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Creating the 'Other'

Malte Hinrichsen, Elliott Hicks, Joanna Frew and
Nazim Can Cicektakan (eds)

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Introduction: Creating the 'Other'.

Malte Hinrichsen, Elliott Hicks, Joanna Frew and Nazim Can Cicektakan (editors)

Throughout history, there has been a recurrent theme of groups imagining others as apart, as fundamentally and irrevocably different, as 'Other'. At intrapersonal, societal, and international levels, and governed by notions of, for example, class, gender, race and ethnicity, religion, or patterns of consumption, the tendency to define persons as beyond the boundaries of, or subordinate to a community seems one which has been ever-present. These definitions have been continually utilised to seek legitimacy for discriminatory and exploitative social relationships. Such matters are of great interest to the historian, as to define what is 'Other' is also to define oneself in opposition to it. The study of the creation of the 'Other' thus offers a means of discerning the self-conceptions of individuals and groups, and of the social and cultural forces and dynamics of power operating in specific historical contexts. This process is fundamentally defined by paradox. Images and imaginations of Others have always been grouped around seemingly conflicting polarities: nobility and savagery, purity and contamination, or benevolence and danger. Otherness is simultaneously taboo and fascination; it is, to quote Ludmilla Jordanova, 'to be veiled and unveiled'.¹

Jordanova was among the first Anglophone historians to apply the concept of 'l'Autre' in her analysis of images of gender in science and medicine. As a member of the Department of History at the University of Essex, she thus established a tradition within the institution, one which seeks to integrate questions of Otherness into various fields of research. In the present day, the range of topics concerned with processes of Othering is vividly demonstrated by the scholarly fields represented within the Department. Historians at the University of Essex remain sensitively attuned to the temporal and geographic ubiquity of Othering, working in areas as diverse as witch trials during the early modern period to forced migration in the twentieth century, and from the effects of slavery on Latin American culture to racist labour movements in South Africa.

This range of topics, which made the University of Essex an almost natural location for a discussion on Othering, was further

¹ Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions. Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Madison, 1989), p. 109.

enriched by the diversity of presentations given at the graduate conference 'Creating the Other', held on 20 September 2011, a selection of which is published in this volume. Keeping the conference open for the various academic disciplines involved in discourses of Othering, the organising committee, comprising the editors and Lisa Gardner, received dozens of submissions, covering all kinds of philosophical, sociological, political, artistic and literary implications of the subject matter. Since a choice among the equally ambitious proposals could not be made solely on the basis of their quality, the committee decided to create panel groups, illustrating the spectrum of possible questions, while linking varying approaches to common threads. Thus, the creation of Otherness was examined in relation to questions of national identity, crime, gender, and colonialism.

In the first panel, for example, Antje Friedrich explained how Afro-Germans in post-war Germany were socially marginalized and constructed as Others. Her paper illustrates this process, using autobiographical works of Afro-Germans to trace the history of racism in the supposedly democratised West Germany. Similarly examining national identity in Europe, but applying a more theoretical approach, Sivamohan Valluvan critiques the concept of 'civic patriotism'. Valluvan assesses the construction of a civic nationalism for most members of the European Union, identifying the domestic exclusion of ethnically defined Others as the prevalent pattern of ethnic nationalism. Aliens within the national borders substitute for those without, while the achievement of post-ethnic civic citizenship provides for a rhetoric of notional inclusiveness on a continental scale.

The three papers referring to gendered Othering varied especially in terms of their temporal reach and theoretical approach. Sara Regnier-McKellar examines the complex functions of manhood and humour during the British Civil Wars. Regnier-McKellar's work engages with the ways in which the propaganda of both Royalists and Parliamentarians employed humour to ridicule the enemy, stressing the function of gendered stereotypes as metaphors for inferiority. The manhood of martial men is here identified as a means of psychological warfare and as a source of gendered Othering in early modern British culture. In her examination of American women's civil war narratives, Kristen Brill exposes how elite Southern women built on antebellum associations with slavery to come to terms with female misery during wartime. Through mobilisation of insightful records of civil war narratives of white women, Brill demonstrates how these women commonly responded

to abolitionist discourses by linking their own fate to the biblical slavery of the Israelites in Egypt. Images of antebellum Othering function as part of Southern mistresses' self-perception, albeit hidden in Old Testament motifs. Turning again towards British culture, Patrick Glen analyses the representations of male homosexuality in the music press of the 1970s, with particular emphasis on David Bowie. In his vivid portraits of the London music scene, and of the situation of homosexuals at the time, Glen identifies the public coming-out of Bowie as a watershed for the cultural discourse on sexual liberation, although the singer was still excluded from both mainstream society and gay rights movement.

Others are an unavoidable product of colonial policies. In the first of the papers in this area, Joanna Frew draws a comparison between Southern India and the Scottish Highlands and the ways in which these societies experienced changes induced by the Scottish Enlightenment and by the 'improving' actions of Scots directed at Others both at home and abroad. In her comparative approach, Frew discusses how eighteenth-century images of Otherness were constructed against the ideals of Enlightenment and could almost equally be applied to the traditionally-minded Highlanders as to 'Oriental' Indians. Two different processes of Othering are examined by Aaron McGaughey who first demonstrates the existence of Russia as an effective Other in historiographical discourses on European colonialism and second sheds light on the construction of a Russian identity that was created to distinguish the peoples of European Russia from those of colonised Siberia. Against the academic mainstream, McGaughey argues that Russian colonialism was part of a wider European discourse on Empire and shows how even the discrimination of subjugated peoples followed similar patterns.

Finally, John Bulaitis concluded the conference with a fascinating keynote address on Maurice Thorez, considering his as an excluded voice within the history of Communism, adding another demonstration of the possible applications of the concept of Otherness in historical research. However diverse the questions related to Othering may be, the stimulating debates after each panel revealed the common interest of the academics involved: all of them are searching for the histories both on and of the margins, eschewing mainstream methodological approaches and stressing the paradox of Otherness. In essence they are writing an 'Other' history.

Exposing the Seedy Underbelly of Slavery: The Concept of the “Other” in United States Women’s Civil War Narratives

Kristen Brill, University of Cambridge, Cambridge

Women’s civil war narratives fit into the overarching dialectical framework of early American literature chronicling the situational context of women’s suffering. The publication of fugitive slave narratives, detailing suffering under slavery, proliferated after 1850 with the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, spurring an urgent abolitionist campaign for emancipation. Although the genre was not as popular in the South as it was in the North in the years approaching the war, the South was certainly aware and at least somewhat familiar with it. One of the most prolifically published narratives, Harriet Jacobs’ *Incidents in the Life of A Slave Girl*, was first published in 1861, meeting with both great acclaim and vitriolic protestation, coinciding with the outbreak of war. These fugitive slave narratives were as a collective the first public sphere projection of black women’s autobiographical voice to a mass audience. Likewise, the civil war narratives, with few exceptions, were the first public sphere projection of Southern aristocratic white women’s autobiographical voice to a mass audience. The dissemination of formerly enslaved women and plantation mistress’ self-portrayal was made possible by the external factors of suffering and adversity, or to put it another way, their personal accounts were not published unless their subjectivity was articulated in terms of the greater institutional force of captivity. In this way, both enslaved women and elite white women’s voices were mediated and dependent on the macro level political debates of slavery and union.

Allusions to the Old Testament, specifically in regard to the enslavement of the Israelites in Egypt, characterize the collection of women’s civil war narratives. Appropriating a common language of suffering easily identifiable to their peers and readership, elite white women writers situated themselves in the most authoritative, definitive source of early America: a Protestant interpretation of the Bible. In April 1864, Julia Johnson Fisher laments of her family’s suffering, “Providence does not leave us to starve in the wilderness—Yet like the Israelites we are continually murmuring.”¹ In the immediate aftermath of General Lee’s surrender and the arrest

¹ Julia Johnson Fisher, *Unpublished Diary (1861-1865)*, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, North Carolina (digitally accessed via *Documenting the American South*), p. 11.

of President Davis, Lizzie Jackson Mann forecasts the Southern future as a descent into “Egyptian darkness.”² Similarly, Mary Terry parallels the apparent hopelessness of the Southern cause to the Israelites’ land of enslavement, “I often desire just a glimpse of that land of Canaan called home but could it be granted me, it would only deepen the darkness of this land of Egypt.”³ In December 1862, on the eve of the Battle of Fredericksburg, Virginian Ida Dulany comments on the prospect of securing meat for her family, “I shall consider it an especial provision of Providence, fully equal to the supply of manna and quails given to the Israelites.”⁴ Mrs. William Simmons is also deeply concerned about feeding her family during her flight from Richmond in March 1865, “All day we plodded on hungry for the little we could gather up as we started, was consumed and we looked back with longing - not to the flesh-pots of Egypt - for the flesh-pot had long been in a stranger in Richmond – but to the crust of corn bread we had left behind in our side-board.”⁵ Describing the scene when Senator Hammond made his personal salt supply available to Confederate wives, Virginia Clay Clopton joyously recalls, “it was like going down into Egypt for corn, and the precious crystals were distributed to all who came, according to the number in each family.”⁶ Moreover, after her husband’s imprisonment in Fortress Monroe under suspicion of involvement in the assassination of President Lincoln, Clement Claiborne Clay writes to his wife in a letter appearing in her narrative, “No people, save the Jews, have ever been more oppressed and afflicted more than those of the South.”⁷

The narratives present their situation on more relational terms (specifically to the enslavement of the Israelites) and how their condition can be positioned in a larger metanarrative of captivity. On one level, their instrumentalization of the Old Testament indicates not only an individual knowledge of the text, but of its valorisation and pre-eminence in the collectivity of the Old South. On another

² Lizzie Jackson Mann, Unpublished Memoir, Lizzie Jackson Mann (Personal Papers) Collection, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, p. 51.

³ Mary M. Terry, Diary, Mary M. Terry (Personal Papers) Collection, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, p. 13.

⁴ Ida Dulany, Diary (July 25, 1861-January 29, 1865), Personal Papers Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, p. 198.

⁵ Mrs. William Simmons, “The Flight from Richmond,” Southern Women’s Collection, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia, p. 4.

⁶ Virginia Clay Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties: Memoirs of Mrs. Clay of Alabama Covering Social and Political Life in Washington and the South, 1853-66* (New York, 1905; edn. Tuscaloosa, 1999), p. 94-95.

⁷ Clay Clopton, 224.

level, the Old Testament can be seen to be appropriated as part of project of legitimacy: to connect their subjective experience of suffering with (what is perceived to be) the more objective suffering of the Israelites in Egypt. These elite white women use the Old Testament to express the exceptionality of their condition as victims and their experience of suffering.

The fugitive slave narratives have also been characterized by their references to Christianity and Providence, including the Old Testament. Harriet Jacobs meticulously constructs her god-fearing Christian identity throughout her narrative, telling her family to put their trust in God, constantly thanking God for any positive development in her life and asking Him why negative developments in her life transpired. As Jean Fagan Yellin notes, Jacobs' narrative shows a special familiarity with the books of Job and Isaiah; Jacobs even references the Ten Commandments when she states that she had learned as a child " 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Whoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' " ⁸ Yet, Jacobs' and other fugitive slave narratives did not make the analogy between their own condition and that of the Israelites the focal point in their biblical association, unlike the civil war narratives. Instead, as Henry Louis Gates and others have shown, the fugitive slave narratives employed Christianity to create a sense of commonality and legitimacy between the writer and their readers. Namely, for white middle and upper class Northern women with potential abolitionist sentiments to be able to identify a shared identity in the enslaved woman's Christian religion and their own. The Christian rhetoric tried to establish a universalism between the reader and the writer, bridging the gap between the subjectivity of Northern white womanhood and Southern black female enslavement. In contrast, the civil war narratives employ a Christian rhetoric to assert the exceptionalism of their situation, creating a gap between the subjectivity of elite Southern womanhood during the war and any potential readership.

The usage of this metaphor also needs to be contextualized within the political and clerical ideologies of the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, would often apply a metaphor of slavery to express the South's relationship to the North. Addressing the Mississippi State Legislature on December 26, 1862, Davis says, "We are not engaged in a conflict for conquest, or for aggrandizement, or for the

⁸ Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Boston, 1861; edn. Cambridge, 2000), p. 8.

settlement of a point of international law. The question for you to decide is, Will you be slaves or will you be independent?"⁹ Similarly, when speaking to the soldiers of the Confederacy on August 1, 1863, "Fellow citizens, no alternative is left you but victory, or subjugation, slavery and the utter ruin of yourselves, your families and your country. The victory is within your reach —You need but stretch forth your hand to grasp it."¹⁰

As David Chesebrough has shown, Southern Protestant theology and the Confederacy's military and political ambitions became conflated and, as such, the ideologies expounded by the political apparatus reified those of the church, and vice versa.¹¹ This abridgement of the secular and non-secular spheres was disseminated to the masses in a multitude of capacities. In a more overt example, Jefferson Davis declared nine official days of national fasting, with state legislatures and independent religious organizations calling for additional days. This trope of fasting holds clear religious connotations that resonated with the Protestant dominated South, wedding the political ideology of self-sacrifice with explicit biblical ideals. In this way, the Confederacy filtered a message of patriotism dependent on political as well as religious service to the nation. The metaphor of slavery in plantation mistresses' diaries acknowledges this merging of Confederate political and religious ideologies under the auspice of patriotism. Reconfiguring a secular identity (slave) into a biblical context (the Israelites), allows these women to not only convey the extremity of their situation, but to emulate the ideologies disseminated by the male dominated political, military and religious realms.

The civil war itself, as a watershed event in American history, created the situational context and subject matter for plantation mistresses to project a powerful and sensational episode in their own lives (as well as the nation's) to a wide audience. However, the civil war and its preceding decade developed distinct material conditions that facilitated the emergence of this voice as an accepted, viable authority to document this moment in history.

⁹ Jefferson Davis, Speech to Mississippi State Legislature, House Chamber, Mississippi Capitol, December 26, 1862, *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* (digital collection), Rice University.

¹⁰ "Extracts from our Southern Files; To the Soldiers of the Confederate States," *The New York Times* 8 Aug. 1863.

¹¹ See David Chesebrough, *Clergy Dissent in the Old South, 1830-1865* (Carbondale, 1996) and ed. *"God Ordained This War": Sermons on the Sectional Crisis, 1830-1865* (Columbia, 1991).

The outbreak of war altered the dynamics of literary production and consumption of the Old South. Most notably, in a drastic departure from the antebellum period, culture became nearly the exclusive domain of women. With men committed to military service, women were the primary producers and consumers of the written word, ranging from periodicals to novels. One of the highest circulating contemporary magazines, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, actively sought contributions from women writers and received an unprecedented volume of unsolicited poetry (often of a political theme) from women.¹² Even with this changing gendered dynamic of literary contribution, *The Southern Literary Messenger* (at least publicly) was optimistic of the region's present and future literary presence (which included this increased role of women). Frank Alfriend, former editor of the journal, wrote in its May 1864 volume, "There is nothing whatever in the prospective condition of the Confederacy, either political, commercial, or social, which forbids the sanguine expectation of a permanent advancement of the literary profession."¹³ The Confederacy's best-selling novel, Augusta Jane Evans' *Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice*, published in 1864, was written by a patriotic Confederate woman and chronicled the sacrifice of women in battle.

Interestingly enough, Augusta Jane Evans corresponded with General Beauregard while writing *Macaria* in order to ensure accuracy in her descriptions of war. Continuing her correspondence with him, in an 1867 letter Evans laments the project of reconstruction in the South, "more pitiable than Poland or Hungary, quite as helpless as were the Asia Minor provinces when governed by Persian Satraps, we of the pseudo 'territories' sit like Israel in the captivity; biding the day of retribution, – the *Dies Irae* that must surely dawn in blood upon the nation that oppresses us."¹⁴ Evans applies the same metaphor employed by plantation mistresses during the war to equate the current reconstruction era with the previous federal occupation of the Confederacy. For Evans, the South remains enslaved to the North.

Increased educational opportunities were available to women in this context of war. While by 1861 the teaching profession was

¹² Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, 1996), p. 144.

¹³ University of Michigan, Humanities Text Initiative, *Southern Literary Messenger; devoted to every department of literature and the fine arts*, Richmond, Virginia, Volume 38, Issue: 5, May 1864.

