauty. Haring's personal manifesto was "the public has a right to art". This mix of anti-establishment, outsider and public sentiment in the artwork but also its style and medium fit perfectly into his political activism. The very direct messaging of aids awareness seen in pieces like "Silence = Death" link directly to the fight for aids activism with organisations like ACT UP. He established the Keith Haring Foundation in 1989 while facing an AIDS diagnosis to continue his artistic and philanthropic legacy. This is another act of self-preservation and in this way his art, with its confidence and boldness, faces death with a fighting smile, not lying down.

It is also important to note the censorship which the artworks faced. Haring's art being mostly graffiti often warranted removal on grounds of vandalism. Wojnarowicz frequent attack on religion within his work also warranted removal, the Smithsonian used this as an excuse to remove his work

in 2010 a whole eighteen years after his death. The everyday nature of the photography in Goldin's work was often criticised by art critics and pushed it far outside the art establishment. In fact, the experimental forms which all three artists undertook were used as excuses to exclude them from the artistic establishment. Therefore, the artists' ability to operate outside the artistic establishment and create communities of their own demonstrates how outsiders use art as forms of expression and visibility. The artworks' ability to spread awareness even in the face of censorship is also vital in the way it destigmatised homosexuality and AIDS in the popular mind but also for gay people themselves. This was an act of vitality as the art wasn't isolated and it didn't wallow in its own sorrow, it empowered the community even in the face of death and oppression.

Keith Haring, "Silence = Death," 1989.

These three examples crush the perception that art made by queer artists can be reduced to gay art or AIDS art. Much of the artwork of the aids epidemic did include gay people as their subject but, in my opinion, it wasn't the most defining feature of the art. Overall, I noticed an intense historicism. To me, the defining feature is the way the art acts as a tool for documenting oppression. The aspects I mentioned previously do make up a big portion of the artworks but, more importantly, these contexts enable the artists to present the experience of abnormality. Art is a form of expression which gives communities their own voice. Through this I realised that, as a historian especially, looking at art is vital in the way it reconstructs the values and lives of communities in the past without our personal and societal stigmas. Art is imperative to authentically preserve the abnormal.

ARCHITECTS OF CIVILISATION: THE NEURODIVERGENT HISTORICAL GIANTS

OSCAR SIMMONS

Reader, you join me just moments after finishing my third and final essay of the semester. If ever there was a moment I felt inclined to draw on some of history's greatest hardships, it is now. None of the essays were legible, all of them, interminable. Alas, moments later, I once again find myself writing for the Retrospect, two days after the deadline for this very article has passed, wondering: just where in my life did I get so lucky?

See, reader, it probably won't shock you to learn that I am indeed on the autism spectrum. Fortunately for me and plenty of others, this means that we're treated as if we have some sort of life-hampering disability, resulting in extra time for coursework and various other perks that are undoubtedly

incredibly valuable for those who really need it, but really ought to be revoked from someone like me who is simply too indolent to keep to his deadlines.

Nonetheless, I reiterate my point. Autism is, for a lot of people, an absolute superpower which propels them to the highest peaks of society, present company unincluded. Throughout history, some of the greatest minds known have undoubtedly been those of an autistic disposition. But this is the part of the article in which I appease the powers that be (the editorship) by making a very key disclaimer. Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) is a remarkably new addition to the catalogue of psychological characterisations of people. As we know it today, autism was only first introduced in 1970s

Britain following primitive and emerging research. Consequently, it is impossible to write an article on the autistic heroes of history without involving some degree of retrospective diagnosis or anachronism. However, every care has been taken to remove these aspects, although some may remain where it is otherwise impossible to write an article without them. Deem this as a disclaimer and acknowledgement of this, and evidence of me bowing to the editorial pressure of Retrospect (they're actually pretty great for publishing me in the first place).

This article is called "Architects of Civilisation," and not unreasonably. If I were to list off some of the most influential people in history, there exists evidence for most of them having some degree of neurodivergence. This is especially true in fields that progressed humanity as a whole, so as to not include, for the most part, politicians. Key names include Albert Einstein and Isaac Newton, as declared by the head of the Autism Research Centre at Cambridge. But even these two had a disparity in traits. Newton, for example, had little interest in sex, whilst Einstein had an affair and got married twice.

Autism is so broad in the way it impacts people, it is inimitably difficult to find a singularity between them all, but historians and psychologists can certainly try. In the research for this article, difficulty in socialising occurs in many of those suspected of having autism, as well as more modern figures who are officially diagnosed. In modern diagnosis, it is key to look at traits like this when determining whether the subject has the disorder, and it is how historians determine and categorise the behaviours of historical figures. A personal trait I have, as do countless other people on the spectrum, is very strong interests that often drive our career or chosen research topics. I've always found fascination with autistic people tending to be extraordinarily good at certain things through automatic skill development. However, I am, through observing my

ILLUSTRATION BY AILSA FRASER

own actions and the actions of other people with ASD, realising it is also a case of almost effortless learning through repetition of things we find fascinating.

Let us look at Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, for example. Of course, he falls well out of the timeframe of autism research, but is believed by many to have had ASD, and that it contributed to his prodigious personality. It's clear that music was an intense fascination for him, especially from his developmental years, wherein he was able to learn

a new piece in just half an hour by age four. At age eight he was commissioned to write an opera. At age eight, my mother had to forcibly remove the hundreds of conkers I had accrued and stored in a cardboard box bus that sat in our hallway. Mozart had an aptitude for learning and memory, and applied intense concentration to the tasks in which he was interested. Similarly, my aforementioned essays took me a gruelling three weeks to complete, whereas this piece has taken me a mere half an hour, a fact which I hope is not abundantly obvious at this stage. Perhaps the greatest composer of all time and I, a man who knows not a lick of guitar and struggles at Piano Tiles, are not so different.

Mozart, Newton, and Einstein evidence that characteristics of ASD, through an impressive ability for learning, memory, and concentration, can be a catalyst for unrivalled success in one's chosen field. Historical figures that likely had ASD often shape their fields and go down in history for doing so. Newton, of course, did so through discovering a vast range of laws of physics that shaped the course of scientific enquiry right up to the present day. Mozart's name is so ubiquitous that even those who have never heard the tones of classical music know his name. Einstein boasts a congruous impact to them both. But increasingly we can see ASD contributing to the composition of architects of civilisation in the modern day, through the lens of genuine diagnosis, rather than speculation.

Elon Musk, a figure of immense controversy and profound impact, has "Aspergers" (renamed ASD, for reasons which I will return to), as declared by himself in a Saturday Night Live monologue, in which he boasted of being the first to have the condition to host the show. Whilst you may, reader, groan at the sound of his name, or prick your ears up in reverence to him, it's difficult to argue that he has seen limited success in the fields in which he operates. Tesla, a company that Musk has led since 2008, remains the most valuable automobile company in the world and one of around two or three that hasn't gone bankrupt in the time it has been operating. Interestingly, its namesake, Nikola Tesla, is also thought to have had ASD, and was instrumental in the innovation of the field of electricity and radio technology. Whether Musk's recent success is directly attributable to him is firmly up for debate, but it is onerous to deny that his early fascinations

with engineering and coding, which led to the development of Zip2, are not at least partially the product of his autistic tendencies.

As mentioned earlier, autism as a field of psychology is in its embryonic stages. Only recently was Asperger's syndrome, which is a form of high-functioning and often high-achieving autism, renamed. Hans Asperger, the psychiatrist who first developed the idea of this section of the spectrum was levelled with allegations of referring children to a Nazi German clinic wherein disabled patients were murdered. Whilst his knowledge of the clinic's activities remains unknown, Asperger's is now simply referred to as "Autism Spectrum Disorder". This factor brings the editorship's instructions on avoiding retrospective diagnosis into light. As the research into autism develops, the understanding of the condition changes and increasingly, old terminology and research falls into obsoletion. However, this isn't always connoted negatively. There is growing recognition that autism isn't a hampering of quality of life as initially described. In fact, autism often enables figures in society to excel in their chosen field beyond that of their neurotypical peers. For example, this is presented through the outcast personality presented by Benedict Cumberbatch playing Alan Turing in *The Imitation Game*. Of course, Turing was never diagnosed, and there is plenty of controversy around the film's representation of his character but was noted to have had incredible difficulty in socialising amongst his peers, and yet still displayed one of the greatest feats of engineering and cryptography the world had ever seen during the Second World War. If, like me, reader, you wish to immerse yourself in the fascinating and often intimidating world of the autistic mind, I implore you to watch that film to get a sense of just how powerful an autistic mind can be.

I trust following this article, my friends who ruthlessly mock me for some of my autistic traits find it in their hearts to realise that in all likelihood, I'm better than them. Demonstrated historically through figures like Einstein, Mozart, and Turing, and contemporarily as I find my words in the same way you do, published in a history journal, it is clear Autism Spectrum Disorder and the traits associated with it has an undeniable role in building not only civilisation as we know it, but also this here article, as you now know it.

THE ENIGMA OF DAVID CAMERON'S RETURN: THE HISTORICAL ART OF THE POLITICAL COMEBACK

LOUISA STEIJGER

In the ever-changing landscape of British politics, one name has recently made an unprecedented comeback: David Cameron. The unexpected resurgence in November 2023 of the former prime minister (PM) and infamous instigator of a referendum that divided the nation, as now the Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Affairs sparked controversy concerning the dynamics within the Conservative Party. Given his record, Cameron's return can be viewed as an extraordinary decision by the Sunak administration. A government that is attempting to repair public services has appointed the very man responsible for its current failures because of his austere measures. Despite Cameron's track record, a historical lens reveals that his rebirth is not as peculiar as initially perceived. Many politicians, like Cameron, who faced electoral setbacks or scandals have withdrawn from the public sphere, only to resurface later reinvigorated as political figures.

David Cameron retreated from the political sphere when he resigned as PM, following the 2016 Brexit referendum and the UK's decision to leave the EU. However, Rishi Sunak's government reshuffle, witnessing the sacking of unpopular Home Secretary Suella Braverman—a controversial advocate for the contentious Rwanda Immigration Plan—has facilitated the unexpected revival of the former PM as new Foreign Secretary. The situation is made worse given his seven-year break from politics, his shocking involvement in the Greensill lobbying scandal, and Cameron's status as an unelected and non-member of parliament; subsequently, his return to British politics has been made possible only by his peerage to the House of Lords as Lord Cameron of Chipping Norton. His return exemplifies an unconventional move from Rishi Sunak, who has often sought to differentiate himself from the past several conservative governments, which he labelled as a '30-year failed status quo' in a speech at the 2023 Tory Conference. Cameron's return is equivocally one that bridges Sunak's administration to the Conservative past, thus undoing Sunak's claim to represent change and revealing the desperation of the crumbling Conservative Party. Despite belonging to the same political party, Sunak and Cameron diverge regarding key Conservative policies, the most obvious being Brexit, in which Sunak is a Brexiteer while Cameron has been a strong advocate to remain in the European Union. Moreover, Cameron historically pursued economic policies that promoted fiscal austerity, whereas Sunak's economic ideology has centred more on long-term financial investments, with the exception of High Speed 2 (HS2). In a recent interview, Cameron acknowledged that, while he disagreed with some individual policies of Sunak's administration, 'politics is a team enterprise'. This implies that Cameron expects that both Sunak and he will be forced to concede regarding their ideological differences, reinventing and reforming their political beliefs, to meet a middle ground within the Conservative Party.

Cameron's return to the forefront of British politics parallels a similar return of other British politicians — most notably Winston Churchill. Having defected from the Conservative Party in 1904, Churchill was in the 'political wilderness' following the 1922 electoral defeat. The loss of the Liberal stronghold of Dundee occurred due to Churchill's stance on female suffrage, the Irish campaign for self-government, and his anti-socialist sentiment. Without any electoral affiliation, Churchill exerted little influence within the UK political system. 1924 marked Churchill's first political comeback, in which he reconciled his ideological differences with the Conservative Party, becoming the Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1924 until the 1929 Tory defeat. This setback saw once again the loss of Churchill's seat and his subsequent retreat from the political sphere. During the interwar years, Churchill remained on the side lines, spending much of his time writing and making speeches. However, it was Churchill's unwavering commitment to opposing the Nazi regime, in combination with the poor leadership

of Chamberlain's administration in the early war years, that laid the foundations for his infamous political return and ascension to PM in May 1940. Likened to a phoenix rising from the ashes, Churchill's comeback to govern the nation and provide stability during the darkest times in history remains a pivotal moment in British politics. Churchill's legacy of political reinvention serves as a reminder that politicians have the capacity to adapt and transform their political identities, demonstrating that electoral failures and scandals do not necessarily have to be the conclusion of a political career.

The ability of politicians to return following electoral failure and scandal is further exemplified by Michael Heseltine, a prominent Conservative politician and Defence Secretary. Following a disagreement with Thatcher over a British-owned manufacturing company, Westland Helicopters, Heseltine resigned in 1986. Only to resurface in 1990 as President of the Board of Trade and, subsequently, Deputy Prime Minister in 1995, under the Major administration. Westland Helicopters had faced considerable financial strain, and so, discussions emerged about whether the company should, as Heseltine argued, merge with a European consortium or, as Thatcher advocated, remain under British ownership. Heseltine accused Thatcher of undermining the collective responsibility of the Cabinet and deemed their ideological differences—particularly Thatcher's scepticism towards European integration—to be irreconcilable. Heseltine's decision to step back due to ideological differences draws similar parallels to Cameron's decision to resign following the Brexit referendum. Heseltine's resurgence after Thatcher's resignation underscores the adeptness of politicians' in re-evaluating their position within parties and government, even following a period of dissent and retreat. Arguably, Cameron has adopted a similar stance, as he appears to have side-lined his ideological differences regarding Brexit in the hope of providing stability and experience to the Conservative Party. However, a string of Conservative scandals, ranging from Liz Truss's forty-nine-day stint as PM to Johnson's Partygate, the high court condemnation of Braverman's Rwanda Plan, and the public fall out with Sunak, have led to plummeting Tory approval rates. Thus, these scandals raise the questions of the extent to which Cameron really can be the stabilising factor that Sunak believes would save the Tories in the upcoming election.