¹⁴ Sarah E. Gardner, *Blood and Irony: Southern White Women's Narratives of the Civil War, 1861-1937* (Chapel Hill, 2004), p. 45.

feminized in the North, in the South teaching was still considered to be inappropriate work for women and was overwhelmingly male dominated. In North Carolina in 1860, only 7% of teachers were women while by the end of the war in 1865, approximately 50% of teachers were women.¹⁵ With male teachers detailed to the battlefield, it became an absolute necessity for states to recruit and train women in the profession. Additionally, attendance at several women's colleges surged during the war; Hollins College had an enrolment of 83 students in 1861 which expanded to 160 by 1864 and the Baptist Female College of Southwest Georgia grew from an enrolment of 36 students in 1861 to 103 in 1864.¹⁶

With the emancipation proclamation came an increased national anxiety over relations between white women and black men in the South, bringing plantation mistress' association with slavery (namely to male slaves) to the forefront of national discourse (which would, in turn, filter down to constructions of their individual subjectivity). This is evident in Martha Hodes' research on the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission (AFIC). In March 1863, the AFIC was mandated by the US Secretary of War to investigate "the measures which may best contribute to the protection and improvement of the recently emancipated freedmen of the United States, and to their self-defense and self-support." Hodes found that one of the key areas for the commission was sexual encounters between slave men and their plantation mistresses. The final report relies on anecdotal evidence, such as the following recollection from a black informant, " 'I will tell you how it is here. I will go up with the towels, and when I go into the room, the woman will keep following me with her eyes, until I take notice of it and one thing leads to another. Others will take hold of me and pull me on the sofa.' "¹⁷ The AFIC's investigation of these relationships, leading to the index titles of "Illicit Intercourse between black men and white women not uncommon" and "intercourse between white women and colored men common- instances of" appearing in the full report, reflected an increasing national awareness of the "problem" of black men and white women. After all, the term miscegenation was first coined in the 1864 presidential election by a faction within the Northern Democrats to claim the Republicans endorsed interracial

¹⁵ Faust, p. 82.

¹⁶ Faust, p. 39.

¹⁷ Martha Hodes, "Wartime Dialogues on Illicit Sex: White Women and Black Men," in Kathleen Kennedy and Sharon Rena Ullman (eds.), *Sexual Borderlands: Constructing an American Sexual Past* (Columbus, 2003), p. 118.

sex and marriage.¹⁸ So, while the Civil War itself cannot be seen as significantly impacting the frequency of such encounters, it can be seen as converging and exacerbating existing national concerns over relationships of white women to black men as well to the institution of slavery as a whole. Thus, the metaphor of slavery deployed in their narratives can be seen as constitutive of plantation mistresses' own re-examination of their relationship with slavery, coinciding with a national examination of this very same issue.

In constructing their identity within the narratives, elite white women represented themselves as slaves: the Israelites in Egypt. Employing this particular metaphor of enslavement (i.e. the Old Testament), alluded not only to the traditional associations of Southern Christian womanhood but also to the recent steady progression of antebellum slavery into their own lives in new ways. Antebellum slavery had become a key element in plantation mistresses' formulation of their identity, in essence rendering 'the other' as one's self.

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¹⁸ Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-century South* (New Haven, 1999), p. 144.

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The Other in India and the Scottish Highlands: Traditional Societies and Improvement

Joanna Frew, University of Essex (PhD Student), Colchester

The eighteenth century Scottish Enlightenment produced many innovative ideas on land tenure that had a global reach. Innovation was not only directed outwards; it also sought to address the 'problem of the Highlands' after the Jacobite Rebellion, and the embarrassment that traditional clan lifestyle posed to progressive Scots. Many of these Scots travelled to India and my research follows a group of them, their administrative policy from the 1790s in the Madras Presidency in South India, the changes this brought to Indian society, and the comparisons these had with the use of the same ideas in the Scottish Highlands.

Post colonial writers suggest that it is as important to establish the differences between types of imperial practices as it is to establish what they have in common.¹ After establishing the similarities between these societies, my research will examine the ways in which ideas of improvement and progress from the Scottish Enlightenment contributed to a distinct nineteenth century.

In this paper I will first demonstrate the similarities between Scottish Highland and South Indian culture in the second half of the eighteenth century. This will serve to show how similar processes of 'othering' were possible. Second it will review Scottish Enlightenment ideas that enabled a particular type of 'othering' at this time. Finally, it will look at land tenure as an example of a resulting material change. Much of the study will focus on Thomas Munro, an influential administrator, who, with other Scottish colleagues, introduced the ryotwari (peasant cultivator) system of land tenure in the 1790s in South India. There are many histories of Munro and the ryotwari system, but only one that connects his thinking on land tenure to his upbringing in a fast-changing and idea-saturated Scotland.² I am indebted to Martha McLaren for her work on this, and the wonderful starting point for my own research, in tracing how these ideas from the Scottish Enlightenment wove themselves into the attitudes, writing and administrative policy of Munro and his colleagues.

¹ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism - Postcolonialism* (Abingdon, 1998), p. 20.

² See T. H. Beaglehole, *Thomas Munro and the Development of Administrative Policy in Madras 1792 -1818* (Cambridge, 1966) and Burton Stein, *Thomas Munro: The Origins of the Colonial State and His Vision of Empire* (Oxford, 1989).

To begin with the comparison, at first glance, the Scottish Highlands and South India differ hugely. The Madras Presidency had almost 13.5 million inhabitants in 1822, whereas the population for the whole of Scotland at the turn of century was only just over 1 million. Climate and religion were also very different but there are some important similarities that were present in the minds of the Scotsmen I am researching and I would like to suggest that these regions were a particular type of peasant society with many shared features. These shared features can be seen most clearly in opposition to tribal and feudal societies, categories that both Scotland and India resist.

With regard to tribalism, both the Scottish Highlands and rural South India differed in two important ways. Firstly, in a tribal group there is usually equality in relation to land.³ However, in the Highlands, and also India, this was not the case. They were both interdependent, but hierarchical, and had stratified rights in relation to land.⁴ Secondly, whereas tribalism is usually self-sufficient, both India and the Highlands mixed their internal non-monetary economies with external trade, and participated to some extent in a monetary economy. In South India, commerce and competition were important features of the regional landscape, and links between villages, based either on affinity or competitiveness, meant this rural society was not simply made up of self sufficient ethnically homogeneous village units. In the Highlands trade with the Lowlands and England had for a long time been an essential, if small, part of the economy.

There were also shared features that become obvious in their difference to feudalism. The top layer of society in a locality had to maintain the support of a distant king, occasionally bringing out their kinsmen in support of that ruler, although the kinsmen would have been supporting their local leader. Moreover, land was not regarded as belonging ultimately to that distant king, with his vassals ensuring a flow of resources towards him. In both societies the upper strata held inalienable rights to land which were passed down successive generations of the same family, rather than leases renewed by a king's representative. This came with a responsibility to provide land or a share in its produce for lower-ranking members of the clan or village, creating a form of belonging and identity that was based on a stake in the whole, rather than on private ownership. The administration of this was left in the hands of local servicemen. This role, however,

³ Robert Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 45.

⁴ Robert Dodgshon, *Land and Society in Early Scotland* (Oxford, 1981), p. 112.

was not just economic in the form of rent collection, but part of a leadership system that kept the village or clan together through the cultural roles and responsibilities that went hand-in-hand with land tenure. A large proportion of produce from the land was given over to a common clan or village pot, associated with either the chief's household or the temple, and although leaders took the largest share, it provided food for those with cultural roles who were not cultivators, for rituals such as feasting or temple ceremonies, and for times of hardship. Furthermore, rent was traditionally paid as a proportion of the produce rather than as money or a fixed rate of produce. Accounts for both Indian and villages often show an enormous amount of 'debt' owed by clanspeople or ryots, but much of this was never really expected to materialise, a concept that was difficult for the British crown and East India Company servants to grasp.

According to Burton Stein, an expert on South Indian history, the main features of a peasant society were an attachment to a narrow locality where social relationships and agrarian production defined the person and the society. The largest number of people were engaged in agrarian roles, with the other functions of group members operating to support agricultural production. This web of relationships, on the positive side, provided the peasant with a "durable nexus" for co-operation and sharing of resources which helped in difficult times. However, it also meant that the peasant was committing the wages of their labour into a common pot, and sometimes more than was necessary to meet the demands of the local elite.⁵

Both South India and the Scottish Highlands can be said to follow this pattern, quite likely creating the same impression in the minds of the imperial centre. Before the second half of the eighteenth century, both regions were able to survive and even thrive amidst interaction with other types of society. However, interaction with a growing imperial centre began, in the mid-eighteenth century, to give them an inferior or Other status, and led to problems within them as leaders were increasingly drawn into that imperial centre.

My understanding of the Other in a colonial context is clearly demonstrated by Chantal Thomas, an American legal professor, in a helpful table.⁶ For post-colonial theorists it is a way in which the North, or centre, assesses the characteristics of the South, or

⁵ Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (Delhi, 1999), p. 20.

⁶ Chantal Thomas, "Critical Race Theory and Postcolonial Development Theory: Observations on Methodology", *Villanova Law Review*, 45 (2000), p. 1217.

periphery, in order to understand difference. In applying their own standards, however this necessarily renders the other strange, and inferior.

	North	South
Geographical	here/center	there/periphery
Cultural	civilized modern scientific rational industrious/ambitious “rule of law”	barbaric traditional mystical irrational lazy/dishonest lawless
Racial	white	non-white
Economic	capitalist efficient growing	pre-capitalist inefficient stagnating

This table lays out clearly the thought process that leads to cultural stereotypes. Within Scotland, before Munro and his colleagues set foot in India, the Highlands had already undergone this process of ‘othering.’ Lowland and Highland culture were separated much earlier, but as the Lowlands became more urban, the status of clanspeople as an inferior Other became increasingly prominent. A few quotes from Lowlanders and an Englishman serve to demonstrate this.

First, according to one Lowlander, “all Englishmen talk of the Northern Scots as poor Slaves, and of the country as the most wretched that can be imagined.”⁷

These ‘poor slaves’ were clanspeople, regarded as entirely dependent on their chiefs. Unfortunately, by the mid-eighteenth century, many chiefs had been thoroughly Anglicised and this was sometimes a problem. In essence the clan system was about family interdependence rather than a system of slavery. Also;

The people of the Highlands are always Idle and sauntering at home and had rather lurk in their haunts than remove to the most inviting settlement... and by reason of their barbarous Language can have no manner of Communication with others and are upon these two accounts altogether as Incapable of being employed in husbandry, fishery, manufactories or handycrafts or of settling in our foraigne plantations.⁸

⁷ Anonymous, University of London Library, Goldsmiths'-Kress Library of Economic Literature, 9102, X, 1756, p. 4.

⁸ Charles Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Cultural Region* (London, 1988), p. 58, From SRO, GD 95.10.57, p1-2 (N. Shute “Some Consideration to

And,

...united in some degree by the singularity of dress and language, [they] stick close to their idle way of life; retain their barbarous customs and maxims; depend generally on their Chiefs, as their sovereign Lords and masters....⁹

It is clear from this that Highlanders were regarded as pre-capitalist and lazy and, due to their customs, unfit to move towards a commercial society. Their traditional language, dress and architecture were alien, or even mystical, to modern Lowlanders.

In North America, in 1730, Englishman General James Oglethorpe used the term “White people, Indians and Highlanders” to describe his soldiers, separating Highlanders and Native Americans from the white people he regarded as similar to himself, in other words, civilised.¹⁰

The Scotsmen quoted above saw themselves at the forefront of a political, economic, industrial and philosophical change, and the old traditions of other societies had no place in the new world that was coming. This perception of an Other, therefore, was indeed present in the mind of Scots. It is often said that Highlanders were in fact regarded as more inferior than cultures encountered by travelling Scots. They were an embarrassment but also the raw material that provided the basis for the new ideas on land tenure before they were taken elsewhere.

The Enlightenment, however, produced a particular kind of 'othering' that some do not regard as 'othering' at all.¹¹ This is because 'othering', in the Saidean sense, is a process which permanently separates the colonised from the coloniser. The colonised can never cross the boundary that separates him or her from the coloniser. Abroad, however, the men of the Scottish Enlightenment, believed firmly in the universality of humanity. They saw themselves as empirical, or scientific, observers of other societies, discovering facts about them. This scientific approach led to particular ways of evaluating society. The method of conjectural or philosophic history was used in their writing on other cultures. They were interested in

induce the people of South Brittain to Contribute to the Designe of propogating Christian Knowledge to the Highlands and Isles of North Brittain and of Civilising the Barbarous Inhabitants of these parts of the Kingdome”.

⁹ Lord Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Courts of Session in Scotland in 1737 quoted in Eric Richards, *Debating the Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 40 – 41.

¹⁰ Colin Galloway, *White People, Indians and Highlanders: Tribal People and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America* (Oxford, 2008), p. xi.

¹¹ See McLaren, *British India & British Scotland*, Chapter 12.

acquiring knowledge, as dispassionate observers, to develop principles upon which they could base a history of a particular society. It was seen as a sympathetic approach from which they could trace development, rather than simply seeing difference and applying their own modern standards and assumptions in assessment. This methodology made them “conscientious historians, systematic or philosophic in their method – and, in their own eyes, scientific”. They were not dismissive of other cultures they regarded as barbarian, but sought indications of progress within that culture.¹²

According to Scottish moral philosophers and economists at the time, such as Adam Smith, David Hume, John Millar, and historian William Robertson, all societies would move slowly but surely from barbarism to civilisation. They believed societies progressed through four stages, savagery, husbandry, arable farming and commerce, which were based on a changing approach to private property. A civilised society (in the commercial stage) had a full legal system which protected property rights, allowing individuals to develop their own comfort and therefore the general peace and prosperity of society.¹³ More than that, this theory was based on ideas which broke from the Hobbesian and Lockian tradition of the social contract. Men of the Scottish Enlightenment believed that society was not learned or accepted through contract, but that it was the natural state of humankind. Social relations were not just a rational idea but humans naturally came together for their enjoyment and benefit.¹⁴ Thus, as slow and steady progress along these lines was inevitably made, changes would be seen in the 'manners' and comfort of the people. This progress began with development in agriculture:

The improvement of agriculture, which in most parts of the world has been posterior to the art of taming and rearing cattle, is productive of very important alterations in the state of society... Although this employment requires greater industry and labour than is necessary among men who have only the care of the herds and flocks; yet by producing plenty of vegetable as well as animal food, it multiplies the conveniences and comforts of life, and therefore excites in mankind a stronger desire for obtaining those pleasures to which they are prompted by their natural appetites. It also obliges men to fix their residence in the neighbourhood of that spot where their labour is chiefly employed, and thereby gives rise

¹² Philip Flynn, *Enlightened Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 267.

¹³ Anand Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History* (London, 1976), pp. 99-102.

¹⁴ Christopher Berry, "Sociality and Socialisation", in Broadie, *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 245.

to property in land, the most valuable and permanent species of wealth...¹⁵

Everyone should be able to enjoy the fruits of their labour, protected by a legal system which would encourage trade and industry and a modern commercial society, more urban and civilised than was possible for a primarily rural society. The importance placed on the efforts of small proprietors and artisans – the hard-working individual – rather than great landowners to develop society, was paramount. Adam Smith repeated this point throughout the *Wealth of Nations*;

The natural effort of every individual to better his own condition...is so powerful, that it is alone, and without any assistance, not only capable of carrying on the society to wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often encumbers its operations.¹⁶

What improves the circumstances of the greater part can never be regarded as an inconveniency to the whole. No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable.¹⁷

The moral philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment wanted to see the development of happiness. Morality and virtue were extremely important. Healthy relationships between members of society who were free individuals would come about in a social order that protected property, providing a framework which allowed everyone to better themselves.¹⁸

Thus, the 'othering' done at this time by enlightened Scots, as McLaren argues, does not fall neatly in to the Saidean category of Orientalism. Munro and other Scots like him, in keeping with their Scottish background, believed that Indians were essentially the same as them. Munro was a progressive thinker, a believer in the idea that Indian governance should not just be about extracting resources for Britain but about bettering Indians, too. McLaren notes that 'In his

¹⁵ Quoted from John Millar's *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* (1771) in Flynn, *Enlightened Scotland*, p. 304.

¹⁶ Adam Smith, *The Wealth Of Nations*, Book IV, Chapter V, Digression on the Corn Trade, p. 540, para. B 43. in Smith, *The Whole Works of Adam Smith in Five Volumes* (London, 1822).

¹⁷ Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Book I Chapter VIII, p.96, para. 36. Smith, *The Whole Works of Adam Smith in Five Volumes* (London, 1822).

¹⁸ Nicholas Philipson, "Adam Smith as Civic Moralism", in Istavan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (eds), *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 179.

recommendations of policies that were intended to lead to economic improvement, Munro, at least, seems to have assumed that Indian cultivators would be as motivated by self-interest and material considerations as any Lowland Scottish yeoman farmer'. McLaren's own view is that Munro and his contemporaries, as a consequence of their universalist ideas, did not therefore create an Other in Indian society in the sense of colonial domination, despite their position of power and that their knowledge of India was used to govern it.¹⁹

With this, I differ. I believe that although sympathetic, their reputed objective view of Indian rural society came from a mindset of superiority. In their view, as with the Scottish Highlands, Indian society was further behind on the path towards civilisation. In their younger years, they heard about and saw the progress of Scotland as it was transformed from a rural nation into a hot bed of intellectual, industrial and agricultural activity. With the changes taking place in the Highlands, and the similarities they could see in Indian culture, they assumed these ideas could work for India's progress, too, and began to implement them in their administration.

So, although sympathetic, their administration did not leave room for India to remain as a traditional peasant society. The only option became that of the path towards Smithian civilisation where productivity would be encouraged by private property, legal systems would protect that property, and the development of a 'middling class' of proprietors would ensure increased prosperity and commercial interaction.