Beyond the British landscape, the art of political comebacks is also exemplified in the return of Sir Robert Menzies, the longest-serving Australian Prime Minister. In August of 1941, Menzies resigned as PM and leader of the United Australia Party following considerable criticism from both his party and the opposition. Unlike Cameron, during his interlude, Menzies served as Minister for Defence through the Arthur Fadden administration, which was ultimately short-lived due to the immense economic instability posed by WWII. The economic volatility resulted in the resignation of Fadden after only thirty-nine days in office and the establishment of a Labour government under John Curtin. Consequently, in August 1945, Menzies formed a new party, the Liberal Party of Australia, and attempted to stage a political comeback in 1946, narrowly missing out to the Labour Party. It was only in 1949 that Menzies would succeed in the federal election, taking centre stage as Prime Minister once again. Menzies' turbulent political trajectory exposes a common thread within the art of political comebacks in which politicians have the capacity to dynamically adapt and reinvent themselves to reclaim their political power and influence. While Cameron has not returned in the same capacity as Menzies as PM, his return to the political sphere as Foreign Secretary shares many similar characteristics. Cameron will need to adapt in a similar way to Sunak's Conservative Party if he wishes to retain his newfound political influence.

David Cameron's recent return reflects a historical pattern of the ability of politicians to adapt and reinvent themselves to stage a political comeback, as seen in resilient leaders such as Winston Churchill, Michael Heseltine, and Robert Menzies. Ultimately, a historical lens reveals that setbacks and retreats do not necessarily signify the end of a political career. However, given the internal challenges and growing opposition the Tories face: an important question remains, can Cameron leverage this comeback to stabilise the crumbling Conservative Party?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DEFINING DISABILITY: FROM ANCIENT GREECE TO THE MODERN DISABILITY RIGHTS MOVEMENT | Kate Jensen

Clare, Eli. *Exile and Pride Disability, Queerness, and Liberation*. Duke University Press, 1999.

Davis, Lennard J. *The Disability Studies Reader*. New York, Ny, Routledge, An Imprint Of The Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.

Draycott, Jane. *Prosthetics and Assistive Technology in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Cambridge University Press, 22 Dec. 2022.

Nicholas Wright Gillham. *A Life of Sir Francis Galton*. Oxford University Press, 1 Nov. 2001.

Rose, Martha L. *The Staff of Oedipus : Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*. Ann Arbor, The University Of Michigan Press, 2013.

UK Government. "Equality Act 2010." *Legislation. gov.uk*, 2010, www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/section/6.

"ALL HER WAYS WERE WICKED, ALL HER INSTINCTS DEVILISH": MORGAN LE FAY AND HER CLASSICAL COUNTERPARTS | Arianna North Castell

Enstone, Z., (2012), '*Wichecraft & Vilaine': Morgan le Fay in medieval Arthurian literature,* University of Leicester.

Herbert, J., (2013) 'For the Healing of His Wounds? The Seeds of Ambiguity in Latin Sources', in *Morgan le Fay: Shapeshifter,* Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 15-37.

Homer, Fitzgerald, R., (1961), *The Odyssey,* Garden City, New York.

Larrinton, C., (2006), 'Magic and the Enchantress 'in Morgan and her sisters in Arthurian Tradition., I.B. Tauris, London, 7-28.

Olstead, M (1959), *The Role and Evolution of the Arthurian Enchantress,* University of Florida, 230-240.

Ovid, Kline, A., S., (2001) 'Remedia Amoris', in *The Love Poems,* Poetry in Translation, 244.

Shearer, J., C., (2017) *Masks of the Dark Goddess in Arthurian Literature: Origin and Evolution of Morgan le Fay,* ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

BEYOND 'SOFT' POWER: RETHINKING WOMEN'S INFLUENCE IN MEDIEVAL SOCIETY, A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCUSSION | Matilde Impavido

Bennett, Judith M. 2006. "Patriarchal Equillibrium ." In *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism*, 54–81. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bray, Julia . 2004. "Men, Women and Slaves in Abbasid Society." In *Gender in the Early Medieval World, 300-900*, 121–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brewer, John . 2010. "Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life." *Cultural and Social History* 7 (1): 87–109.

Cortese, Delia, and Simonetta Calderini. 2006. "BattleAxes and Formidable Aunties." In *Women and the Fatimids in the World of Islam* . Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1978. *The History of Sexuality. Volume I: An Introduction*. New York Vintage Books.

Hanne, Eric. 2005. "Women, Power, and the Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Abbasid Court." *Hawwa — Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* 3 (1): 80–110.

Lerner, Gerda. 1982. "The Necessity of History and the Professional Historian." *Journal of American History* 69 (1).
———. 1993. *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness : From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McNamara, Jo Ann. 2003. "The Power of Women through the Family Revisited." In *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages,* edited by Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, 17–30. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

Scott, Joan. 1986. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91 (5): 1053–75.
———. 1988. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York.

Wemple, Suzanne F., and Jo Ann McNamara. 1972. "He Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe: 500–110)." *Feminist Studies* 1 (1): 126–41.

Wickham, Chris, and Yale University Press. 2017. *Medieval Europe*. New Haven ; London: Yale University Press.

BETWEEN HYSTERIA AND HALLUCINATION: EXPLORING THE MYSTERY OF DANCING MANIA IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN EUROPE | Jake Beecroft

Bartholomew, Robert E. *Rethinking the Dancing Mania* (2000): 42-47.

Donaldson LJ, Cavanagh J, Rankin J. 'The dancing plague: a public health conundrum.' *Public Health*. (1997): 201-204.

Lanska, Douglas J. "The Dancing Manias: Psychogenic Illness as a Social Phenomenon." *Frontiers of Neurology and Neuroscience* (2018): 132–141.

Miller, Lynneth J. *Divine Punishment or Disease? Medieval and Early Modern Approaches to the 1518 Strasbourg Dancing Plague.* (2017): 149–164.

Waller, John. "A Forgotten Plague: Making Sense of Dancing Mania." *The Lancet* (2009): 624–625.

"VERY BAD TONGUES": PHYSICAL SPEECH AND ABNORMALITY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH WITCHCRAFT | Melissa Kane

Anonymous, *Mother shiptons christmas carrols with her merry neighbors also a description of her person, with a witty dialogue between roast-beef, mince-pye, and plumb-pottage, contending for superiority with the verdict of strong-beer, their moderator there upon,* (London: Printed by P. Lillicrap for William Harris, 1668)

Damnable Practices of three Lincoln-shire Witches (1619) reproduced in Marion Gibson, *The Early Modern English Woman: Series III, Part 2, Volume 7: Women and Witchcraft in Popular Literature, c.1560-1715*: Selected and Introduced by Marion Gibson (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007)

Foster, George M. 'Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good', *American Anthropologist* 67:2 (1965) pp. 293-315

Harris, Tim. *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1850* (New York: Springer, 1995)

Gaskill, Malcolm. *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Goodcole, Henry. The wonderfull disoverie of ELIZABETH SAWYER, a Witch, late of Edmonton, her conviction and condemnation and Death (1621) reproduced in Marion Gibson, *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing* (London, 2000)

Johnson, Sarah. 'Female Bodies, Speech and Silence in The Witch of Edmonton,' *Early Theatre* 12:1 (2009), pp.69-91

Macfarlane, Alan. *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970)

Marston, John. *The Tragedy of Sophonisba* (1606) reproduced in Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge (eds.) *Three Jacobean Witchcraft Plays* (Manchester University Press, 1986)

McCormack, Catherine. *Women in the Picture: Women, Art and the Power of Looking* (Icon Books, 2021)

THE EXAMINATION, CONFESSION, TRIALL AND EXECUTION OF JOANE WILLIFORD (1645) reproduced in Marion Gibson, *The Early Modern English Woman: Series III, Part 2, Volume 7: Women and Witchcraft in Popular Literature, c.1560-1715*: Selected and Introduced by Marion Gibson (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007)

Thomas, Keith. *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1971)

LADY MARY GREY: NOT JUST 'THE DWARF WHO MARRIED A GIANT' | Marnie Camping-Harris

The Spectator, *A Tudor Mystery Unravels* (2010)

Ann Foster, *Lady Mary Grey: Dwarf, Youngest Sister, Star-Crossed Lover, Tudor Heiress* (2020)

Leanda De Lisle, The Sisters Who Would Be Queen (2008)

Susan Doran, *Lady Mary Keys (Grey)* (2004)

Image credit: *The Streatham Portrait of Lady Jane Grey*, Anonymous (16th-century). Public domain. Accessed via Wikimedia Commons: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Streathamladyjayne.jpg

THE SUPERNATURAL IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND: THE NORMALITY OF THE ABNORMAL | Ellie Whitehead

Primary
Kirk, Robert, and Andrew Lang. *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies; Comment by Andrew Lang, M.A; Introduction by R.B. Cunninghame Graham.* Third Edition. Stirling: E. Mackay, 1933.

More, Henry and Joseph Glanvill. *Saducismus Triumphatus: or, Full And Plain Evidence Concerning Witches And Apparitions. In Two Parts. The First Treating Of Their Possibility, The Second Of Their Real Existence. With A Letter Of Dr. Henry More On The Same Subject. And An Authentick, But Wonderful Story Of Certain Swedish Witches…*London: Printed For J. Collins, And S. Lownds, 1681.

Sinclair, George. *Satan's Invisible World Discovered; or, A Choice Collection of Modern Relations: Proving Evidently Against the Saducees and Atheists of This Present Age, That There Are Devils, Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions, from Authentick Records, Attestations Of.,* Edinburgh: printed by John Reid, 1685.

Secondary

Brock, Michelle D., Richard Raiswell, and David R. Winter. *Knowing Demons, Knowing Spirits in the Early Modern Period*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018.

Cameron, Euan. *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Goodare, Julian and Martha McGill. *The Supernatural in Early Modern Scotland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020.

Henry, John. "A Cambridge Platonist's Materialism: Henry More and the Concept of Soul." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1), 1986: 172-195.

Hunter, M. "The Discovery of Second Sight in Late Seventeenth-Century Scotland." *History Tod*ay. 51 (6), 2001: 48-53.

Hunter, Michael. *The Decline of Magic: Britain in the Enlightenment*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.

McGill, Martha. *Ghosts in Enlightenment Scotland*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2018.

Raffe, Alasdair. "Intellectual change before the Enlightenment: Scotland, the Netherlands and the reception of Cartesian thought, 1650–1700". *Scottish Historical Review*, 94, 2015: 24-47.

All images accessed via Wikimedia Commons.

"MARRIAGE IS A CURSE WE FIND": FEMALE SUBJECTIVITY AND GENDER PERFORMANCE IN MARGARET CAVENDISH'S THE CONVENT OF PLEASURE | Naomi Wallace

Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 519–31. https://doi.org/10.2307/3207893.

Cavendish, Margaret. *The Convent of Pleasure: A Comedy*. Oxford: Seventeenth Century Press, 1995.

Cole, Megan. "Traumatic Pregnancy, Queer Virginity, and Asexual Reproduction in Margaret Cavendish's The Convent of Pleasure." *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture*, 1660-1700 45, no. 1 (2021): 83-108.

Crawford, Julie. "The Homoerotics of Shakespeare's Elizabethan Comedies." In *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works, Volume III*, edited by Richard Dutton, Jean E. Howard. Blackwell, 2003.

Fitzmaurice, James. "Cavendish [née Lucas], Margaret, duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne (1623?–1673), writer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 24 Dec. 2023. https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4940.

Jankowski, Theodora A. "'The Chick Got in the Way', or The Woman Is/as Queer: Feminism, Queer Theory, and the Unlocking of Female Subjectivity in Early Modern Drama." *Early Theatre* 7, no. 2 (2004): 96–108. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43502093.

Kellett, Katherine R. "Performance, Performativity, and Identity in Margaret Cavendish's 'The Convent of Pleasure.'" *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 48, no. 2 (2008): 419–42.

Pepys, Samuel. *Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Project Gutenberg. Accessed 29 Dec. 2023.

"REPRESENTING THE OTHER": ORIENTALIST NARRATIVES IN WESTERN ART | Edie Christian

Beaulieu, Jill. *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography: Jill Beaulieu*. Duke University Press, 2003.

Gregory, Derek. "Emperors of the Gaze: Photographic Practices and the Productions of Space in Egypt, 1839-1914." In *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, edited by Joan Schwartz and James Ryan, 195–255. Routledge, 2003.

Grigsby, Darcy Grimaldo. "Rumor, Contagion, and Colonisation in Gros's Plague-Stricken of Jaffa (1804)." *Representations*, no. 51 (July 1995): 1–46. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928645.

Meagher, Jennifer. "Orientalism in Nineteenth-Century Art." Metmuseum.org, 2019. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/euor/hd_euor.htm.

Nochlin, Linda. "The Imaginary Orient." In *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*. Westview Press, 1989.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

THE STOLEN GENERATION: CHILD REMOVAL SOCIAL POLICIES THAT TORE INDIGENOUS CHILDREN FROM THEIR FAMILIES | Darcy Gresham

Tony Barta, 2008. *Sorry, and not sorry, in Australia: how the apology to the Stolen Generations buried a history of genocide*. Journal of Genocide Research Volume 10, Issue 2

Denise Cuthbert and Marian Quartly, 2013. *Forced child removal and the politics of national apologies in Australia*. American Indian Quarterly 27

Amanda Lecouter and Martha Augoustinos, March 2001. *Apologising to the Stolen Generations: Argument, rhetoric, and identity in public reasoning*. Australian Psychologist Volume 36, Issue 1.

Anna Haebich, 2011. *Forgetting Indigenous Histories: Cases from the history of Australia's Stolen Generation*. Journal of Social History Volume 44, Issue 4.

Helen McDonald, 2007. *Perish the thought: Populating white Australia and the role of child removal policies*. Journal of Australian Studies Volume 31, Issue 91.

Jessica Schimmel, 2005. *Killing without Murder: Aboriginal Assimilation Policy as Genocide*. Lehigh Preserve Volume 13, Issue 7.

Robert Van Krieken, June 1999. *The barbarism of civilisation: cultural genocide and the stolen generations*. The British Journal of Sociology Volume 50, Issue 2.

National Archives of Australia and the Department of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet

Museum of Australian Democracy

ELITE PANIC: WHY EATING THE RICH ISN'T AS ABNORMAL AS IT SOUNDS | Oscar Virdee

Bonn, S.A. (2010). How an Elite-Engineered Moral Panic Led to the U.S. War on Iraq. *Critical Criminology*, 19(3), pp.227–249. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-010-9116-6.