As in many colonial situations, outsiders brought ideas of what society should be like, and where they could, imposed these from the outside. As Charles Withers argues with regard to Scotland, "the creation of an image of Highlands and Highlander in the mind of the improver laid the basis for the material changes on the ground: intellectual and material production were and are, related elements in Highland transformation... the ideology of improvement and the views taken of Highland life were largely derived from outsiders [Lowland Scots, English]. It was they who both directed the material change and the shifts in intellectual attitudes toward the Highlands."²⁰

Thus, with political and economic control, even sympathetic attitudes led to imposed cultural transformation. The Scots I am researching were serving the East India Company at a time when it was shifting from purely merchant activities to a territorial governing

¹⁹ Martha McLaren, *British India & British Scotland*, pp. 233-4.

²⁰ Withers, *Transformation of a Cultural Region*, p. 58.

body. There was a desperate need for knowledge and ideas for governing, which meant interaction with Indian elites. Coupled with this, the company servants were not those of a generation later who had been trained in administration. They brought with them their own ideas and had freedom to implement them.²¹ The quest for knowledge and the consequent interaction with Indian elites has been termed a “dialogic process” between these Scots and the Indians they governed, however it is crucial to keep in mind, that Indians were governed, and that policies implemented were ones that ultimately benefited the British Empire.²² The ideas of the British administrators, recognised Indian difference as inferiority – even if they believed they could progress in the same direction. Margret Frenz sees that, “for the British, values like the rule of law and the right to property were of primary importance. As values defining a 'civilised people', they represented a demarcation of an essential quality of difference, that characterised the British in their own eyes as 'modern' and 'civilised' people,” and therefore, Indians as uncivilised and traditional.²³

This desire to establish a right to property and the rule of law necessitated certain material changes in both the Highlands and India. As described, traditional societies Scotland and India had shared features in relation to land tenure. In Scotland, the purposeful integration of Highland chiefs into Lowland society had begun to change the traditional relationships over the seventeenth century. However, after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, many estates were forfeited to the Crown and it gave improvers and the triumphant Whig elites a chance to implement many of the new Enlightenment ideas on agricultural improvement. This meant, most importantly for improvers, giving permanent or lengthy secure tenures to clans people to encourage investment in agriculture and efficient production, rather than the kinship ties that had secured a share in the whole of clan territory for member families. New industry on estates was also purposefully encouraged to develop the economy and provide people with paid labour, such as kelp farming, peat cutting on a large scale, and new methods of making the arable land more productive.

²¹ McLaren, *British India & British Scotland*, p. 235.

²² See Eugene Irschick, *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795–1895* (London, 1994).

²³ Margret Frenz, "'A Race of Monsters': South India and the British 'Civilising Mission' in the Later Eighteenth Century", in Harald Fischer-Tine and Michael Mann (eds), *Colonialism as Civilising Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London, 2004), p. 50.

This was the death knell for the traditional culture of the Highlands. All surplus was now encouraged to be traded for specie, rather than given back in to the central clan storehouse for promotion of the clan – e.g. for clan feasts, providing hospitality to other clans, and also help for families that fell on hard times. The combination of factors within Scotland that brought on this rapid change at this time are more complex than it is possible to discuss at present, but undergirding them by observation and writing, teaching, and implementation of new ideas, were the intellectuals of the Scottish Enlightenment. They were quite purposefully attempting to create a class of small proprietors who would be the industrious and hard working middle ranking farmers that Smith and others saw as central to the prosperity and happiness of a nation.

A lack of understanding of the values and traditions of clan culture created Highlanders as an Other to be improved, leading to a dramatic change in how that region was organised. Specifically, the intellectuals of the Scottish Enlightenment succeeded in advocating for tenurial change, from hereditary and interdependent clan units to individual tenures and fixed rent.

It was these ideas that Munro and his colleagues took with them to India. Upon finding themselves in a position of settling new Company territories, they set about developing the 'ryotwari system', one which would give peasants the opportunity to develop their own farms by means of secure tenure, and holding land directly from government, rather than via powerful intermediaries. The four men who took over the Baramahal region of the Madras Presidency in 1792 were all Scots and within their writings during this period, I cannot find an objection to the ryotwari system in principle, only on how it would be best to employ it. Of these four, Munro is the only one to have stayed in Company service for much longer, and went on to write and advocate for this type of tenure at the highest level.

They believed a ryotwari system was the true state of affairs in South India – it had simply been derailed by recent oppressive governments. In his vast experience of the Madras Presidency from the 1790s to the 1820s, Munro remained convinced that much of the land was traditionally, and should be, let to small proprietors. In some regions, this was the case, but it did not mean the tenure was outside of the interdependent bonds that held villages together, which these administrators failed to take into account. In other areas, some historians believe Munro simply saw what he wanted to see.²⁴

²⁴ Nilmanhi Mukherjee, *The Ryotwari System in Madras 1792–1827* (Calcutta, 1962), p. 25.

Munro's voluminous writings, and that of the other Scots at this time, show they were committed to the idea that small individual farms with secure tenures would increase the prosperity of the country and of individuals. Munro in particular wrote against the other forms of land tenure – zamindari and mirasi. That is, the big landholder and village tenure, respectively.

In their opinion, the zamindar tenure, which was made the permanent settlement in Bengal in 1793, would lead to stagnation of agriculture, industry and trade, and also encourage dissent and rebellion by “petty princes”. Munro wrote to his superior Read in 1797:

There is no reason to regret that farms are small, - it is better on every account, and for the general wealth. It does not produce men of great fortunes and overgrown possessions, but it lessens the number of poor, and raises up a crowd of men of small, but independent property, who, when they are certain that they will themselves enjoy the benefit of every extraordinary exertion of their labour, work with a spirit of activity which would in vain be expected from the tenants or servants of great landholders.²⁵

The mirasi tenure, a village let in common to all the inhabitants that also existed in South India, at least for Munro, had to give way to individual holdings in the natural path of progress.

Such a change is the natural course of things, and must always precede every material improvement... the occupants will in general wish to keep their own [land] permanently, because no man ever labours with the same spirit to improve what he is to share with another, as to what he is to retain exclusively for himself. The common tenure has existed in many nations, but usually in the rude and early stages of agriculture, and has always, I believe, been considered as hostile to improvement. I do not know that there is any cause to suppose that its effect has not been the same in India as in other countries.²⁶

This would, in time, lead to a situation where:

There would probably in time be no country in the world which could boast of such a numerous race of substantial middling farmers, whose condition though inferior to that of British

²⁵ Thomas Munro to Alexander Read, 15th September, 1797, in (ed.) Alexander Arbuthnot, *Major General Sir Thomas Munro* (London, 1881), p. 36.

²⁶ Munro, “On the State of the Country and Condition of the People”, 31st December, 1824, in (ed.) Arbuthnot, *Ibid*, pp. 245–246.

landholders, would certainly be preferable to that of the great bulk of the tenantry.²⁷

Munro was a firm believer in the idea that people should enjoy the fruits of their labour and that a growing middle class, who benefited from private property protected by government, and were thus supportive of government, would be in the interests of both the British Empire and India. It is clear from the above statements that the end of designing these tenure systems, or building on what these administrators thought was a true Indian foundation, was to develop India along the same lines as Scotland, where they had seen this progress unfold. To be traditional was not good enough. It was pre-capitalist, and in the minds of Scots influenced by the Enlightenment, movement towards commerce and material comfort was the primary goal. Other types of social organisation and economy were backward and inferior, even if they could eventually catch up.

Although everyone was on the same path – in India, Scotland and the rest of Europe – and these utopian ideas were pushing Scotland and now possibly India into a previously unknown material prosperity, it was necessarily eroding traditional safety nets. As McLaren indicates, the history, literature, and customs did not really feature in Company servants' studies of the Orient. The local system in India relied for its functioning on an interdependency between members. Land itself was not something that one simply owned and made productive but an "organising concept", a space that signified legitimate authority.²⁸

Along with this authority came responsibilities, for necessities such as fixing tanks and water courses, and providing favourable terms of labour and pay for families without hereditary shares to village land. Abuses were of course possible, but due to the amount of land in India, the village heads had to keep people interested by providing these reasonable terms. Furthermore, rent was a share of the produce, rather than a fixed amount of money. Excess was ploughed back into the temple as gifts and this was about status within the community rather than private wealth.

As can be seen, a change that made private property the key relationship between peasant and government was quite different to what actually existed in India. When every field was given to one ryot who had to pay a fixed rent on it, this would have begun to change the culture in a way similar to that which happened in the

²⁷ Munro to Read, 5th September 1797, in (ed.) Arbuthnot, *Ibid*, p. 37.

²⁸ Grigori Kotovsky, "Dynamics of the Social Structure of Indian Rural Society", *Social Scientist*, 25, 3/4 (1997), pp. 6 & 8.

Scottish Highlands. No longer was a society based on interdependence, but the opposite – independence, and the assumption that everyone would want to increase this independence by working harder and increasing their profit on the sale of produce.

Although Munro and his colleagues were quite egalitarian for their time, they still considered the 'other' as traditional, inefficient and in need of improvement. Even with their universalist understanding of humanity, in which McLaren claims they did not see an Other, they could not help but conclude the opposite. In their desire to apply their egalitarian ideas to a different society, they had to show that what currently existed was something further back on the same path of progress in which they believed. As has been demonstrated, by trying to create a propertied middle class, the British administrators did not heed the cultural intricacies of interdependency, rights and responsibilities. Although they did try to use the tenurial structure in place, this was only in so far as it enabled revenue collection and steps along the road of improvement as they saw it. For Margret Frenz, the differences in the concept of ownership were too vast. Society in South India saw proportional shares in power, whereas the British concept necessitated full sovereignty.²⁹ The fact that Munro and his colleagues came from a country where it was believed that full sovereignty over one's own property was the key to progress, undoubtedly informed their attitude toward South India.

India was not to be left alone in its traditional ways. Although it was redeemable, which is a marked difference to the nineteenth century Victorian concept of the Other, it was analysed as backward and the men at this juncture in history felt they could propel it forward as an act of kindness. As Stein points out, for Munro, existing Indian institutions “provided the foundations for a reconstituting of civil society”. However, this “had to be directed by men like himself, knowledgeable and sympathetic, with great and concentrated authority”.³⁰ It was this authority over an Other, however sympathetic, that laid the foundations of the colonial state of the British Raj.

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²⁹ Frenz, “Race of Monsters”, p. 50.

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The 'Other' from within: Afro-Germans as Scapegoats for the post-Second World War German Society

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When asking white Germans about their knowledge of Afro-Germans the first response is usually a moment of silence. What is this silence trying to cover? Is it a lack of knowledge, uncertainty - or maybe both? Turning a blind eye to the Afro-Germans was already an issue long before the term "Afro-German" was coined. The denial of rights and recognition of Afro-German children can be traced back to Germany's colonial activities in German Southwest Africa (today: Namibia). Through their existence, Afro-German children threatened the proclaimed superior status of whiteness and were treated accordingly. With regard to the conflicting situation between acknowledging a child and endangering the status of the white German nation, O'Donnell writes:

To recognize Afro-Germans, even in far off German Southwest Africa, it seemed, would cast doubt on the "whiteness" of the German nation as a whole. [...] Although illegitimate children also had legal claims to German citizenship, their "fatherless" status quickly became a convenient excuse for denying their German identity and indeed that of all Afro-Germans.¹

One could claim this instance to be part of Germany's colonial history and therefore to be part of the past, but this would not attribute enough importance to the impact of the past on the present and future. Compared to other countries such as France and Great Britain, the German colonial discourse seems to be less relevant. On the one hand, this might be due to Germany's short period of colonial activities (1884-1919). On the other hand, one can also argue that the events of the Holocaust overshadowed and determined Germany's history. During the course of time, this period became a major focus in social discourse and academic studies. Thus, the colonial aspects were pushed to the periphery.²

¹ Krista Molly O'Donnell, 'The First Besatzungskinder: Afro-German Children, Colonial Childbearing Practices, and Racial Policies in German Southwest Africa, 1890-1914', in Patricia M. Mazón and Reinhild Steingröver (eds), *Not So Plain as Black and White: Afro-German Culture and History, 1890 – 2000* (Rochester, NY, 2005), p. 62.

² Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy* (Ann Arbor, 1998), pp. 3-4.

The colonial legacy becomes obvious when considering Germany's willingness to grant citizenship. Brubaker describes the German concept of nationhood as "ethnocultural" and "differentialist" – a concept which is "expressed in a definition of citizenship that is remarkably open to ethnic German immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, but remarkably closed to non-German immigrants."³ This definition again highlights the idea of the European dominion which constitutes problems for those who do not correspond to it at all or who have a dual ethnic heritage, like the Afro-Germans, and thus go beyond the scope of this definition.

Acceptance and inclusion or rejection and exclusion allude to the idea of a constructed social environment. It is a very idealistic approach to say that we perceive the different people around us only as individuals without putting them into mental categories. In fact, categories and labels are very often used to find a starting point in order to understand a complex issue. To categorize people as belonging to a certain minority group is also a first approach to getting an overview of the very diverse social and cultural structure in Germany. Although at first glance it might seem as if people are grouped like passive objects by their social environment, this impression does not correspond to the actual situation. As a matter of fact, the term "Afro-German" was coined by people who have an African and a German social background. Hence, Afro-Germans actively developed this category. In the introduction of the groundbreaking book *Showing Our Colour: Afro-German Women Speak Out*, Katharina Oguntoye and May Opitz recall how and why the term "Afro-German" was created:

With Audre Lorde we created the term "Afro-German," borrowing from Afro-American, as the term of our cultural heritage. "Afro-German seemed appropriate to us, since many of us have an African father and a German mother. In using this term, our point is not to emphasize that we have a black and a white parent. Our essential commonality is that we are black and have experienced a major part of our socialization and life in confrontation with West German society – a society that is not 99 percent white but that always has behaved as though it were, or should be."⁴

By referring to the aspect of commonality, it clearly turns out that the term "Afro-German" was created as a means of self-definition. They

³ Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), p. 3.

⁴ May Ayim, Katharina Oguntoye, and Dagmar Schultz, *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out* (Amherst, 1992), p. xxii.

want to become visible to German society. To use the word “visible” in this context might sound provocative, but in fact it perfectly describes the situation Afro-Germans as well as other black people are confronted with in their everyday lives.⁵ In *Black Skins, White Masks*, Fanon describes the scenario as follows: “As color is the most obvious outward manifestation of race, it has been made the criterion by which men [people] are judged, irrespective of their social or educational attainments.”⁶ The outward appearance is the first thing we recognise whenever we encounter another person and it will always remain like this despite social or cultural changes. Nevertheless, what can be changed is the fact that most people create an image of the other person exclusively as a result of external features. This skin-deep *modus operandi* has extremely negative effects in a world where white is equated with good and black with evil.⁷ Compared to white Germans, Afro-Germans have a darker skin colour. Hence, they stand out in a society that, as Opitz and Oguntoye also describe it, perceives itself as being predominantly white. Thus, attracting attention unintentionally can become a burden for those concerned.

With regard to Germany’s history, mixing, in the meaning of not being able to draw a concrete border between two things, was one of the central concerns most people in power had to deal with over time. During the colonial period, differentiation between superiority and inferiority was important for the colonisers in order to justify their actions. To make the people of the coloniser believe that there was a racial difference was important at that time, because it contributed to the public’s support or rejection of colonial projects. The colonial powers therefore propagated the image of the good white man who wanted nothing but to civilize the poor black barbarians. As history has shown, this image had crept into the European mind, so that

[b]y the early twentieth century, the notion that Africans constituted the most primitive kind of humanity, separate from civilized Europeans by a wide biological gap, had been well established. From its beginnings, the concept of race has been

⁵ In her essay ‘Afro-Germans: The Invisible Visible Germans’ Susann Samples points to the problem Afro-Germans are facing in Germany. Her focus is set on the dilemma of being visibly different, but not being noticed as part of the German society.

⁶ Frantz Fanon, and Charles Lam Markmann, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York, 1967), p. 118.

⁷ In his work *White Hero, Black Beast: Racism, Sexism, and the Mask of Masculinity*, Paul Hoch discusses the idea of social value and status attributed to skin colour.

based on a black-white antagonism [...]. The first group represented mankind in its most perfect form, the latter in its most primitive. All the positive qualities the race scientists attributed abundantly to the white race were missing in the black one, which in turn abounded in negative characteristics.⁸

People were afraid of the black evil. This conviction becomes obvious when considering cases where the boundaries between black and white were blurred. Since human-kind is usually keen to name new phenomena to provide the impression of comprehension, attitudes and convictions can be detected when considering the newly invented terms. In the case of the Afro-Germans terms like *Farbiger* ('coloured man'), *Mischling* ('half-caste'), *Mulatte* ('mulatto') or *Besatzungskind* ('occupation child') were and still are used. It is clearly the case that all these terms depreciate the personality of the people concerned. Moore states that "the important thing about a name is the impression which it makes in the minds of others and the reactions which it invokes through the association of ideas."⁹ In fact, these terms are either associated with colour or with control by external forces. It is important to notice that whenever a colour other than white is referred to, it always has a negative implication. All social mixtures of the two constructed extremes of black and white are therefore regarded as producing something negative.