Clarke, L. and Chess, C. (2008). Elites and Panic: More to Fear than Fear Itself. *Social Forces*, 87(2), pp.993–1014. doi:https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.0.0155.

Crooks, Mary (2023). *Apr 18, 1906 CE: Great San Francisco Earthquake | National Geographic Society*. [online] education.nationalgeographic.org. Available at: https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/great-san-francisco-earthquake/.

Cunha, B.A. (2004). The cause of the plague of Athens: plague, typhoid, typhus, smallpox, or measles? *Infectious Disease Clinics of North America*, 18(1), pp.29–43. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/s0891-5520(03)00100-4.

dictionary.cambridge.org. (2023). *PANIC | meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary*. [online] Available at: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/pani

Erdmann, K. (2022). *How Tall Are Elites In Halo?* [online] ScreenRant. Available at: https://screenrant.com/how-tall-are-elites-in-halo/ [Accessed 12 Dec. 2023].

Korom, P. (2015). Elites: History of the Concept. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, pp.390–395. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-08-097086-8.03079-8.

Livius.org. (2019). *The Plague - Livius*. [online] Available at: https://www.livius.org/sources/content/thucydides-historian/the-plague/

Martínez, J. (2017). Political consequences of the Plague of Athens. *digilib.phil.muni.cz*. [online] Available at: https://digilib.phil.muni.cz/handle/11222.digilib/136470.

Price-Smith, A.T. (2020). 2. Epidemic Disease, History, and the State. *MIT Press on COVID-19*. [online] Available at: https://covid-19.mitpress.mit.edu/pub/v4u2efpd/release/1?readingCollection=3c734d4a [Accessed 11 Dec. 2023].

Pritchard, D.E. (1996). Thucydides and the Tradition of the Athenian Funeral Oration. *Ancient History: Resource for Teachers*, 26, pp.137–157.

Rebecca Solnit (n.d.). *A Paradise Built In Hell: The Extraordinary Communities That Arise In Disaster*. [online] *Internet Archive*. Available at: https://archive.org/details/a-paradise-built-in-hell/page/126/mode/1up [Accessed 12 Dec. 2023].

Stevens, S.T. (1991). Charon's Obol and Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice. *Phoenix*, 45(3), p.215. doi:https://doi.org/10.2307/1088792.

The Library of Congress. (2015). *San Francisco earthquake and fire, April 18, 1906*. [online] Available at: https://www.loc.gov/item/00694425/.

HALF SEEN, HALF UNSEEN: RETHINKING BIRACIAL HISTORY | Harry Fry

Aspinall, P. J. 'Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century', in *Palgrave Politics of Identity and Citizenship Series*. London, 2018.

Hall, R. *Biracial Americans: The Advantages of White Blood, A Historical Analysis of Skin Colour Discrimination in America*. Springer New York, 2010.

Ifekwunigwe, J. O. '*Mixed Race' Studies: A Reader*. Routledge, 2004.

Reginald, D. G, Kina, L, Wei, M. D, and Fojas, C. 'Emerging Paradigms in Critical Mixed Race Studies', *Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies 1*, 2014.

Reginald. D. G. *Beyond Black and White: The New Multiracial Consciousness*. California, 1992.

Rocher, Z. L, and Fozdar, F. *Mixed Race in Asia, Past, Present and Future*. Routledge, 2017.

Zack, N. *Race and Mixed Race* (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1993).

NO, ASEXUALITY IS NOT A NEW INTERNET ORIENTATION | Elena Fritzsch

Primary Sources
Kinsey, Alfred C. *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male*. Philadelphia, PA: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*. Philadelphia, PA: W. B. Saunders Company, 1953.

Hirschfield, Magnus. "Scientific Humanitarian Committee Petition to the Reichstag." 1897.

Von Krafft-Ebing, Richard. *Psychopathia Sexualis*, trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock. Philadelphia, PA: The F. A. Davis Co. Publishers, 1892. https://archive.org/details/psychopathiasexualis00kraf/page/42/

mode/2up

Secondary Sources
AVEN, The Asexuality Visibility and Education Network.
https://www.asexuality.org/ [Accessed 4 November 2023]

Bartosch, Jo. "'Asexual rights' and the endless quest for victimhood." *Spiked*, October 31, 2023.
https://www.spiked-online.com/2023/10/31/asexual-rights-and-the-endless-quest-for-victimhood/ [Accessed 2 November 2023]

Benoit, Yasmin. "Yasmin Benoit: It's time for asexuality to be legally recognised." *Attitude*, October 25, 2023.
https://www.attitude.co.uk/life/yasmin-benoit-its-time-for-asexuality-to-be-legally-recognised-450760/ [Accessed 5 November 2023]

Benoit, Yasmin and Robbie de Santos. "Stonewall: Ace in the UK Report." London: Stonewall, 2023.
https://www.stonewall.org.uk/system/files/ace_in_the_uk_report_2023.pdf [Accessed 3 November 2023]

Bogaert, Anthony. "Asexuality: prevalence and associated factors in a national probability sample," J Sex Res. 41, no.3 (2004): 279-87.

Chasin, CJ DeLuzio. "Reconsidering Asexuality and Its Radical Potential." *Feminist Studies* 39, no. 2 (2013): 405–26.

GLAAD, The GLAAD Media Institute. "Where We Are On TV: 2022-2023." GLAAD Media Institute, 2023.
https://assets.glaad.org/m/114d72edf8a779a6/original/GLAAD-2022-23-Where-We-Are-on-TV.pdf [Accessed 7 November 2023]

Kliegman, Julie. "Sex Education Makes an Asexual Mess." *Vulture*, September 28, 2023.
https://www.vulture.com/article/sex-education-season-4-o-asexual-storyline-representation.html [Accessed 1 November 2023]

Maheshwari-Aplin, Prishita. "7 things you might not know about conversion therapy." *Stonewall*, October 8, 2021.
https://www.stonewall.org.uk/about-us/news/7-things-you-might-not-know-about-conversion-therapy [Accessed 5 November 2023]

Moore, Alison. "The Invention of the Unsexual: Situating Frigidity in the History of Sexuality and in Feminist Thought." *French History and Civilisation* 2 (2008): 181-192.

Morgan, Piers. "Where's my STRAIGHT Flag?! Piers Morgan Debates Pride Flags with James Barr. June 15, 2023.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XoulC-h4yB4 [Accessed 4 November 2023]

Przybylo, Ela. "The Subtle Aroace Gaze of "Heartstopper" Season 2." *Autostraddle*, August 18, 2023.
https://www.autostraddle.com/the-subtle-aroace-gaze-of-heartstopper-season-two/ [Accessed 6 November 2023]

Ross, Charley. "Sex Education is the latest TV show to spotlight asexuality, the 'invisible' sexual orientation." *Glamour*, 21 September, 2023.
https://www.glamourmagazine.co.uk/article/sex-education-season-four-asexuality [Accessed 4 November 2023]

Stremel, Emily. "A History of Asexuality: From Medical Problem to Recognised Sexual Orientation." *The Ascendant Historian* 2 (2022): 68-77.

Tokheim, Darren "When the Invisible Become Visible: How Asexuality is represented in Popular Culture." MA diss., University of San Francisco, 2018.

UK Government, Government Equalities Office. "LGBT Survey: Summary Report." London, 2018.
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5b3cb6b6ed915d39fd5f14df/GEO-LGBT-Survey-Report.pdf [Accessed 6 November 2023]

Waters, Jamie. "'I don't want sex with anyone': the growing asexuality movement." *The Guardian*, March 21, 2021.
https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2021/mar/21/i-dont-want-sex-with-anyone-the-growing-asexuality-movement [Accessed 5 November 2023]

Wise, Sarah. "'Curing Queers': Mental Nurses and Their Patients, 1935-74 by Tommy Dickinson – review." *The Guardian*, June 2, 2015.
https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/jun/03/curing-queers-mental-nurses-patients-tommy-dickinson-review [Accessed 2 November 2023]

World Health Organisation, International Classification of Diseases. https://icd.who.int/en [Accessed 6 November 2023]

THE ORIGINS OF DRAG: FROM PERFORMANCE TO POLITICS | Flora Gilchrist

Case, Sue-Ellen, 'Classic Drag: The Greek Creation of Female Parts' *Theatre Journal* 37, no. 3 (1985): 317–27. https://doi.org/10.2307/3206851

Hill, Selena, 'The story of former slave-turned-history-making drag queen, William Dorsey Swann' *Black Enterprise* (2020).
https://www.proquest.com/magazines/story-former-slave-turned-history-making-drag/docview/2755562650/se-2

Wilson, James F, *Bulldaggers, Pansies, and Chocolate Babies: Performance, Race, and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance* (MI: University of Michigan Press, 2010): 139-161.
https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.3998/mpub.1175684

Shawna Mizelle and Dave Alsup, 'Tennessee becomes the first state in 2023 to restrict drag performances,' *CNN Politics*, (March 2023).
https://edition.cnn.com/2023/03/02/politics/tennessee-ban-drag-show-performances-governor/index.html#:~:text=The%20state%20Senate%20passed%20the,repeat%20offenders%20with%20a%20felony.

Caitlin Hernández, 'Drag queens led an Easter march in L.A. to protest anti-drag and anti-trans laws,' *NPR Morning Edition,* (April 2023).
https://www.npr.org/2023/04/10/1168931338/drag-queens-led-an-easter-march-in-l-a-to-protest-anti-drag-and-anti-trans-laws

JOSEPH MERRICK, 'THE ELEPHANT MAN,' IN DISABILISM DISCOURSE | Megan Crutchley

Durbach, N. (2007). Monstrosity, Masculinity and Medicine: Re-Examining 'The Elephant Man'. *Cultural and Social History 4, no. 2*, 193-213.

Lynch, D. (Director). (2008). *The Elephant Man* [Motion Picture].

Schofield, C. (2019, January 25th). Harvey's Law: How Katie Price's campaign against online trolls got the backing of MPs. *iNews*.

SILENT BOYS OR BROKEN MEN? TRAUMA, COMPASSION, AND ART IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR | Ishaabhya Tripathi

Becker, Annette. "The Avant-Garde, Madness and the Great War." *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 1 (2000): 71–84. http://www.jstor.org/stable/261182.

McCARTNEY, HELEN B. "The First World War Soldier and His Contemporary Image in Britain." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 90, no. 2 (2014): 299–315. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24538556.

"Shell Shock." *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 3217 (1922): 391–92. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20420931.

Tisdall, C. F. "Shell Shock." *The Public Health Journal* 10, no. 1 (1919): 6–12. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41975688.

Winter, Jay. "Shell-Shock and the Cultural History of the Great War." *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 1 (2000): 7–11. http://www.jstor.org/stable/261177.

Engineering Institute of Technology, *Mechanised warfare: Remembering the introduction of the tank in WWI*, 11.12.18, https://www.eit.edu.au/mechanized-warfare-remembering-the-introduction-of-the-tank-in-wwi/

Tate Modern, *Surrealism*, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/s/surrealism#:~:text=Surrealism%20aims%20to%20revolutionise%20human,the%20disregarded%20and%20the%20unconventional.

Images
Zentrum Paul Klee, *The Great Emperor, Armed for Battle*, 1921,
https://www.zpk.org/en/exhibitions/review/2017/klee-in-wartime-1563.html#:~:text=In%20March%201916%2C%20at%20the,work%20even%20during%20the%20war.

Museum of Modern Art, *War cripples (Kriegskrüppel)*, from *the War (Der Krieg)*, Otto Dix, 1920, https://www.moma.org/collection/works/69799?artist_id=1559&page=1&sov_referrer=artist

Museum of Modern Art, *Gas Victims (Templeux-La-Fosse, August 1916)* (*Gastote [Templeux-La-Fosse, August 1916]*), from *the War (Der Krieg)*, Otto Dix, 1924, https://www.moma.org/collection/works/87723?association=portfolios&page=1&parent_id=63259&sov_referrer=association

"A VISION OF BLUE MOUNTAINS": RE-CONCEPTUALISING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LEPROSY LITERATURE WITHIN TWENTIETH-CENTURY JAPANESE SANITARIA | Kat Jivkova

Akashi, Kaijin. *Hakubyō*. Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1939.

Arrington, Celeste L. *Accidental Activists: Victim Movements and Government Accountability in Japan and South Korea.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016.

Burns, Susan L. *Kingdom of the Sick: A History of Leprosy and Japan.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019.

Burns, Susan L. "Making Illness into Identity: Writing 'Leprosy Literature' in Modern Japan." *Japan Review* 16, no. 16 (2004): 191-211.

Hōjō, Tamio. *Complete Works of Hōjō Tamio*. Tokyo: Sōgen-sha, 1938.

Nagata, Honami. "Recovering the Light." In *Patient Writing: Collected Materials for Movies Volume One*, 159-165. Tokyo: Zaidan hojin rai yobō kyōkai, 1933.

Ng, William, and Shigaku Ikeda. "The Literary Works of Hansen's Disease Patients in Japan." *International Journal of Dermatology* 49, no. 4 (2010): 461-463.

Ono, Robert. "Circle within Walls: A Comparative Study on Poets of Leprosariums." *IAFOR Journal of Literature & Librarianship* 6, no. 1 (2017): 61-80.

Sato, Hajime, and Minoru Narita. "Politics of Leprosy Segregation in Japan: The Emergence, Transformation and Abolition of the Patient Segregation Policy." *Social Science & Medicine* 56, no. 12 (2003): 2529-2539.

Tanaka, K. M. "Contested Histories and Happiness: Leprosy Literature in Japan." *Health, Culture and Society* 5, no. 1 (2013): 99-118.

Toyoda, M. "State, Sterilization, and Reproductive Rights: Japan as Occupier and Occupied." In *Japan as the Occupier and the Occupied*, edited by Christine Matos and Mark Caprio, 45-64. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Walker, Brett. *Toxic Archipelago a History of Industrial Disease in Japan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010.

WHY DO WE WORSHIP: A CASE STUDY ON ATATÜRK'S CULT OF PERSONALITY | Aliya Okamoto Abdullaeva

Berger, Lutz. 'The Leader as Father. Personality Cults in Modern Turkey.' in *Kemalism as a Fixed Variable in the Republic of Turkey: History, Society, Politics*, ed. Lutz Berger and Tamir Düzyol, (2020).