Throughout history, autobiographies have often been used as a way of expressing the interests and problems of those that were not perceived by society.¹⁰ In fact, living in a social environment that perceives an individual as different and therefore as belonging to a minority group always embodies the danger that the dominant society has the power to determine identity. Autobiographies from an Afro-German perspective can therefore be interpreted as a mechanism of constructing counterstories. The purpose of these stories can easily be explained:

Counterstories are designed to resist the evil of diminished moral agency in two ways. First, by uprooting the harmful stories that constitute the subgroup member's identity from the perspective of an abusive, dominant group, counterstories aim to alter the dominant group's perception of the subgroup. If the dominant

⁸ Fatima El-Tayeb, 'Dangerous Liasons: Race, Nation, and German Identity', in Patricia M. Mazón and Reinhild Steingröver (eds), *Not So Plain as Black and White: Afro-German Culture and History, 1890 – 2000* (Rochester, NY, 2005), p. 36.

⁹ Richard B. Moore, *The Name "Negro": Its Origin and Evil Use* (Baltimore, MD, 1992), p. 48.

¹⁰ Arthur W. Frank, 'Moral Non-Fiction: Life Writing and Children's Disability', in Paul John Eakin (ed.), *The Ethics of Life Writing* (Ithaca, NY, 2004), p. 48.

group acknowledges that the counterstory is identity-constituting for the subgroup, it may come to see the group members as worthy of moral respect. It might then be less likely to deprive subgroup members of the goods and opportunities that are on offer in the society [...].¹¹

By telling the stories of their lives, authors can actively influence public opinion because the formation of attitudes is often only a matter of the quality of information. Consequently, their works provide both insight into a foreign life and a step out of the passivity of living in Germany as a minority group. The Afro-German authors' way of shedding a different light on a highly debated issue is their way to express resistance, because "resistance is encoded in the practices of remembering ... against the grain of the 'public' or hegemonic history, of locating the silences and the struggle to assert knowledge which is outside the parameters of the dominant."¹² The more the Afro-German life stories enter the mind of the people, the higher the chance that society will reconsider its attitudes and opinions. This is not to say that the input of new information automatically results in fundamental changes, but that the possibility for this development is initiated.

Born in 1947, shortly after the end of the Second World War, Erika, (the name she was born with), is the result of a romance that had to be kept a secret since interrelations between white German women and black American soldiers were still regarded as a case of *Rassenschande* and had to be avoided under all circumstances.¹³ It is remarkable that although the Germans lost the war, the thoughts and attitudes of that period were still extremely prominent after the defeat of the Nazis and the occupation by Allied forces. Mead points out that "[n]ew information psychologically available to an individual, but contradictory to his customary behavior, beliefs and attitudes, may not even be perceived."¹⁴ Attitudes are an obvious case of long learnt behaviour that cannot be changed overnight.

This circumstance becomes apparent in Hugel-Marshall's autobiography when she describes her mother and her way of

¹¹ Hilde Lindemann, *Damaged Identities, Narrative Repair* (Ithaca, NY, 2001), xii.

¹² Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism', in Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (eds), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington, 1991), pp. 38-9.

¹³ For a detailed discussion of the term and the ideology connected to it, see Alexandra Przyrembel, *Rassenschande: Reinheitsmythos und Vernichtungslegitimation im Nationalsozialismus* (Gottingen, 2003).

¹⁴ Margaret Mead, *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (New York, 1955), p. 279.

dealing with Ika's Afro-German heritage. Initially she tried to provide Ika with a normal family life by marrying a German man and giving birth to Ika's sister after Erika's father had to return to the United States. Apparently she wanted to keep up appearances as long as possible in order not to give Ika the feeling that she was an outsider to the society into which she had been born. Ika's mother was successful in the beginning. As an innocent child devoid of any negative connotations connected to her darker skin colour, Ika considered personal traits of higher importance than physical appearance:

In those days, though I understood that there were good and bad things and friendly and unfriendly people, I hadn't yet learned to divide the world into black and white. I saw no reason in the world that I wouldn't be able to grow up with my white mother in my white family and be perfectly happy.¹⁵

Nevertheless, little by little, the reactions of society triggered an awareness of being different. Hügel-Marshall highlights that she became increasingly suspicious when considering other peoples' reactions towards her. Unless she avoided contact with the external world, Ika's mother would not have been able to prevent racist comments. Even though Ika sensed that there was something special about her, her mother did not directly address this issue. This means that Ika was left alone with her uncertainty and could not rely on her mother's support. From Hügel-Marshall's descriptions, one can conclude that her mother was a victim of conformity pressure. Epley and Gilovich highlight that "[c]onformity pressure often produces a strong feeling of internal conflict. On the one hand, a person may feel that the opinions, attitudes, or behaviors of others are incorrect or, even worse, immoral. On the other hand, nobody wants to be ostracised by their friends or peers."¹⁶

When the pressure from society, embodied by the representative of Youth Services, Herr Siebert, increased, Ika's mother finally gave in, hoping and possibly also convincing herself, that she was only doing what was best for her daughter. Herr Siebert's tactic can be described as emotional blackmail.¹⁷ Siebert

¹⁵ Ika Hügel-Marshall, *Invisible Woman: Growing up Black in Germany* (New York, 2001), pp. 19-20.

¹⁶ Nicholas Epley, and Thomas Gilovich, 'Just Going Along: Nonconscious Priming and Conformity to Social Pressure', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35, 6 (1999), pp. 578-589, here p. 578.

¹⁷ Hügel-Marshall, *Invisible Woman*, p. 23. For a detailed analysis of blackmailing, its forms and consequences, see: Susan Forward, and Donna Frazier. *Emotional*

persuaded Ika's mother to put her daughter into an orphanage, even though she had no difficulties relating to her child. It was just that Ika did not fit the social worldview promoted at that time.

The Second World War and the dominion of the Nazis had come to an end, but people still thought it problematic that a black child was living in a white community. As a result of a social study, Goethals concluded that "people perceive social reality in ways that support a positive view of themselves and maintain these perceptions in the face of clear, vivid data to the contrary, unless those data are very simple."¹⁸ If one applies these general assumptions to the situation described in Hügél-Marshall's works, one can say that the obvious facts were not enough to trigger a change in thinking, although the times during which the proclaimed Aryan man was the ultimate goal were gone. Changing thought and behavioural patterns would have meant admitting that the old ideals no longer held true, or even worse, that society had followed the wrong principles in the past. In order to avoid being placed in a negative light, people try to keep up appearances. This is the reason why, in the end, Ika was sent to an orphanage, where she was on the outskirts of society and therefore could not challenge widespread racial attitudes.

In this respect, Ika's mother played along with the rules of the dominant social environment. She did not object to Herr Siebert's comments and personal remarks concerning her competence as a mother and endured them even when they became more and more offensive:

She's got no future in this town. When she's older, she may become emotionally unstable and she'll certainly be considered free game for the men. She'll end up having children out of wedlock, become alcoholic and God knows what else. Is that what you really want? ... When it comes down to it, it was your decision to bring another *Negermischling* into a hostile world.¹⁹

According to Hügél-Marshall's reflections on the events of the past, her mother was severely intimidated by Herr Siebert and his authoritarian behaviour. This might not come as a surprise, because

Blackmail: When the People in Your Life Use Fear, Obligation, and Guilt to Manipulate You (New York, 1997).

¹⁸ George R. Goethals, 'Fabricating and Ignoring Social Reality: Self-Serving Estimates of Consensus', in James M. Olson, C. Peter Herman, and Mark P. Zanna (eds), *Relative Deprivation and Social Comparison* (Hillsdale, NJ, 1986), p. 154.

¹⁹ Hügél-Marshall, *Invisible Woman*, p. 24.

she had been influenced by the Nazis and their system in which authority and proper behaviour came first. According to these old rules, still prominent during the early years of Ika's life, her mother felt guilty for breaking rules that while no longer officially valid, retained a hold over peoples' minds and a dominance extending well into everyday life. Her guilty conscience made her more easily follow that which was requested, possibly hoping that she could make up for past events.

With the nuns who ran the orphanage taking over the role of raising Ika that had vacated by her mother, a time of despair and mental, as well as physical, violence began.²⁰ Ika suffered due to the separation from her mother but the nuns did not provide any kind of consolation. They did not explain the situation to Ika, which would have reduced the feeling of uncertainty with regard to her future prospects. In fact, they expressed their disdain for Ika's existence by even calling her "miserable little bastard."²¹ Finally, this meant that Ika ended up in a restricted social environment in which hostile attacks and humiliation became prevalent. Moreover, this place was sealed off from the outside world and thereby any intervention was made impossible. Consequently, the nuns could act as they pleased and could inflict their vicious educational methods on Ika – methods aimed at breaking her will and heart. The nun's strategy left its traces as Hügel-Marshall's representation of her feelings at that time clearly demonstrate:

Curled up in a ball, my arms and legs twisted against my body, I sit with my back pressed up against the old wall. It's quiet around me, frightfully quiet. Screaming won't help. Running won't help. I've been forgotten. I've been left behind, here at this wall, in this strange place... To forget something is to have no memory of it. To exclude it from the rest of society.²²

Under the pretence of Christian charity, the nuns abused their power and thereby reminded Ika of her position in German society as an unwanted Afro-German girl. Just like German society in general, they preferably wanted her pushed to the back of their minds. Nevertheless, Ika's obvious difference made her the centre of their attention – a circumstance that continuously had a negative impact on her mental as well as physical state. Considering the fact that "[p]ower is the ability of its holders to carry out their will, exact compliance, exert force and compel obedience," it is obvious that the

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 26.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² *ibid.*, p. 27.

nuns held the power, but that Ika was never able to comply to their expectations, because aversions of the nuns were not triggered by a certain behaviour, but resulted out of the circumstances surrounding her existence.²³ Her Afro-German heritage was reason enough for the nuns, as well as the other children in the children's home, to turn Ika into a scapegoat on whom they could vent their anger or to use her as a surface on to which they could project their disapproval.²⁴ As Hügel-Marshall's reflections on the possibilities of her personal development show, she was oppressed and pushed to the margin of this constructed social environment. Thus, her darker skin colour turned her into an outsider – the reason she ended up in the children's home.

The lack of stable social ties also means that institutionalised children do not have obvious allies to fight for their rights, such as family members. Even though orphanages have rules and regulations issued by charity or governmental boards and commissions, it is the absence of responsibility resulting from personal involvement that carries the risk that, sooner or later, the children turn into objects that have to be administered. Thus, if mechanisms of control fail, the risk that the fate of the children is aggravated by external factors arising from the institutional context increases. In this respect it also has to be mentioned that a lot of abuse happened under the veil of religion.²⁵ Thus, Hügel-Marshall's depictions of her experiences during her time in the children's home can be regarded as one representation of a series of personal narratives – narratives which only came into existence because the author was able to overcome the feeling of shame and disgrace from which most victims of abuse suffer. In fact, psychotherapists make use of the positive effect the process of narrating has on the narrator. According to Cloitre, Cohen and Koenen "narrative work is assumed to be therapeutic in the resolution of fear through repeated exposure to the traumatic memory and the consequent habituation/extinction of the fear-laden response."²⁶ With regard to Hügel-Marshall's narrative one can find many passages that support the impression that the confined environment gave rise to actions and situations that

²³ Martyn Percy, *Power and the Church: Ecclesiology in an Age of Transition* (London and Washington, 1998), p. 1.

²⁴ Hügel-Marshall, *Invisible Woman*, p. 49.

²⁵ Wilma Davidson's work *Tears and Fears* focuses on abuse in different contexts including child abuse in Catholic churches and orphanages.

²⁶ Marylène Cloitre, Lisa R. Cohen, and Karestan C. Koenen, *Treating Survivors of Childhood Abuse: Psychotherapy for the Interrupted Life* (New York, 2006), p. 64.

engraved themselves into Hügel-Marshall's mind and finally became digested in her narrative.

From an early age, Ika got to know that she was a disgrace for the German people, who were unable to deal with her Afro-German heritage and therefore forced her into a place where she could be sealed off from society. Consequently, in a way she became invisible to them. To the nuns, her outward appearance was an indication of evil spirits that beset her – evil that resulted from the fact that Ika had a black father whose immoral behaviour led to Ika's existence. Thus her father had transferred the evil to Ika and it was therefore Ika who had to be freed from it. Once again the nuns forced her to think that because of her darker skin colour she could be nothing but wicked, vicious and malevolent. Having to deal with Ika – a person they despised due to her origin – on an everyday basis, made their religious mania and rage grow:

Tomorrow you'll be going with Aunt Gertrude and me to Hamburg. You want to be a good girl, don't you? Well, we all know you have an unnatural hussy for a mother, and that she let some Negro have his way with her. This was a very grave sin, and it means that your blood is impure. You have a great deal of Devil in you, child, but we're going to take you to Hamburg tomorrow and pray together that you might be made good and pure. Now, be an obedient child and write down all your sins on a piece of paper for me.²⁷

Not only was this the introduction to the act of exorcism that was about to follow the next day, it also made Ika admit sins she had never committed. Moreover, having to write down lies about herself with her own hand such as "I am ill-bred, disorderly, and rude. I talk back," for example, reduced the effect of the mental shield Ika developed in order to fight off racist attacks and thereby protect her psyche from harm.²⁸ Writing down aspects about oneself can be used as a means of self-monitoring which aims, for example, at "keeping track of one's progress toward becoming a better person, trying to change one's thinking about one's situation and the consequences of one's action, enhancing one's self-esteem, and so on."²⁹ Since Ika was forced to write down lies, it is impossible to speak of a means of self-monitoring, but instead a means of distorting the perception of the self. Having to face constant rejection and humiliation made her

²⁷ Hügel-Marshall, *Invisible Woman*, p. 39.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Robert N. Johnson, 'Virtue and Right', in James P. Sterba (ed.), *Ethics: The Big Questions* (Chichester, UK; Malden, MA, 2009), p. 403.

develop a negative image of herself. Increasingly, Ika tended to believe the negative things people told her about her personality. Although there are circles that attest to the usefulness of exorcism, Hügél-Marshall's descriptions do not lead to the impression that it was helpful in any way.³⁰ On the contrary, her vivid depictions of the priest's attempt to remove the devil from her soul, remind the reader of torture and atrocity.³¹ Her reactions on a physical and psychological level also make it obvious that she became a victim of crime – a crime that happened under the eyes of the people that were meant to protect her.

For Ika, that act of violence constituted a traumatic event that formed the basis of suffering for years to come; Ika was left unable to sleep and harboured fears that the devil was lurking behind every corner, waiting for her. Nevertheless, not only did Ika suffer from post-traumatic symptoms from that day, but her attitude towards herself also further worsened. Since she attributed all negative events that appeared in her life to her Afro-German heritage, she started to hate her skin-colour and wished to be white.³²

Although the days in the children's home were interrupted by hours during which Ika attended lessons at an external school, this did not mean that the experiences she had there helped her to develop a positive attitude towards her Afro-German heritage. On the contrary, at school she was again turned into the target of racist actions. Consequently, her general frustration and her hate against the African part of herself and the white people in her social environment increased to a degree which made any encounter between her and a white person end up with assaults and reproaches. Most of her teachers did not support Ika's learning process, but rather hindered it, even though she was eager for knowledge. When Ika tried to demonstrate that she was a smart girl and thereby act against stereotypes that linked black people with stupidity, she was either overlooked or her achievements were publicly called into question with comments like "that isn't really your work, is it? It's not exactly what one would expect from you."³³ Moreover, she also had to endure physical punishments, further

³⁰ Holly A. Hunt's work *Emotional Exorcism: Expelling the Four Psychological Demons That Make Us Backslide*; M. Scott Peck's depictions in *Glimpses of the Devil: A Psychiatrist's Personal Accounts of Possession, Exorcism, and Redemption*; and Martin Israel's descriptions in *Exorcism: The Removal of Evil Influences* serve as examples of works that speak in favour of exorcism.

³¹ Hügél-Marshall, *Invisible Woman*, pp. 41-42.

³² *ibid.*, p. 43.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 51.

reducing her already low self-esteem. The verbal and physical attacks of the teachers made Ika feel dead. Not being given any chance to express herself constitutes a case of silencing, which can also be regarded as another form of social exclusion.³⁴ Following the example of some of her teachers, Ika came to see violence as a possible way of dealing with problems and conflicts, but soon realised that the seemingly beneficial effects of violence were limited.³⁵

Ika's attempt to revolt against the restrictions imposed on her can also be traced back to an exceptional case of motivation expressed by one of the teachers. She told Ika not to give up, no matter what the others said. This teacher was also the only one who was aware of Ika's knowledge and abilities, but just like Ika, the teacher represented a minority and finally had to give into the decision that Ika was not allowed to enter a grammar school. What is interesting in this respect is that, according to Hügel-Marshall's reflections, the teacher justified this step by explaining that the racial attacks Ika would encounter there would not do her any good. Thus, the inability of society to deal with Ika on a mutual basis was reason enough to give way to restrictions that would have a negative impact on her personal development and her chances in life. Consequently, the school as a prototypical educational institution did not fulfil its core task, but was selective and succumbed to external factors aimed at hindering the development of Afro-Germans. Lack of knowledge can restrict social participation and can even lead to social exclusion if a certain level is taken for granted, and therefore serves as another aspect of social categorisation.³⁶

Finally, one can say that Hügel-Marshall's depictions of her encounters with the various kinds of educational institutions highlight that these institutions did not support her in her personal development, but rather hindered her. All the educational systems she came into contact with failed to teach her how to come to terms with her Afro-German heritage in a predominantly white social environment. In fact, the children's home as well as the school forced Ika to concentrate only on the negative aspects associated with her African roots. They never aimed at providing her with a positive attitude towards herself, because they did not have a positive

³⁴ Phil Jones, and Susan Welch, *Rethinking Children's Rights: Attitudes in Contemporary Society* (New York, 2010), pp. 88-89.