Çandar, Cengiz. 'Atatürk's Ambiguous Legacy', in *The Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 4, (2000).

C. Mateescu, Dragoş. 'Kemalism in the Era of Totalitarianism: A Conceptual Analysis', in *Turkish Studies*, (2006).

Dymond, Jonny. 'The Cult of Atatürk', in *Prospect Magazine*, (2004).

M. Kulik, Rebecca. 'Cult of personality', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (2023).

Navaro-Yashin, Yael. 'The Cult of Ataturk: The Apparition of a Secularist Leader in Uncanny Forms', in *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Oğuzlu, Tarık. 'Turkey and the West: The Rise of Turkey-Centric Westernism,' in *International Journal*, 66, no. 4 (2011).

Pisch, Anita. 'The Phenomenon of the Personality Cult– a Historical Perspective', in *The Personality Cult in Stalin and Soviet Posters, 1929-1953: Archetypes, Inventions and Fabrications*, (Australian National University Press, 2016).

Şafak, Elif. 'Someone To Watch Over Me: How Atatürk Lives on in Modern Turkey – in Pictures', in *The Guardian*, (2013).

S. Halman, Talat. 'Atatürk as Immortal Hero' in *The Turkish Times*, (1995).

Image credit: *Atatürk in Izmir*, photograph by Ed Kohler (2010). Accessed via Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AtaturkinIzmir.jpg. (CC BY 2.0)

DEMOLITION D-DAY: THE IMPACT OF "HOBART'S FUNNIES" ON ARMOURED VEHICLE DESIGN | Sam Marks

Army, U. S. English: Bullshorn Plough in 1945 to Support the Infantry through the Minefields. Bullshorn Plough Was Mine Plough to Excavate the Ground in Front of the Tank, to Expose and Make Harmless Any Land Mines. 1945. https://www.dday-overlord.com/en/material/tank/bullshorn-plough. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bullshorn_plough-1945.jpg.

Delaforce, Patrick. Churchill's Secret Weapons: The Story of Hobart's Funnies. New edition. Leo Cooper / Pen & Sword Military, 2006.

Funnies: The D-Day Tanks | The Tank Museum, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lHzBfltvogw.

"Hobart's Funnies – Special Tanks of the Battle of Normandy in 1944 – D-Day Overlord." Accessed November 18, 2023. https://www.dday-overlord.com/en/material/tank/hobarts-funnies.

Hobart's Funnies: D-Day's Weird and Wonderful Tanks, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hp1HXJiuriI.

Keegan, John. Churchill's Generals. Illustrated edition. W&N, 2005.

Mvo, Major-General G. L. Verney Dso. Desert Rats: The 7th Armoured Division in World War II. Greenhill Books, 2002.

Patterson, Michael Robert. "Omar Nelson Bradley - General Of The Army." Arlington National Cemetery (blog), November 13, 2023. https://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/omarnels.htm.

Roberts, Andrew. Masters and Commanders : The Military Geniuses Who Led the West to Victory in World War II. London : Penguin, 2009. http://archive.org/details/masterscommander0000robe_g9v1.

The Story of the 79th Armoured Division: October 1942 - June 1945. Naval & Military Press Ltd, 2020.

Warfare History Network. "General Percy Hobart: Britain's Genius Tanker," May 12, 2021. https://warfarehistorynetwork.com/article/general-percy-hobart-britains-genius-tanker/.

Whitmarsh, Andrew. D-Day in Photographs. Reprint edition. Stroud: The History Press, 2012.

Zaloga, Steven J. US Amphibious Tanks of World War II: 192. 1st edition. Botley, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2012.

Featured Image Credits:
Army, U. S. English: Bullshorn Plough in 1945 to Support the Infantry through the Minefields. Bullshorn Plough Was Mine Plough to Excavate the Ground in Front of the Tank, to Expose and Make Harmless Any Land Mines. 1945. https://www.dday-overlord.com/en/material/tank/bullshorn-plough. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bullshorn_plough-1945.jpg.

Gladstone. An M3 Tank Fitted with an Armoured Searchlight Turret, Known as a Canal Defense Light. IWM Collection Description Is "Grant CDL (Canal Defence Light) with Searchlight and Dummy Gun Mounted in Turret." World War 2. This photograph H 41966 comes from the collections of the Imperial War Museums. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M3_Canal_Defense_Light.jpg.

J, Mapham. English: Sherman Crab Mk II Flail Tank, One of General Hobart's "funnies" of 79th Armoured Division, during Minesweeping Tests in the UK, 27 April 1944. between and 1945date QS:P,+1950-   -00T00:00:00Z/7,P1319,+1939-00-00T00:00:00Z/9,P1326,+1945-00-00T00:00:00Z/9 1939. http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib//36/media-36074/large.jpg This photograph H 38079 comes from the collections of the Imperial War Museums. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sherman_Crab_Mk_II_flail_tank,_one_of_General_Hobart%27s_%27funnies%27_of_79th_Armoured_Division,_during_minesweeping_tests_in_the_UK,_27_April_1944._H38079.jpg.
———. English: The British Army in the United Kingdom 1939-45. April 26, 1944. http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib//44/media-44689/large.jpg This photograph H 37883 comes from the collections of the Imperial War Museums. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_British_Army_in_the_United_Kingdom_1939-45_H37883.jpg.

W.wolny. Churchill Ark Mk II (UK Pattern) Bridging Vehicle. World War II. This photograph MH 9563 comes from the collections of the Imperial War Museums (collection no. 6709-08). https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Armoured_Ramp_Carrier_02.jpg.
———. D-7 Armoured Bulldozer, 3rd Division, 1 May 1944. May 1944. http://www.iwmcollections.org.uk/. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:D-7_Armoured_Bulldozer.jpg.
———. IWM Caption : A Churchill Tank Fitted with a Crocodile Flamethrower in Action. This Flamethrower Could Produce a Jet of Flame Exceeding 150 Yards in Length. August 1944. This photograph TR 2313 comes from the collections of the Imperial War Museums (collection no. 4905-03). https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Churchill_Crocodile_01.jpg.
———. Sherman DD (Duplex Drive) Amphibious Tank with Waterproof Float Screens. When in the Water the Float Screen Was Raised and the Rear Propellers Came into Operation. 1944. This photograph MH 3660 comes from the collections of the Imperial War Museums (collection no. 5207-04).

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DD-Tank.jpg.

VICTIMS OF A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF MORALITY: KASUTORI MAGAZINES AND POSTWAR JAPAN | Aleksandrs Skulte

Dazai, Osamu. The Setting Sun. New York: New Directions Publishing, 2022.

Dower, John W. Embracing defeat: Japan in the wake of World War II. London: Penguin Books, 2000.

González-López, Irene. "Marketing the Panpan in Japanese Popular Culture: Youth, Sexuality, and Power." U.S.-Japan Women's Journal 54, no. 1 (2018): 29–51. https://doi.org/10.1353/jwj.2018.0009.

Kamei, Shunsuke. "The Kiss and Japanese Culture after World War II." Comparative Literature Studies 18, no. 2 (June 1981): 114–23. https://doi.org/https://www.jstor.org/stable/40246247.