³⁵ Hügel-Marshall, *Invisible Woman*, p. 50.

³⁶ Steffen K. Herrmann, 'Social Exclusion', in Paulus Kaufmann, Hannes Kuch, Christian Neuhäuser, and Elaine Webster (eds), *Humiliation, Degradation, Dehumanization: Human Dignity Violated* (New York, 2010), p. 134.

attitude towards people of colour themselves, which they could project onto her.

Despite harsh conditions and physical as well as psychological punishments, Ika could not be broken, but she clearly developed a sense of distrust that was directed towards every white person that crossed her way. Although distrust can be a strategy which “protects us from losses incurred by foolishly relying on those who would harm us,” it can also create social boundaries and isolate the individual from their social environment.³⁷ Consequently, Ika soon had to realise that it was only the mixture of her own action and other people’s support that made her reach her goals and provide her access to German society. After having suffered under the impact of educational institutions, it might come as a surprise that Hügel-Marshall returned to an orphanage – not as an institutionalised child, but as a certified social pedagogue with the aim to change the system. She knew how it was to live in an institution like this and she did not want other innocent young children to become victims of aggressive staff and humiliating policies. Having a clear target in mind made Ika develop a strong ambition that also infected some of her colleagues.³⁸ Her ambition even enabled her to overcome resistance and opposition. In fact, Hügel-Marshall’s final comments on her achievements read like she wanted to prove to herself that, after all those years of oppression, she could overpower the system and shape it according to her own convictions: “After twelve years at the home I resign, exhausted but deeply satisfied... I look back on my work at that home with pride. I undertook it as a mission, devoted myself to it absolutely and carried it through to completion.”³⁹ At least with regard to the orphanage where she worked, Ika could initiate changes that would prevent other children from undergoing the same ordeals she had suffered in her own childhood. In the end, the feeling of having changed the system for the better allowed Ika to be reconciled with the time spent under the control of educational institutions. Ika came to terms with this part of her past and could therefore face her future with courage and motivation.

³⁷ Deborah Welch Larson, ‘Distrust: Prudent, If Not Always Wise’, in Russel Hardin (ed.), *Distrust* (New York, 2004), p. 54.

³⁸ Hügel-Marshall, *Invisible Woman*, p. 77.

³⁹ *ibid.*

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Ziggy Stardust and the Music Press: Negotiating Transgressive Male Sexuality.

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The broad readership of the music press and its synthesis of youthful alternative sentiments with commercial imperatives make it a valuable source for reading the tensions in post-war British society. *Melody Maker* had an average weekly circulation of over 200,000 copies per week in 1972. In some part this success was due to the increased scope of these magazines to cover pertinent extra-musical themes. Recording artists of the late 1960s had been publicly outspoken, the Rolling Stones specifically argued against what they saw as “the basic immoralities in society” and constructed a narrative of individual freedom in support of their lifestyles.¹ Despite their “alternative” positions, many artistes, as contemporary George Melly noted, were soon subsumed into the culture industry. Alexander Sedlmaier and Stephen Malinowski have also discussed this process of normalisation with regard to the wider culture of social protest centred on the year 1968.² Rhetoric of resistance and individuality supplied headlines and articles with piquant content. These values were, within limits, supported by the editorial vision of the music press, editors preferred to include contentious statements rather than relying on, as *NME* Editor Maurice Kinn said, a “whitewash” of contentious topics.³

The first British celebrity to come-out as gay after 1967's Sexual Offences Act was in the *Melody Maker*. David Bowie, a chart-topping pop star, came-out as both gay and bisexual in an interview with journalist Michael ‘Mick’ Watts. The interview was printed in January 1972 in an article headlined ‘Oh You Pretty Thing’.⁴ The newspaper press did not report the story. This was unusual: Adrian Bingham argues that celebrity private lives had become an acceptable subject for the popular press by the 1970s.⁵ However a

¹ Keith Altham, ‘Our Fans Have Moved With Us’, *New Musical Express*, 4th February 1967, p. 17.

² George Melly, *Revolt into Style: the Pop Arts* (London, 1972), p. 4. Alexander Sedlmaier and Stephan Malinowski, ‘1968’ – a Catalyst of the Consumer Society’, *Cultural and Social History*, 8, 2 (2011), pp. 258-259.

³ Maurice Kinn, ‘The BBC and Drugs Songs’, *New Musical Express*, 14th January 1967, p. 8.

⁴ Michael Watts, ‘Oh You Pretty Thing’, *Melody Maker*, 22nd January 1972, p. 19.

⁵ Adrian Bingham, *Family Newspapers?: Sex, Private Life and the British Popular Press* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 250-262.

proven method of gaining attention in the music press and consequently selling records, tickets and various other ephemera was to subvert and redeploy discourses that contradicted the perceived values of contemporary morality.

The music press's coverage of Bowie's coming-out can be seen as a conduit between the discourses of bohemian metropolitan morality of London – recently analysed by Frank Mort – and the wider population through the mass media.⁶ As Davidson and Davis have argued the legally widened 'discursive geography' that was prompted by the Wolfenden Report enabled homosexuality to be discussed candidly, but at first discussion was limited.⁷ Bowie became the first pop musician to take advantage of *de jure* tolerance publicly, even if social sensibilities had remained static. Indeed, Bowie had to deny any radical element for his gay-self to be tolerated, *Gay News* subsequently commented that he alone was the reason that the Gay Liberation Front failed.⁸ Bowie provided an individual example of another possible sexual orientation and became fodder for the categorisation of the norms and self-identity of homosexuals as Chris Waters argued that Peter Wildeblood's 1955 book *Against the Law* had done before decriminalisation.⁹ Like Wildeblood, Bowie had to rewrite his life for public consumption and construct a 'homosexual persona'.¹⁰ Accordingly Bowie's statement can be seen as both empowering a public space for homosexuals, while also constraining homosexuals by supporting the dominant tropes that defined their selves and behaviour.

The music press was the perfect forum for Bowie's statement: it absorbed bohemian and radical discourses then articulated them to a nationwide and youthful readership. Yet this did not prompt a liberal utopia of sexual tolerance. The proliferation of these counter-discourses codified a means of expressing otherness. Public negotiation of homosexuality may have empowered some gay men and women to express their sexuality publicly, but the central tenets of a gay male self-hood lingered upon 'campness' and 'effeminacy'.

⁶ Frank Mort, *Capital Affairs* (London, 2010), pp. 5-6.

⁷ Roger Davidson and Gayle Davis, 'A Field for Private Members': The Wolfenden Committee and Scottish Homosexual Law Reform', *Twentieth Century British History*, 15, 2 (2004), p. 176.

⁸ Lisa Robinson, *Gay Men and the Left in Post-War Britain* (Manchester, 2007), p. 104.

⁹ Chris Waters, 'Disorders of the Mind, Disorders of the Body Social: Peter Wildeblood and the Making of the Modern Homosexual', in Becky Conekin, Frank Mort and Chris Waters (eds), *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain, 1945-1964* (London, 1999), p. 139.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

The limit of homosexual public behaviour was finely defined. Thus private vice was given the added dimension of a negotiated public vice for some and homosexual and bisexual people were still subjected to rhetoric of fear, prejudice and mockery. Often statements that challenged these traditional social mores were apportioned the adjective 'outrageous'. This term is important because it denotes a gross violation or transgression of morality, in this case representing someone who was breaking the conventional discursive and behavioural norms of society. The use of 'outrage' in this way must be comparable to the antecedent term 'gross indecency'.

In an oral history interview former *Melody Maker* Assistant Editor Chris Charlesworth accounted for musicians not coming-out before Bowie in 1972 to pressure from the music industry to conceal an artist's sexuality.¹¹ It was assumed that alienating a musician from the prevailing sexual orientation of their market would correlate with lower sales. Fellow *Melody Maker* writer Caroline Coon said in another oral history interview that there were parallels with how the Beatles had concealed their girlfriends in order to maintain a sexually available image to teenage girls.¹² Teenagers bought a disproportionate amount of records.¹³ Records would not usually be publicly suppressed by labels however when it did happen – to the Sex Pistols in 1977 – Sir John Reed, the chairman of EMI, commented that there was a point at which EMI would "discourage records that are likely to give offence to the majority of people".¹⁴ Surely this was enforced more rigorously as the notion of private vice proliferated in the early 1970s and across most of the commercial recording industry. Therefore artistes who would transgress social mores or even sing about transgressive themes would be most likely be ignored or made to defer to norms in public. It was risky not to; compliance and deference to the music industry could deliver financial rewards as advertising along with other less savoury business practices could be employed to boost the careers of some artists or groups.¹⁵

¹¹ Chris Charlesworth, personal Interview, 17th August 2011.

¹² Caroline Coon, personal interview, 16th February 2011.

¹³ Teenagers in general consumed 25 per cent of all records. Mark Abrams, *the Teenage Consumer* (London, 1959), pp. 10-11.

¹⁴ 'Pistols Approach Crunch', *New Musical Express*, p. 9.

¹⁵ 'Hype' entered the dictionary in 1978 meaning, 'the practise of buying a record into the charts, or generally using any illegal or unethical method to get it there.' Bob Woffindon, 'Charting the Hypes', *New Musical Express*, 4th March 1978, pp. 11-14.

Both Charlesworth and Coon recalled instances in which gay men had concealed their sexual orientation for fear of compromising their popular success; Chris Charlesworth said that Elton John feared losing sales in the United States despite his sexuality being an open secret to the extent that in an instance of bawdy 1970s humour he was presented to his delight with a giant gold penis at an industry hosted birthday party. Charlesworth – and he admits to this – had used innuendo to allude to Elton John’s homosexuality. Reviewing him live at Hollywood Bowl in 1973 he referred to Elton John’s camp, “This was showbiz in the true sense of the world; all the glamour and glitter that typifies the Hollywood of old oozed from Elton John this evening”.¹⁶ Then in a less subtle *double entendre* he includes the compere’s introduction for the concert, “In the tradition of old Hollywood let me introduce you to ... the Queen of England.” Amusingly someone dressed as the Queen did emerge at Hollywood Bowl, but many were in on the joke.

Nevertheless when Elton John eventually came-out in 1976, coming-out engendered less copy in the music press. The *NME* gave little attention to the story as Mick Farren wrote,

So Elton John has confessed to being bisexual. Well, that’s no big deal, but on the other hand it’s never been much of a closely guarded secret. Most definitely not the kind of *Shock-Horror-Probe-Pop-Star-Reveals-All* lead story that the tabloids seek as their life blood.

“The only reason I haven’t spoken about it before,” revealed Elton in a frank interview with a New York magazine, “is that nobody asked me.” Truthfully, most journalists who interview E.J. aren’t interested in that particular line of questioning. Indeed, before their *tete-a-tetes* I’m sure that most of them knew the state of play and Elton knew that they knew. “it’s not important,” Elton quite rightly continued, ‘nor is it a big thing in my life.’ When someone rises to Elton John status there comes a time when it’s almost *de rigueur* to turf the skeletons out of the closet and come clean, rather than be subjected to snide rumours, printed innuendos and a hatched job expose in Hollywood scandal sheets.

“I don’t see why it should affect the fan worship that I’ve got,” insisted Elton, “It hasn’t hurt David Bowie and I don’t see why it should hurt me.”

The chairman of Watford Football Club adamantly denied that he had anything other than a professional working relationship with

¹⁶ Chris Charlesworth, ‘Elton’s Finest Hour!’, *Melody Maker*, 15th September 1973, p. 9.

his lyricist Bernie Taupin opined that 'I don't think there's anything wrong with going to be with someone of your own sex,' and argued, 'it's not just me – I think *everyone* is bisexual,' but he also pointed out, 'I think I'd rather fall in love with a woman eventually. I think a woman lasts longer than a man!'

However, the chairman was somewhat perturbed as to how the Watford footballers would react to his disclosures: 'I think' he said, "all this is going to be terrible with my football team. Those guys are so hetero.'¹⁷

While Farren was weary of pop star confessions, he implied that questioning Elton John about his sexuality was not allowed rather than just an uninteresting subject. The threat of lost advertising or the withdrawal of interviewees was levied towards journalists and music press titles. Although it was now *de rigueur* to come-out in the press, Elton John had been reticent to follow contemporary exemplars. Also, Elton John prominently referred to Bowie's continued commercial success as an example that empowered him. Even before John had come-out officially, Bowie had prompted Elton John to reconsider his performing image and perform camp. Yet the uneasy support of Bernie Taupin and Elton John's fear of his football club's reaction – unfortunately football remains quite homophobic – show the friction of varying levels of acceptance of homosexuality. However, it is vital to stress that Bowie as not only the first, but also a still popular and commercially successful bisexual was being explicitly emulated by Elton John. It is no surprise that even before Elton John had come out he had performed camp. It is also interesting that Elton John uses the term bisexual rather than the more binary division of gay. It mitigated the notion of otherness by straddling a range of sexualities.

Bowie's first real success in the late-1960s was mitigated by a disastrous tour that was commented upon in *Melody Maker* in 1972,

He was appearing at Meccas in front of teenage kids who wanted whatever the current biggest artist was, and were unaware that David Bowie was of more refined inclinations.

"At one point I had cigarettes thrown at me."¹⁸

¹⁷ Mick Farren, 'Reg is out of the Closet' *New Musical Express*, 25th September 1976, p. 9.

¹⁸ David Bowie (1972), *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars* [LP Record], London: RCA.

This article was a few months after Bowie had come-out. He was defining his sophistication in comparison to the boorish and straight teenagers of provincial Britain. Bowie was faced with the prospect of quitting music and at that point set up the highly successful folk club Beckenham Art Lab based upon Jim Hains' Arts Laboratory in Drury Lane. Bowie was drawn towards the sophisticated central London milieu despite his working-class to lower-middle-class upbringing. Bowie was a mime artist with Lindsay Kemp's troop, he knew actors, underground writers, filmmakers, musicians and artistes. He was part of a central London based cultural elite with ties to the upper echelons of the culture industry and British society.

In 1972, Bowie was preparing to release an album under the moniker of he and his band's alter-egos, 'Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars' – typically for the 1970s and Bowie's interest in avant-garde and musical theatre, it was a concept album.¹⁹ As usual he was sent on the publicity rounds and his pre-album release concerts received close attention. He was interviewed first by music press stalwart Chris Welch, a veteran of the 'what's your favourite colour?' school of unchallenging music press interviewing. Welch purposely omitted Bowie's discussion of bisexuality,

Before Mick Watts' story, I had interviewed Bowie when he was wearing the dress for 'The Man Who Sold The World'. I think David was trying to get across to me that I should be writing about his new look and attitude – he was sort of coming out – but I wasn't taking the bait, so rather foolishly I tried to cover up in the piece by pretending he wasn't camp and gay.²⁰

Bowie had picked the West End theatre district for his interview, a metropolitan enclave not far from Soho and near to the *Melody Maker's* offices. Welch as a veteran of central London as well as the music press was not perturbed by Bowie's homosexuality specifically, but adhered to the older and more conservative values of the music press. Labelling Bowie as a sexual outsider would by proxy prevent Welch's purpose as an uncritical aid to the industry like a surrogate public relations worker.

Therefore Bowie's 'coming out' story fell to Mick Watts, a younger and more precocious writer. Although recruited by Editor Ray Coleman for his local newspaper experience he was, as colleague Richard Williams commented, a more mature type of writer that

¹⁹ Michael Watts, 'The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust,' *Melody Maker*, 19th August 1972, pp. 8-9.

²⁰ Paul Gorman, *In Their Own Write: Adventures in the Music Press* (London, 2001), p. 156.

stood out from his colleagues. Watts made the unusual decision to cover Bowie's sexuality in detail,

Even though he wasn't wearing silken gowns right out of Liberty's, and his long blond hair no longer fell wavily past his shoulders David Bowie was looking yummy. He'd slipped into an elegant - patterned type of combat suit, very tight around the legs, with the shirt unbuttoned to reveal a full expanse of white torso. The trousers were turned up at the calves to allow a better glimpse of a huge pair of red plastic shoes; and the hair was Vidal Sassooned into such impeccable shape that one held one's breath in case the slight breeze from the open window dared to ruffle it. I wish you could have been there to varda him; he was so super.

David uses words like "varda" and "super" quite a lot. He's gay, he says. Mmmmmmm. A few months back, when he played Hampstead's Country Club, a small greasy club in north London which has seen all sorts of exciting occasions, about half the gay population of the city turned up to see him in his massive floppy velvet hat, which he twirled around at the end of each number. According to Stuart Lyon, the club's manager, a little gay brother sat right up close to the stage throughout the whole evening, absolutely spellbound with admiration. As it happens, David doesn't have much time for Gay Liberation, however. That's a particular movement he doesn't want to lead. He despises all these tribal qualifications. Flower Power he enjoyed, but it's individuality that he's really trying to preserve. The paradox is that he still has what he describes as "a good relationship" with his wife. And his baby son, Zowie. He supposes he's what people call bisexual.²¹

It was explicitly written that Bowie was 'gay' and a recognisable narrative of gay male selfhood was constructed: Bowie was fashionable, shopping at Soho department store Liberty; he had effeminate hair; Watts plays on polori, theatre or gay slang. Bowie was contextualised as a metropolitan sophisticate and Watts also alludes to a degree of personal initiate knowledge as a man-about-town music writer.

Nevertheless Watts' offered some qualifications to Bowie's homosexuality. He droned "mmmmmmmm" sarcastically to Bowie's coming-out and stated Bowie's opposition for 'Gay Liberation'. By not supporting Gay Liberation, Bowie makes a qualification himself similar to the trope, 'I'm not a feminist but ...'. This is pertinent in the face of *Gay News's* assertion that Bowie killed the Gay Liberation Front. Here, Bowie presented a gay self that was not radical in the sense of calling for the overthrow of society. Instead he wanted to be accepted into mainstream British society. As the Gay Liberation

²¹ Michael Watts, 'Oh You Pretty Thing', p. 9.

Front was the most visible expression of public gay-selfhood it now lost its monopoly. Bowie's ameliorant gay-self was suggested in stark terms when it emerged Bowie was married with a son. Therefore although Bowie was patronised by a gay following and identifies positively as gay his otherness is mitigated by being in a traditional relationship and by not being politically radical. Consequently some of the tension between being a commercial recording artist who required a public audience and an 'individual' with a distinct self, sexuality and even language are limited by Watts' caution.

The article continues,

David's present image is to come on like a swishy queen, a gorgeously effeminate boy. He's as camp as a row of tents, with his limp hand and trolling vocabulary. "I'm gay," he says, "and always have been, even when I was David Jones." But there's a sly jollity about how he says it, a secret smile at the corners of his mouth. He knows that in these times it's permissible to act like a male tart, and that to shock and outrage, which pop has always striven to do throughout its history, is a ballsbreaking process. And if he's not an outrage, he is, at the least, an amusement. The expression of his sexual ambivalence establishes a fascinating game: is he, or isn't he? In a period of conflicting sexual identity he shrewdly exploits the confusion surrounding the male and female roles. "Why aren't you wearing your girl's dress today?" I said to him (he has no monopoly on tongue-in-cheek humour). "Oh dear," he replied, "You must understand that it's not a woman's. It's a man's dress."

Watts relied on the narrative of gay men being 'effeminate' and 'camp' queans, possibly coining the phrase "camper than a row of tents". This is shocking but if not an outrage, Bowie was a source of humour for Watts. Bowie was mocked and his gender was questioned. Bowie was famous for being a Warhol influenced manipulator of the press, with some doubting the verisimilitude of his bisexual claim and, as Chris Charlesworth said, a knowing interviewee when it came to providing headlines.²² Later as The Thin White Duke, Bowie's performed bricolage was inspired by Fascism and hyper-masculinity. Yet here, without such hindsight, Watts was unconvinced about the veracity of Bowie's claims moderating Bowie's outsider image.

In the face of Watts' scepticism, Bowie espouses an individualistic discourse that posits his behaviour and sexuality as entirely acceptable. When pressed on dressing in drag Bowie argued,

²² Chris Charlesworth, personal interview.

I just don't like the clothes that you buy in shops. I don't wear dresses all the time, either. I change every day. I'm not outrageous. I'm David Bowie.²³

Bowie was indignant. He asserts his right to his individual autonomy even if it contradicts traditional social convention. He was free to assert and construct his self as he pleased and it was 'not outrageous'. Albeit the arrogant 'I'm David Bowie' implies that Bowie inhabited a privileged position which enabled him to act as he pleased. Bowie's arrogance may have been compounded by his contemporaneous enjoyment of cocaine.²⁴ Even so, Bowie reiterates an individualist agenda that wants mainstream tolerance that was again a form of conventional homosexual selfhood – private vice – rather than that ascribed by Gay Liberation's radicalism.

Yet the vehement rhetoric that Bowie puts forward required more backtracking from Watts. He compelled the reader to judge Bowie upon his music rather than his image,

Despite his flouncing, however, it would be sadly amiss to think of David merely as a kind of glorious drag act. An image, once strained and stretched unnaturally, will ultimately diminish an artist. And Bowie is just that. He foresees this potential dilemma, too, when he says he doesn't want to emphasise his external self much more. He has enough image. This year he is devoting most of his time to stage work and records. As he says, that's what counts at the death. He will stand or fall on his music ... Don't dismiss David Bowie as a serious musician just because he likes to put us all on a little.²⁵

Watts was trying to save Bowie from commercial suicide but it was not necessary, *Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars* (1973) reached number three in the UK album charts and, as Ziggy Stardust, Bowie performed across the country to packed venues.

However 'Oh You Pretty Thing' was an unusual article. Watts admitted knowledge of gay subcultures, even if he tried to undermine the stance that Bowie took. In comparison, subsequent articles or reviews of Bowie conveyed confusion mixed with schoolboy sniggering. Chris Welch, who had fluffed the original chance of outing Bowie reviewed Bowie's 1972 single 'John, I'm Only Dancing',

²³ Michael Watts, 'Oh You Pretty Thing', p. 9.

²⁴ Christopher Sandford, *David Bowie: Loving the Alien* (New York, 2005), p. 130.

²⁵ Michael Watts, 'Oh You Pretty Thing', p.9.

What's going on over there? "That's Morris dancing." Yes I'm getting rather worried about Morris. And we're all getting a bit worried about David. What is the poor chap on about now? He is a great song writer, a fine singer, and one of nature's gentlemen. But this somewhat strangled vocal style sounds a bit of a put on. Over to Rachael Hartesbeete for a fans eye view: 'Nobody expects YOU to understand. This is a MARVELLOUS song from David, with a terrific boogie shuffle beat. And the echo on his voice shows a sheer mastery of production," Quite so, I merely said that... "Well, don't. This will be a massive hit, and I won't hear a word of criticism." Oh, very well. Yes the guitar is quite good. John I'm Only Dancing, la, la, la. I am beginning to enjoy it already.²⁶

After making a gay joke, the vastly experienced music reviewer unusually deferred to a teenage girl to review the single. Musically, 'John, I'm Only Dancing' was no quantum leap in any sense, other than the bisexual lyric, and it seemed to be the lyric and Bowie personally that had unsettled Welch so much. Welch simply could not understand Bowie, 'what is this poor chap on about now?', he was also 'worried' about him. Welch defined his heterosexuality forcibly and accordingly reinforced Bowie's difference. Nonetheless, Welch fulfils his role as a supporter of recording artists and enjoys the single reluctantly, sarcastically perhaps, despite denigrating Bowie's authenticity when affecting camp – 'a bit of a put on'.

Whilst Welch was perturbed by Bowie's sexuality there was also explicit opposition to Bowie's coming out. First his genre of music was defined with two rather derogatory monikers 'fag-rock' and 'rouge-rock'.²⁷ Some fans were also uncomfortable with rock stars affecting the fashion of gay men, not to mention other rock stars who had appropriated glam rock fashion without realising the symbolic connotations of 'campness'. Dave Hill of Slade was mortified and sought to confirm his heterosexuality in a 1972 interview,

Well I've got a designer called Steve working with me... He came up with the idea of the "superyob" thing – now me car's "YOB 1" – and we designed the clothes to fit the idea.

My idea of a really flashy yob is to make it look butch – not poufy. You see big blokes looking like pouffes now – they may have glitter or make –up on, but the thing is that they look at it in a different way now.

²⁶ Chris Welch, *Melody Maker*, 2nd September 1972, p. 20.

²⁷ 'Fag rock' first printed use -- 'Mailbag', *Melody Maker*, 12th February 1972, p. 42. An early example of 'Rouge-rock' – *Daily Mirror*, 20th January 1973, p. 13.

When I first did it, it was “He must be queer,” but people have now accepted the fact that it’s not true – so, therefore, the situation has matured.²⁸

Hill’s working-class ‘yob’ credentials and flashy style created a conflict with the element of performed ‘camp’ that were implied by his sequined jumpsuits. This made it vital for him to clarify his sexual preference. His appropriation of ‘glitter’ and subsequent statement of heterosexuality, only confirms the rigid elite and effeminate homosexual narratives. It also refers to the narrative of sophistication to which gay men were subject, rather than a straight working-class man who in comparison was labelled a ‘yob’.

Despite the reticence of music journalists to fully accept or even comprehend Bowie’s sexual preferences there were others who fully understood and accepted Bowie’s choice of discourses and symbols. His live concerts, which featured drag and elements of a very theatrical type of mime, appealed to London’s gay community. Subsequently when Bowie toured outside London, gay men who had felt isolated now had a new space of sociability that had been reported in the music press. The narrative of lonely men meeting at a concert was circulated. Again the journalist was Mick Watts. The review described the first meeting of Jim and Phil in Dunstable,

It was raining the night Jim met Phil. They were total strangers to each other, but Phil had asked Jim for a cigarette and well... one thing led to another. They’ve become very good friends. Phil still recalls how Jim’s hand had trembled, though.

They’d gone along to see David Bowie in Dunstable. Great fans of Bowie they were, and Jim had almost to pinch himself when he first heard such a grand person was coming to THAT place. He hated it. Privately his mother confided that he found it difficult to make friends at work.²⁹

Watts was showing a degree of sensitivity towards Phil and Jim that had not been forthcoming from other writers, who like Welch would be somewhat silly. Nevertheless Watts still deployed a recognisable narrative of gay male-selfhood: Phil is close to his mother, thus he was implicitly defined as effeminate. But the importance of Bowie’s visit to Dunstable is not obscured, he provided a public meeting point and although Watts was prudish when it came to referring to the physical relationship of Phil and Jim, ‘one thing led to another’. Bowie’s appearance in Dunstable provided respite from the

²⁸ Rob Randall, ‘Yob Number One!’, 16th June 1973, p. 12.

²⁹ Michael Watts, ‘Bowie: Waiting for the Man’, *Melody Maker*, 1st July 1972, p. 28.

alienation of being a gay man in a conventionally repressed provincial area. It confirmed the cosmopolitan allure of Bowie's metropolitan camp, but also extended the possibility of initiation into queer sociability as becoming a utility of consuming a type of popular culture rather than moving to London.

Notably specialist knowledge and a specific symbolic language was focused upon by Watts,

But something rather strange was happening on stage. During the instrumental break Bowie began chasing Ronson around the stage, hustling him, trying to press his body close. The attendants at the exits looked twice to see if they could believe their eyes. The teenage chickies stared in bewilderment. The men knew but the little girls didn't understand. Jeesus! It had happened.

It should be recorded that the first act of fellatio on a musical instrument in the British Isles took place at the Dunstable Civic Hall. How do you top that? You don't. You get offstage.

Watts and 'the little girls' were both shocked, but the young women present do not understand Bowie and Ronson's pantomime fellatio. There was a somewhat ham-fisted but empowering message. Although, it is notable that the actions of Bowie and Ronson closely follow the typology of a public gay male self: 'campness' and 'outrageousness' are implied throughout. However, for the gay men of Bedfordshire Bowie's appearance had been a seismic event, that left a group of men, in true West End fashion, waiting outside the stage door, "Moist-eyed boys still hung around. After a while Jim and Phil left together."

Due to the popularity of Bowie, the dimension of his concerts as a site for gay men to meet and congregate was lost as a focus in the music press as the customary conventions of live music performance pervaded. Bowie's concert at the 18,000 capacity Earl's Court in 1973 mixed a warped notion of camp display with the simian hyper-masculinity that had marred many contemporary pop concerts. Roy Hollingsworth reported,

Yes readers – it was then that I had the delightful vision of four Australian youths in tender, and fashionable faded denim, remove their garb, and dance naked on their seats – their Antipodean genitals on view to all.

One little girl didn't like it, and slapped the face of one youth. He retorted by ripping her blouse off and then fisting her in the head. Now, it becomes no joke, my friends. Now it becomes horrible.³⁰

Therefore the transgressive queer symbolism that Bowie had expressed was assimilated into a rowdy spectacle of display for heterosexual men. The more violent underbelly of youth culture had taken prominence, even if they appropriated the glitter aesthetic or posed naked. The violent behaviour of Slade concerts or other performers that attracted a disorderly following became the focus rather than challenging social norms.³¹ It became a benign capitalist marketing ploy – as many had feared when Bowie came-out – stripped of the morally rebellious content, rather than the seemingly powerful counter-discourse that an explicit public statement of formerly private sexuality may have been.

Bowie's bisexual confession to Mick Watts acts to underline the fascination that the transgression of those who are Others engendered in the music press. Doubtlessly there were snide schoolboy jibes and writing that conveys the blushing of possibly homophobic men and undoubtedly the culture that Bowie alluded to – aided by being separate from radical Gay Liberation – was assimilated into mainstream culture. Certainly Bowie became the capitalist culture industry's marketable gay man for the well-behaved and whether Bowie was the freak-show, the performer, the totemic gay man or a conduit for others to live vicariously through, his behaviour was contextualised as 'outrageous'. Contemporary discourses could not adapt to and deem Bowie acceptable. For some, Bowie's public vice had a single redeeming feature: it was commercially successful. Thus individuals were bound to the conventions that Bowie and the music press authored; homosexuality was regulated in discourse as rigidly as the law had done before. The discourse of flamboyant camp gave a narrow definition of selfhood. Therefore the counter-discourse reaffirms the staying power of heterosexual dominance and a rigid morality governed by binary distinction that could atomise and isolate otherness. Nevertheless, if a more humanist view is taken it can be seen that Bowie's statement did have positive ramifications removed from the negotiations of a public gay self. Bowie's symbolism in such a highly circulated magazine provided a public example for gay

³⁰ Roy Hollingsworth, 'Driveout Saturday', *Melody Maker*, 19th May 1973, pp. 20-21.

³¹ Chris Charlesworth, 'All the Bad Girls Like Slade', *Melody Maker*, 3rd June 1972, p. 8.

men. Thus his concerts gave a space to fans to meet and make open gay networks that were outside metropolitan or large provincial cities. Furthermore, it made it apparent that bisexuality and being 'gay' were no longer discretely limited to a private vice. 'Camp' may be limiting as a narrative in which to construct self-identity but it challenged the existing social mores and the tyranny of discretion and innuendo. Nevertheless, the power of dominant discourse was such that society was able to control and contain the expression of a sexual orientation and sensibilities endured despite legally prescribed tolerance.

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The Irkutsk Cultural Project: 'Other' peoples in late-Imperial Siberia, 1860-1917

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This project seeks to re-integrate late-Imperial Russia into the mainstream of pre-war European imperial culture, and claim for it a place as a legitimate variation of a fluid model as opposed to an outcast aberration. It will do this by analysing pre-1917 Siberian cultural constructions of three groups outside the social and cultural elites, namely urban workers, the Siberian peasantry (both established and new settlers), and indigenous tribes.¹ It will show how these representations formed part of the Irkutsk 'colonial project', an ongoing socio-cultural event which was connected to both a wider Russian 'colonial project', as well as international ideological and cultural networks. Ideologies originally constructed to justify western European maritime empires were adapted to create Russian variations on shared imperial themes for use in the androgynous Siberian context. This will enable the creation of a framework showing how even in 'Asiatic' Russia, portrayals of these various Others rested on common core signs and assumptions found in other pre-war European empires where depictions of aborigines, settlers, and the urban working class were often couched in similar terms. As such, this study seeks to move away from a simplistic "West and the rest" reading of imperialism and instead portray Russia as a fully integrated participant in a wider cultural network of imperial states manifesting equally valid versions of pre-war imperialism.²

Related to this interconnectedness of empires is the idea of imperial networks.³ Colonial and metropolitan sites were connected through a "coordinated metasystem" of political, economic, and cultural links. Such mechanisms allowed representations of indigenous peoples in one part of the world to act as precedents,

¹ Each of these groups will be referred to by various different names throughout this paper. Please see the relevant footnotes and brackets for definitions.

² Russian anti-exceptionalism has been growing in recent years. See Cathryn Brennan and Murray Frame (eds), *Russia and the Wider World in Historical Perspective Essays for Paul Dukes*, (Basingstoke, 2000). ; Michael Melancon and Susan P. McCaffray, *Russia in the European Context, 1789-1914: A Member of the Family* (New York & Houndsmill, Basingstoke, 2005).

³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York, 2008), p. 90.

“guiding imageries of subsequently colonised peoples elsewhere.”⁴ If, as Alan Lester and his adherents have argued, these worldwide networks helped to foster shared cultures across oceans within single empires, it is obvious that the same bilateral processes existed between empires as well. Moreover, this argument lends itself easily to an explanation of the differences between these colonial outposts, namely, the theory of “cultural hybridization”. Much like the multilateral exchange between colonies and the metropole, relations between coloniser and colonised were not one-way, but mutual. The “grey zones” where intercultural contact occurred created “a porous mosaic rather than a straight borderline.”⁵ As such, it is entirely suitable that each of these colonial sites should produce its own unique mosaic based on its imperial baggage and local conditions. In brief, then, the idea behind this project is that ‘colonial projects’ sprang up where domestic and supranational networks intersected.