McLelland, Mark. "Sex and Censorship During the Occupation of Japan." The Asia-Pacific Journal, 6, 10, no. 37 (September 9, 2012): 1–22. https://doi.org/https://apjjf.org/-Mark-McLelland/3827/article.pdf.

McLelland, Mark. "'Kissing Is a Symbol of Democracy!': Dating, Democracy, and Romance in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952." Journal of the History of Sexuality 19, no. 3 (September 2010): 508–35. https://doi.org/https://www.jstor.org/stable/40986337.

Rubin, Jay. "From Wholesomeness to Decadence: The Censorship of Literature under the Allied Occupation." Journal of Japanese Studies 11, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 71–103. https://doi.org/10.2307/132230.

OTHERING THE PUNISHED, PUNISHING THE OTHER: PRISONS AND THE PRODUCTION OF ABNORMALITY | Ailsa Fraser

Cryle, Peter Maxwell, and Elizabeth Stephens. *Normality: A Critical Genealogy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. London: Penguin Books, 2019.

Jewkes, Yvonne. "Introduction: Understanding the Prison." In *Handbook on Prisons*, edited by Yvonne Jewkes, xxiii-xxx. Cullompton: Taylor and Francis, 2012.

Jewkes, Yvonne. "Prisons." In *The Oxford Handbook of Crime and Criminal Justice*, edited by Michael Tonry, 872–896. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Soothill, Keith. "Prison Histories and Competing Audiences, 1776-1966." In *Handbook on Prisons*, edited by Yvonne Jewkes, 27-48. Cullompton: Taylor and Francis, 2012.

Tonry, Michael H. "Punishment." In *The Oxford Handbook of Crime and Criminal Justice*, edited by Michael Tonry, 95–125. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

"THEY'RE SELLING HIPPIE WIGS IN WOOLWORTH'S, MAN!" INVESTIGATING THE ALLEGED ABNORMALITY OF 1960S YOUTH COUNTERCULTURE | Coco Barrett

Braunstein, Peter, William Doyle, Michael. *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*. New York, Routledge, 2002.

Didion, Joan. *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*. New York, Dell, 1968.

Goldstein, Richard. "Love: A Groovy Idea While He Lasted." in *Notes from the New York Underground*, ed. Kornbluth. New York, The Viking Press, 1968.

Van Niekerken, Bill. "'Death of the Hippies': Haight-

Ashbury's 1967 funeral for counterculture". *San Francisco Chronicle*. 3 October 2017.

Yardley, Jonathan. "In a Time of Posturing, Didion Dared Slouching". *The Washington Post*, 27 December 2007.

LIFE AND HOPE OVER DEATH AND DESPAIR: THE HISTORICISM OF ART IN THE AIDS CRISIS | Michal Wujcikowski

Nevis, Jake. "David Wojnarowicz: Remembering the Work of a Trailblazing Artist." The Guardian, July 13, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2018/jul/13/david-wojnarowicz-exhibitions-whitney-museum.

Padamsee, Tasleem J. "Fighting an Epidemic in Political Context: Thirty-Five Years of HIV/AIDS Policy Making in the United States." *Social history of medicine : the journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine* 33, no. 3 (2020): 1001–1028.

Perlson, Hill. "Nan Goldin on the Changing Aesthetics of People with HIV." Sleek Magazine, August 7, 2017. https://www.sleek-mag.com/article/aids-through-nan-goldins-eyes/.

Sawyer, Miranda. "'The Public Has a Right to Art': The Radical Joy of Keith Haring." The Guardian, June 2, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2019/jun/02/public-has-right-to-art-keith-haring-tate-liverpool-exhibition.

Smallwood, Christine. "The Rage and Tenderness of David Wojnarowicz's Art." The New York Times, September 7, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/07/magazine/the-rage-and-tenderness-of-david-wojnarowiczs-art.html.

ARCHITECTS OF CIVILISATION: THE NEURODIVERGENT HISTORICAL GIANTS | Oscar Simmons

Applied Behaviour Analysis Programs Guide, *History's 30 Most Famous People with Autism* (2023)

Bonnie Evans, *How autism became autism*, History of the Human Sciences (July, 2013)

Ioan James, *Singular Scientists,* Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine (January, 2003)

Jane Carver, *Autism: The Enigma That Amazingly Saved 14 Million Lives,* Autism Parenting Magazine (Sept. 28th, 2023)

Lark Music, *Celebrating Mozart this World Autism Acceptance Week* (March 2022)

National Autistic Paper. (https://www.autism.org.uk/advice-and-guidance/what-is-autism/the-history-of-autism/asperger-syndrome) Accessed 5th February 2024

THE ENIGMA OF DAVID CAMERON'S RETURN: THE HISTORICAL ART OF THE POLITICAL COMEBACK | Louisa Steijger

Abjorensen, N. (2016) 'The art of the political comeback', *Inside Story*. 5th July. Available at: https://insidestory.org.au/the-art-of-the-political-comeback/ [accessed 1/12/23]

Behr, R. (2023) 'David Cameron's Tory party is dead- and its ghost can't save Rishi Sunak', *The Guardian*. 15th November. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/nov/15/david-cameron-tory-party-dead-ghost-rishi-sunak [accessed 28/11/23]

Crerar, P. (2023) 'David Cameron makes shock comeback in high-risk reshuffle', The Guardian. 13th November. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2023/nov/13/reshuffle-that-brought-david-cameron-back-is-likely-to-be-last-before-election [accessed 14/12/23]

Gutmann, M. (2023) *The Unseen Leader: How History Can Help Us Rethink Leadership.* Switzerland: Springer. p.125-173.

Heppell, T. (2014) *The Tories: From Winston Churchill to David Cameron*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, p.133-178.

Landler, M. (2023) 'The improbable Comeback of David Cameron', *The New York Times*. 13th November. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/13/world/europe/david-cameron-return-uk-government.html [accessed 27/11/23]

Martin, A. & Hardy, P. (1993) *Robert Menzies: a life*. Australia: Melbourne University Press. p.1-104.

Palmowski, J. & Riches, C. (2021) 'Heseltine, Micheal (21 Mar. 1933), *A Dictionary of Contemporary World History*. Oxford University Press. DOI:10.1093/acref/9780191890949.001.0001

Robinson, D. (2023) 'What David Cameron's return says about British politics', *The Economist*. 13th November. Available at: https://www.proquest.com/docview/2889427493?parentSessionId=Nd2TLoBY94qERT2W5L0B%2BdG5eM6NeEnUGyVww6Oh3tw%3D&pq-origsite=primo&accountid=10673&sourcetype=Magazines [accessed 24/11/23]

Stacey, K. (2023) 'He still has his political mojo: David Cameron comes back from his shed', *The Guardian*. 13th November. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2023/nov/13/he-still-has-his-political-mojo-david-cameron-comes-back-from-his-shed [accessed 23/11/23]

Retrospect Journal.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY'S HISTORY, CLASSICS AND ARCHAEOLOGY MAGAZINE

THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH
School of History, Classics and Archaeology

GET IN TOUCH

✉ info@retrospectjournal.com

Ⓦ www.retrospectjournal.com

FOLLOW US ON SOCIAL MEDIA

f Retrospect History, Classics and Archaeology Journal

🐦 @RetrospectHCA

📷 @RetrospectJournal

in Retrospect Journal HCA