Unlike the traditionally designated Western empires of Britain, France, and occasionally Germany, no study of Russian culture has yet been made providing a systematic analysis of elite depictions of the three groups in question. This study will begin to address this by creating a Russian model based on the city of Irkutsk and its hinterlands in the Transbaikal region of south-eastern Siberia.

Siberia has a long, complex history with Imperial Russia, and was an area of active expansion and mass settlement in the pre-war period. Its reputation amongst Russians was highly ambiguous. It was simultaneously “Heaven” and “Hell”; a land of both opportunity and desolation, of freedom and imprisonment, the most “Russian” part of “Russia” or the “dark” Orient. Opinion split broadly along class lines, with the lower classes seeing freedom and opportunity where the upper classes saw a savage social and cultural wilderness. However, there were obviously dissenting voices and varied opinions within these heterodox groups. Such ambivalence had long characterised Russian interpretations of the various territories east of the Urals, whether they were under the protection of the White Tsar or not. Initially stemming from ignorance, an ever-increasing knowledge of the region did not bring clarity. Older theories never fully dissipated, so that over time ‘Siberia’, like anywhere else, became a sedimentary portrait of often conflicting information. In the context of this study, the intellectual maelstrom

⁴ Alan Lester, “Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain”, in Stephen Howe (ed.), *The New Imperial History Reader* (Abingdon, 2010), p. 140.

⁵ Alexander Etkind, “Orientalism Reversed: Russian Literature in the Rimes of Empires”, *Modern Intellectual History*, 4, 3 (2007), p. 621.

of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries added new layers to the picture of Siberia, but did nothing to clarify it.⁶ Myriad intellectual trends and aesthetics swept through European culture, and Russia was no different. Nationalism and Socialism were two of the most far-reaching, but artistic trends like Symbolism and Realism also had an influence. Aside from this, perhaps the one intellectual debate that coloured this period in Russia more than any other was the ongoing battle between the particularist, anti-European Slavophiles and the pro-European, pro-reform Westernisers, which rumbled on from the 1840s without resolution. As may be expected, the same intellectual ambivalence was extended to those who were, depending on the observer, either fortunate or unfortunate enough to live in Siberia. It is these people on whom this study will focus. The “boomtown atmosphere” of Irkutsk, fuelled by the vast wealth of prospectors, merchants, and other figures brought a general embourgeoisement of tastes, cultural vibrancy, and a somewhat louche provincial facsimile of European high society.⁷ Siberian society had grown without serfdom and was without a landowning gentry. Its social elite was composed of wealthy merchants, local government officials, and political exiles. These Siberian ‘elites’ were symptomatic of the rise of ‘new money’, the diffusion of literary production, and the increased social status of the ‘other classes’, the *raznochintzy*.

The main source base for this project will be the so-called “thick” journals (*tolsty zhurnali*), produced by cultural and scientific bodies like the Ethnographic Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which were so common in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These journals are especially suited to the study of class formation and national identity amongst the upper classes due to their broad scope and prominent role in the history of Russian intellectualism.⁸ Aside from heavy journals, pamphlets, newspapers, the papers of individual explorers, and ethnographical studies will round out the archival material. Memoirs, novels, plays, and travelogues in urban, rural, and colonial settings will be the key

⁶ Galya Diment and Yuri Slezkine, "Introduction", in Galya Diment and Yuri Slezkine (eds), *Between Heaven and Hell: The Myth of Siberia in Russian Culture* (New York, 1993), pp. 1-14.

⁷ W. Bruce Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians*, Cornell Paperbacks (Ithaca, N.Y. & London, 2007), p. 268.

⁸ Robert L Becknap, "Survey of Russian Journals, 1840-1880", in Deborah A. Martinsen (ed.), *Literary Journals in Imperial Russia* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 91.

published sources.⁹ At this stage of the project, it is not possible to produce a paper based on these journals or other archival materials as I have yet to consult them. Therefore I will instead provide a case study based on one of the nineteenth century's most popular literary genres, and one which will be prominent in the final thesis; travelogues.¹⁰ In light of this, there is, at this stage, less material on Russian urban workers than on the other two groups, and an overall bias towards native peoples. By utilising the same comparative methodology envisioned for the final thesis, I hope to show the suitability and value of this approach.

Among these cultural elites, one of the great overarching debates of the imperial period was what it meant to be "civilised". In late-Imperial Russia the term implied the secular model adopted from the western European powers in the Petrine era. This model, never officially defined, split roughly into physical and mental attributes. For the former, appearance, clothing, housing, and food were key; for the latter, intellectual accomplishment, manners, lifestyle, respect for the rule of law, economic activity and religion were recurring themes. In effect, 'civilisation' came to mean 'Russification'. Although the Orthodox faith lost its status as the ultimate arbiter of Russian nationality, it still retained an influence, especially in more conservative circles. The nebulous nature of 'becoming' 'Russian' is illustrated by the fact that so diverse an empire never formulated a naturalisation law.

Robert P. Geraci claims that in intercultural encounters, more immediate features, such as hairstyle, clothing, and physiognomy quickly gain symbolic importance as "elements of ethnic or religious identity" and act as a kind of shorthand which is later expanded to entrench deeper differences.¹¹ One of the most consistent physical characteristics in depictions of lower class groups is uniformity. This occurs in several ways. In many ethnographical texts, notions of

⁹ The variety of those writing from and about Siberia is useful to this study. The definition of Siberian literature is, in keeping with terminology and concepts related to Siberia in general, a vague one: it has generally been taken to connote material written *about* Siberia as well as material produced there. Only in the narrowest sense, used by regionalists such as Nikolai Iadrintsev, has this term ever applied solely to people born in Siberia. This wider definition will be useful to this study as it allows the inclusion of additional material by people passing through Siberia or coming to it from the metropole, both widening the source base and giving additional perspectives.

¹⁰ See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (London, 2008).

¹¹ Robert P Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y. & London, 2001), pp. 36–7.

individuality were replaced by the idea of "type". Taking their cue from the biological treatises of the time, terms like "the Buriat race", "the peasant", or "the Slavonic" conveyed a kind of zoological, scientific discussion of an abstract concept rather than the vagaries of human society. This allowed for generalisations to be made, and for any divergence, whether physical or mental, from this supposed norm to be put down to "some admixture of [foreign] blood" or simply ignored.¹² One observer, for example, curtly summed up the entire Kalmuk people as universally "flat in feature, bronze in colour, bony in frame."¹³ Moreover, at times such ideas of uniformity even submerged gender boundaries, as some observers claimed to be unable to distinguish male from female due to the lack of difference in face, physique, and behaviour.¹⁴ Such dehumanising frameworks made it easier to 'rationally' assess, exploit, or exterminate these peoples.

Similarly, the Russian peasantry had for centuries been referred to as being of one mind. Until their illusions were shattered by the 1905 Revolution, outside commentators (both Russian and foreign) almost always spoke of a timeless, unchanging *narod*; loyal to the Tsar, God-fearing, and uninterested in anything beyond these loyalties and their own basic needs.¹⁵ Again, variation was taken to be the corrupting influence, this time of capitalists or socialists.

This concept of oneness could also be inverted to invoke menace. This was especially true in the case of the urban workers from the late nineteenth century onwards. It was during this period that urbanisation increased rapidly in the Russian Empire on the back of a state-sponsored surge of industrialisation and modernisation. Charles Masterman's famous account of Victorian London, stalked by innumerable savage beings, hunting in faceless packs, the "dense, black masses" would have been familiar to the genteel Petersburgers suddenly forced to share their city with floods of migrant workers.¹⁶ The rise of "the hooligan", a term imported

¹² John Crawfurd, Esq., "On the Commixture of the Races of Man as affecting the Progress of Civilisation (Europe), Ethnological Society of London, *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* (Published for the Ethnological Society by J. Murray, 1863), pp. 201–212.

¹³ William Hepworth-Dixon, *Free Russia*, 4th edn (London, 1870), p. 302.

¹⁴ David N. Collins (ed.), F. Nansen, *Siberian Discovery: Vol. 4. Through Siberia: The land of the future* (Richmond, Surrey, 2000), p. 33.

¹⁵ *Narod* is a difficult term to translate. It can be taken either to mean "the people", or "the nation", and refers to the idea of the peasantry as the 'true' holders of the 'Russian' way of life and identity.

¹⁶ Charles F.G. Masterman, *From the Abyss: Of Its Inhabitants, by One of Them* (New York & London, 1980), pp. 2-3, quoted in Steve Attridge, *Nationalism*,

directly from English, was just as troublesome to the Russian middle and upper classes as it was to their counterparts elsewhere in Europe.¹⁷ As Steve Attridge remarked of Victorian England, such analysis "led to a conflated view of lower class and lower species" and strengthened notions of an outside enemy to conquer and civilise.

Linked to these notions of savagery and animalism, physical appearance also served an immediate, comprehensible, and evocative means of indicating inferiority to an audience. The language used to describe physiognomy clearly illustrated to the reader the varying levels of respect they were to accord different peoples. Aside from obviously derogatory descriptions like "ugly" and "wretched", writers could be more subtle. For example, a Tatar could be described as "a yellow-skinned, slit-eyed man"¹⁸ with hair "rough as a horse's mane"¹⁹ or as having "a good physique: dark eyes, swarthy skin, black hair, and high cheek-bones."²⁰ The difference in intent is obvious. Positive remarks rarely went beyond "pleasing" faces or "picturesque" groups, and were usually suffixed with such phrases as "even according to our tastes".²¹ 'True', i.e. Western-style, beauty was apparently a rare exception, but when it was encountered any praise tended to be couched in either fetishistic exoticism or quaint 'chocolate-box' scenes. Reality rarely intruded on either.²²

With regard to the ethnically-Russian Siberians, physical appearance was again the most immediate reference point. In general, the 'new Siberians' (*novosely* or *novoprishelits*, literally "newcomers") who came from the late-nineteenth century onwards, were negatively portrayed. Tales abounded of whole villages huddled on trains or steamers, with rags covering their filthy, emaciated frames. The deprivation was such that one in ten migrants

Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture: Civil and Military Worlds (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 98.

¹⁷ Joan Neuberger, *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg, 1900-1914* (California, 1993).

¹⁸ David N. Collins (ed.), M.P. Price, *Siberian Discovery: Vol. 6. Siberia* (Richmond, Surrey, 2000), p. 19.

¹⁹ Mark Bassin, *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840-1865*, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, 29 (Cambridge, 1999), p. 191.

²⁰ Henry Lansdell, *Through Siberia, Russia Observed* (New York, 1882), p.56.

²¹ Nansen, *Land of the Future*, p. 33.

²² Perry McDonough Collins, *A Voyage down the Amoor: With a Land Journey Through Siberia, and Incidental Notices of Manchooria, Kamschatka, and Japan* (New York, 1860), pp. 228–30.

died en route to Siberia in this period. Western observers were shocked by seeing “what purports to be civilised humanity at its lowest level... [we were] unprepared for this degree of degradation among whites.”²³ In contrast, the Old Siberians (*Sibiriakii*, or *starozhily*, literally 'veterans'), tended to be characterised as prouder, more prosperous, and more energetic than the European Russian peasantry or new Siberians. They were registered not just in the peasant estate, but variously as peasants, townsmen, Cossacks, and merchants.²⁴ Their physical condition was often used as a means of highlighting both the impoverished condition of the new arrivals and the ugliness of the natives (*inorodtsy*).²⁵ Following vivid descriptions of the beastliness of the Samoyed, the Norwegian sailor Fridtjof Nansen encountered a Russian priest.²⁶ He was enraptured by this “remarkably handsome man, with a high forehead, a fine, clear-cut profile and calm, gentle eyes; he might well have sat for the Christ in Leonardo’s Last Supper.”²⁷ That the height of Russian perfection, the sole Western representative in this area, was also the man charged with preaching the Word of God, is a highly charged metaphor for the concomitance of Christianity, civilisation and beauty.

Related to physical appearance was the issue of clothing. The *inorodtsy* wore a wide variety of clothing, ranging from heavy furs in the northern tundra to silks and cotton in the south. Whatever their necessity, these outfits were often an exotic curiosity to travellers, who filled their accounts with descriptions of the opulent clothing of the natives. However, whilst often given credit for their beauty or suitability, it was usually pointed out that these garments were abnormal, verging on ludicrous: “The [Buriat] tribe in its curious hats and richly coloured garments, the women wearing in their hair and dangling on cords handfuls of strange metal trinkets that would

²³ David N. Collins (ed.), Richardson Little Wright and George Bassett Digby, *Siberian Discovery: Vol. 10, Through Siberia: an empire in the making*, (Richmond, Surrey, 2000), p. 100.

²⁴ The Russian system of estates (*soslovie*), although only reclassified in 1832, became increasingly anachronistic as agricultural, economic, and social reforms radically altered the social structure of the Russian Empire during this period.

²⁵ This term, translated as “people of a different nation”, or, more simply, “aliens”, became common parlance for all the native peoples in the Empire in the late-imperial period. For a full discussion of this term, see John W. Slocum, ‘Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy? The Evolution of the Category of “Aliens” in Imperial Russia’, *Russian Review*, 57 (1998), 173-190.

²⁶ “Samoyed” itself is a derogatory Russian exonym for a linguistic grouping of peoples in northern Siberia meaning “self-eating”.

²⁷ Nansen, *Land of the Future*, p. 205.

have been the envy of a museum curator."²⁸ If an *inorodets* tried to adopt Western apparel, they were similarly ridiculed: "One man sported a cast-off suit, in which he appeared as uneasy as an organ grinder's monkey in a new coat."²⁹ The primate analogy is one loaded with connotations of Social Darwinism and racial inferiority. Any attempt to move between estate or classification would likely result in mockery. It was taken as falsity or corruption, and many observers refused to see it as anything but ludicrous.³⁰ Similarly, peasants arriving in the great cities of European Russia usually cast off their traditional attire of long shirt and baggy trousers of coarse material in favour of the 'alien' European attire of leather boots, caps, trousers, and shirts. This ostensibly fashion-related choice was taken as an outward sign of urban corruption.³¹

Cleanliness was a vital barometer of civilisation. The measures taken and money spent to improve the conditions of the crowded, filthy cities of the Russian Empire on the working classes are evidence of that.³² Bar a few isolated reports, the *inorodtsy* were held to be habitually filthy. Typical is the exiled socialist Vladimir Zenzinov's assertion that "it is no exaggeration to say that the Yakut bathes twice during his lifetime...As regards Yakut's underwear, it is usually changed after the old outfit has rotted away."³³ Naturally, the dwellings of these people were similarly disdained. The yurts of the Turkic and Mongolian nomads, for example, had open hearths and no chimneys, so the air was often thick with smoke and every surface covered in soot. With no designated kitchen or stove, meat in various stages of preparation and consumption was said to be strewn everywhere. The Siberian peasant village should have been the model for what the natives were to achieve but, again, opinion was

²⁸ Wright & Digby, *Through Siberia*, p. 118.

²⁹ Tupper Harmon, and Harry W. Nerhood (eds), Thomas W. Knox, *Overland Through Asia; Pictures of Siberian, Chinese and Tartar Life* (New York, 1970), p. 86.

³⁰ Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', *October*, 28 (1984).

³¹ For a discussion of the extent to which peasant migrants were 'urbanised' or cities 'peasantised', see David Moon "Late Imperial Peasants", in Ian D. Thatcher (ed.), *Late Imperial Russia: Problems and Prospects; essays in honour of R.B. McKean* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 120-145.

³² To give one example of the public works programmes undertaken at this time, in St Petersburg the River Neva was both drinking water and sewage system. As the city's population and industry grew, the situation grew steadily worse, and this, along with overcrowding and other factors led to St Petersburg having the highest mortality rate of any European city. Letter, Sir Edward Thornton to Lord Dufferin, St Petersburg, 7/2/1882, D&A PRONI D1071/H/B/T/179/10.

³³ David N. Collins (ed.), Vladimir Zenzinov, *Siberian Discovery: Vol. 11. The Road to Oblivion* (Richmond, 2000), p. 50.

mixed. The officer turned anarchist Prince P.A. Kropotkin remarked that "Though often the smell of the houses made me feel ill, I received nothing but courtesy... [yet] there may not be a house in the village more dignified than we would use as a cowshed."³⁴ That being said, the homes of the *starozhily*, as befitted the narrative of their more independent and admirable character, were usually portrayed more positively. Their villages were said to be clean, organised, and with "an air of prosperity" so far ahead of anything in European Russia that "at all events, the average Siberian peasant's house could compete with the best cottages in rural England."³⁵

To many observers, a people that lived in tents and supported itself by means of a nomadic lifestyle could not be "civilised," because they imagined that no cultivated person would choose to do so.³⁶ However, some writers did recognise the innate mental abilities of native people beyond their lifestyle choices. That being said, intelligence (often categorised as guile or ingenuity) did not, in that viewpoint, equate to "civilisation". To make opulent clothing or carve ornate statues could be "some proof of intellectual taste", but civilisation required an education: a very European mixture of *obrazovanie* (intellectual stimulation and enlightenment) and *vospitanie* (moral indoctrination).³⁷ At best, the *inorodtsy* were described as "not considered below the average Russian peasant in intelligence."³⁸ This is false praise indeed, as for all the qualities imagined onto the *narod* by outside observers, intellect was not one of them. Such comparisons are interesting, however, as it again shows the commonality between Russian peasants and native peoples in the minds of outside observers.

The Russian Siberians, who should have been the inspirational example of an edified lower class, were ambivalently portrayed in this regard. Depending on the source, the *starozhily* seemed to possess "more general intelligence" than their European

³⁴ Petr Alekseevich Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist: Kropotkin, Petr Alekseevich, Kniaz* (London, 1899), p. 195. <<http://www.archive.org/details/memoirsofrevolut01kropuoft>> [accessed 14 September 2011].

³⁵ Morgan Philips Price, *Siberia* (London: Methuen, 1912), p. 47. <http://www.archive.org/details/siberia_00pricuoft> [accessed 14 October 2011].

³⁶ Lansdell, *Through Siberia*, p. 129.

³⁷ The former was favoured by the pro-reform bureaucrats who sought to increase Russia's expertise in the sciences and mathematics. The latter equated to the more traditional Greek, Latin, and arts studies favoured by conservative groups.

³⁸ Nansen, *The Land of the Future*, p. 32.

counterparts,³⁹ or were "movingly innocent or hopelessly retarded versions of the original [Russian peasant]".⁴⁰ They were also held to have "self-asserting, independent manners, which sometimes bordered on impudence, [which] contrasted sharply with the servility of the Russian peasants."⁴¹ Yet many travellers still clung to traditional images of the *narod*. Where some saw vigour and independence, others saw the Old Siberians as a "pleasant, childlike people, quiet and meditative, but always ready to give or receive information from a stranger if they are well-treated."⁴² Similarly, the urban workers who gravitated towards Socialism were often described as having been "corrupted" by university educated, westernised radicals, or as "foolish", hoodwinked children. Increased alcohol abuse and prostitution in the cities were taken to be signs of moral degeneration in the absence of the paternal authority of the commune. Continuing the parent-child trope, it was also common to describe the "childlike curiosity" with which Siberian natives beheld even the most mundane Western items.⁴³ In such situations, paternalism gave way to sneering. Nansen related how the Samoyed visiting his ship "cautiously pattered about and stared at all the wonderful things on the big steamer...they understood they were in the presence of a new and marvellous force."⁴⁴ Native peoples, peasants and workers were seen to be at different stages of human development, but all were children in need of edification.

This same ambivalence is seen in relation to the morality of the *Sibiriakii* and the *inorodtsy*. Running parallel to their apparently childlike intellect was their depiction as simple, honest beings and their corruption by civilisation. In this view, some felt that throughout the history of the conquest of Siberia, "the natives almost invariably stood on a higher level both morally and otherwise than their conquerors."⁴⁵ For believers in this 'inverted morality', Russian priests, traders and officials had accumulated great wealth and

³⁹ August Haxthausen, *The Russian Empire: Its People, Institutions, and Resources*, Russia Through European Eyes, no. 4 (London, 1968), p. 28.

⁴⁰ Yuri Slezkine, "Savage Christians or Orthodox Russians? The Missionary Dilemma in Siberia", pp. 15-39, Galya Diment and Yuri Slezkine (eds), *Between Heaven and Hell: The Myth of Siberia in Russian Culture*, ed. by Galya Diment and Yuri Slezkine (New York, 1993), p. 15.

⁴¹ Jonas Jonsson Stadling, *Through Siberia* (Westminster, 1901), pp. 55-6.
<<http://www.archive.org/details/throughsiberia00stadgoog>> [accessed 14 September 2011].

⁴² Price, *Siberia*, p.47.

⁴³ Knox, *Overland through Asia*, p. 92.

⁴⁴ Nansen, *Land of the Future*, p. 28.

⁴⁵ Stadling, *Through Siberia*, p. 285.

power by exploiting the natives to the point of extinction. The morality of Russian Siberians varied widely depending on the account. Kropotkin felt that they were completely trustworthy. Recalling his work in allocating land at village convocations, he claimed all he had to say to a village elder was ""State on oath what you know to have been held by the *gmina* (the village community) and the land is yours." And as soon as he took the oath one could trust that oath implicitly."⁴⁶ Removed from the supervision of the Russian Orthodox Church, however, the *starozhily*, for all their admirable qualities, were often said to be morally inferior to their European counterparts.⁴⁷ The American traveller R.L. Wright wrote that "The Siberian peasant-and we have stayed or lived in fourteen of his villages and had dealings with another score-is not hospitable." He claimed that charity was out of the question, and to buy food at any price was extremely difficult. ⁴⁸ To contradict this, there are numerous accounts willing to vouch that the guileless morality of the *Sibiriakii*. This is unsurprising given the continued elite belief in the childlike honesty of the *narod*. In a hagiographical work written during the Great War, Marjorie Lethbridge wrote that "Speaking from some experience, I have no hesitation in saying that [the Russian peasant] is generally the kindest, most willing and most generous of men. In him the sacred injunction "Do unto others, etc.," takes concrete shape."⁴⁹

Urban workers seemed to be less trusted. For example, Henry Norman remarked that in Irkutsk suffered from

an amount of crime, actual and potential that would be considered excessive in a new mining-camp. The night before I arrived a church was ransacked of its plate; the night of my arrival the principal jeweller's shop was robbed; a few days later a flourishing manufactory of false passports — a peculiarly heinous crime in Russia was raided by the police; the day I visited the prison a man clubbed nearly to death, who never recovered consciousness, was picked up in the street; a short time previously the mail, carrying gold-dust, had been ambushed and three of its armed guards shot; and no respectable citizen would dream of passing alone through its suburbs after dark. Indeed people often fire a revolver shot out of

⁴⁶ Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, p. 207.

⁴⁷ David N. Collins (ed.), Samuel Turner, *Siberian Discovery: Vol. 9. Siberia: a record of travel, climbing and exploration*, (Richmond, 2000), p. 79.

⁴⁸ Wright & Digby, *Through Siberia*, p. 179.

⁴⁹ Lethbridge and Lethbridge, *The Soul of the Russian*, p. 99.

the window before going to bed, to remind whom it may concern that a strong man armed keepeth his goods.⁵⁰

Although religion had lost its place as the ultimate arbiter of Russianness, it was still the superstructure upon which behavioural and cultural norms were based. The religion of many natives was described as Shamanism, an umbrella term coined by the exiled priest Avvakum Petrov in 1672. Many accounts have depictions of their rites, which usually involved wild dancing and chanting. These were usually either described as ridiculous spectacle or worrying heresy.⁵¹ Other natives, such as the Turkic or Chinese peoples, were Buddhists or Muslims. As their religious doctrines were more well-known, and their sophistication problematic for the Christian civilising narrative, little space was devoted to them by Russian observers in particular. However, the biggest problem for the Church was the superficiality of the conversions they were able to affect. By 1900, the majority of tribesmen were nominally Christian, but their faith was, at best, a fusion of old and new rites. For example, a shaman might incorporate the sign of the cross into his exorcisms, and traditional rites were performed in secret.⁵²

The Russian Siberians had been envisaged as also providing Christian role models for the natives. It was believed, after all, that the Russian peasant was inherently religious, there being "almost a national tendency towards the fundamental basis of all Christianity-"Faith"...the Almighty is an ever present factor [in their lives]."⁵³ Furthermore, missionary investigation discovered that many Russian Siberians had a superficial, and at times deeply flawed, knowledge of the Faith.⁵⁴ The few priests who were in Siberia were woefully trained and remunerated. Even Marjorie Lethbridge admitted that "[the peasant's] ideas of theology are crude and vague; perhaps as is actually the case remnants of a bygone paganism can still be traced in his primitive beliefs".⁵⁵ Left to their own devices, peasant

⁵⁰ Henry Norman, *All the Russias: Travels and Studies in Contemporary European Russia, Finland, Siberia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia*, pp.146–7.

<<http://www.archive.org/details/allrussiastravel01norm>> [accessed 14 September 2011].

⁵¹ Knox, *Overland through Asia*, p. 148.

⁵² Stadling, *Through Siberia*, p. 102.

⁵³ Lethbridge and Lethbridge, *The Soul of the Russian*, pp. 96–7.

⁵⁴ Robert P. Geraci and Mikhail Khodarkovsky (eds), *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y. & London, 2001), pp. 295–6.

⁵⁵ Lethbridge and Lethbridge, *The Soul of the Russian*, pp. 96–7.

religiosity often broke down.⁵⁶ They adopted some pagan rites and indulged in questionable practices. Similar fears existed for the spiritual wellbeing of the working class. The influence of another 'false' religion, godless Socialism, the lack of priests, and the myriad temptations of city life raised fears of an amoral, atheist mob. The 'hooligan problem' and tales of drunkenness and violence in the two capitals seemed to confirm these fears. Irkutsk, however, was described by one observer as "being the wildest, the most wicked city in East Siberia, [but]...also the most saintly, devout, Sabbatarian place within the realms of the Great White Czar".⁵⁷ How that squares with the crime wave witnessed by Henry Norman is hard to imagine.

For most travellers, European or American, Romantic or Socialist, alcohol was the symbol of Western, capitalist corruption of the purity of both colonised peoples and domestic working classes. The *starozhily*, for all their apparent hardiness and independence, were taken to be as much slaves to vodka as their brethren across the Urals. The famous Russianist George Kennan claimed that in West Siberia there were thirty taverns to every school.⁵⁸ One of the biggest holes in the notion of a civilising mission was the introduction of alcohol to societies where it had been unknown. In European Russia, there were enough polemics on the scourge of alcohol on 'backward' people, in this case the peasantry, for the Russians to know the potential for damage. Vodka was used as a weapon by Russian traders, officials and settlers to "undermine the self-sufficiency and human dignity of the natives" and perhaps contributed more than disease and the loss of their traditional livelihood to the ruin of the native peoples.⁵⁹

Drinking was a major pastime for both urban and rural lower classes. With few distractions in their isolation, the British travel writer Sir John Foster Fraser claimed that in Siberia "getting drunk is regarded as a very excellent thing."⁶⁰ Articles lamenting the increase

⁵⁶ The notion of a semi-pagan Russian peasantry has been an enduring one. However, this notion has been challenged in recent times by the like of Chris J. Chulos, who have studied peasant self-identification and social mores. See Chulos, *Converging Worlds: religion and community in peasant Russia, 1861-1917* (DeKalb, Illinois, 2003), and Vera Shevzov, *Russian Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution* (Oxford, 2004).

⁵⁷ Sir John Foster Fraser, *The Real Siberia, Together with an Account of a Dash Through Manchuria*, p. 105, <<http://www.archive.org/details/realsiberiatoget00frasuoft>> [accessed 14 September 2011].

⁵⁸ George Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System* (Chicago, 1958), p. 353.

⁵⁹ James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia, Russia's North Asian Colony, 1581-1990* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 158.

⁶⁰ Foster Fraser, *The Real Siberia*, p. 55.

of public drunkenness appeared across the Empire. Temperance societies became increasingly common, with social conservatives and socialists alike rallying to the cause.⁶¹ There does appear to be some basis for saying that the "modern" drinking culture of the cities, lacking the traditional rhythm of communal agriculture and fuelled by a cash economy did lead to an increase in alcohol abuse.⁶² Henry Lansdell's account of his time in Irkutsk is dotted with tales of drunken urban dwellers. Even during the devastating fire of July 1879, Lansdell described urban dwellers who, rather than help, stole "huge family bottles of rye-brandy, some of which people hugged in their arms, as if for their life, whilst other bottles were standing about, or being drunk by those who carried them."⁶³

One of the most talked-about, and salacious, criteria for judging these 'savages' was their sexual conduct. The reported persistence of polygamy and women being traded as a commodity was very troubling to Orthodox sensibilities. Among the native peoples, particularly scandalous was the tribal practice of 'prostituted hospitality', whereby the sexual favours of wives or daughters were offered to a guest.⁶⁴ It had apparently been stamped out by the Russians, yet even if evidence was lacking many writers continued to mention it. Even more troubling were the reports of *Sibiriakii* lapsing into such behaviour in isolated settlements far beyond the reproach of the Orthodox Church.⁶⁵ Early marriage capped the number of illegitimate births in the peasant community, and intermarriage was permitted by necessity, but these issues still perturbed secular and religious authorities. Municipal governments were also gravely worried by the supposed licentiousness of urban dwellers. Urbanisation and industrialisation led to an increase in the number of impoverished women, abandoned by their husbands or having lost their job, turning to prostitution to survive. This obviously led to more cases of venereal disease, abortion, and illegitimate births. In Siberia, the wives of exiles often found themselves in a similarly parlous financial situation and utilised similar methods.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Patricia Herlihy, *The Alcoholic Empire: Vodka & Politics in Late Imperial Russia* (Oxford, 2002).

⁶² Patricia Herlihy, 'Joy of the Rus': Rites and Rituals of Russian Drinking', *Russian Review* 50 (1991).

⁶³ Lansdell, *Through Siberia*, pp. 257–8.

⁶⁴ Zenzinov, *Road to Oblivion*, p. 53.

⁶⁵ Turner, *Siberia*, p. 79.

⁶⁶ See Laurie Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters: prostitutes and their regulation in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, London, 1995). Many women who turned to prostitution on

Economic activity was especially important in the Russian case, given the close association of Russian identity with the peasant commune (*mir*). The Speranskii Law Code of 1822 classified all native peoples in Siberia as either "nomadic", "semi-nomadic", or "settled", according to their way of life. It was possible, in theory, to 'graduate' through the ranks to become "settled", which was roughly analogous, but not the same as, "Russian". In practice, however, this was a very complex bureaucratic process. In spite of this, the settling process was seen as an inevitable one, driven by the force of progress, similar to the drive to edify the *narod*.⁶⁷ Natives would eventually either become settled or die out from their archaic way of life. All the native tribes fared differently in the face of the Russian settlement wave. Some fled the Russian advance and paid a heavy price in terms of poverty, disease, and hunger. Others, such as the Kirghiz, Buriats, and Yakuts fared much better.⁶⁸ The explorer Jonas Stadling described "The wide cultivated fields, the herds of cattle, and the comparatively well-built Buriat villages [that] testified to the general prosperity and good order existing among these interesting natives."⁶⁹ The Buriats had taken up agriculture, were classed as 'settled', were prosperous in recognisable terms, and therefore admirable in the same way as the well-to-do *kulak* (rich peasant) or literate, teetotal steel worker.⁷⁰

Related to this idea was the importance of a "Russian" diet. This was a centuries-old notion from when tales abounded of ferocious tribes of cannibals in the east. Upon encountering these peoples, the Russians found diets of boiled reindeer or raw fish similarly unpalatable. As subsistence agriculturalists, the traditional peasant diet consisted of occasional meat and dairy with staples of grain, potatoes, and vegetables. Bread, especially Russian black bread, was probably the most symbolically and nutritionally

an occasional basis were, if caught, registered with the police and so unable to escape this category.

⁶⁷ Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1994), p. 59.

⁶⁸ Lincoln, *Conquest of a Continent*, p. 160.

⁶⁹ Stadling, *Through Siberia*, pp. 55–6.

⁷⁰ The land reforms by Prime Minister Peter Stolypin from 1906 to 1914 aimed to create many more kulaks, but their prosperity made them "class enemies" of the Socialists. They were persecuted and deprived of land under the Soviet government, and in January 1930 the Politburo approved the liquidisation of the kulaks as a class.

important food source.⁷¹ European Russian staples were incredibly expensive to export to Siberia, but were always considered essential. The importance of agriculture to the 'Russian' way of life can be seen both in the resources poured into the development of farming in Siberia, and also in the fact that Russian expansion into 'agricultural' borderlands was usually depicted as resettlement (*pereselenie*), spreading out (*rasselenie*), or internal colonization (*vnutrenniaia kolonizatsiia*) as opposed to imperial dispossession and subjugation.⁷²

From the mid nineteenth-century, all manner of specialists and scientists travelled to Siberia and put forward their opinions on the place and its people. Ethnology, sociology and geography were also turned inwards as governments and city planners attempted to raise the living standards across the Empire.⁷³ I am seeking to extend to the Russian Empire the view that "with respect to modes of socialisation and government...in the nineteenth century especially, both underclasses at home and natives in the colonies were being subjected to the same kinds of surveillance, reform, and economic redefinition" on an unprecedented scale.⁷⁴ This may seem obvious, but it is a viewpoint that is significantly underplayed, and often missing, in the Russian context.⁷⁵ The similarity of the quantified needs of the peasantry, urban workers and native peoples, along with the similar descriptive and analytical tropes across a range of media, shows the commonality between these groups in the minds of

⁷¹ David Moon, *The Russian Peasantry, 1600-1930* (London, 1999), pp. 290-4. The only food items that the Russian peasantry regularly bought that they did not produce or gather themselves were salt and vodka.

⁷² Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe*, (Ithaca, N.Y. and London, 2006), p. 3.

⁷³ Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda", in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tension of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1997), pp. 25-6.

⁷⁴ Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 66.

⁷⁵ There is a rich historiography on the Western Other, yet for Russia, David Moon and Cathy Frierson's work on elite "outsiders looking in" comes closest, but focuses only on the peasantry. Yuri Slezkine, Galya Diment, Daniel Brower and others have studied Imperial Russian natives, but without reference to the domestic (either urban or rural) Other who increasingly lived around them. David Moon, *The Russian Peasantry 1600-1930: The World the Peasants Made* (London, 1999). Cathy A. Frierson, *Peasant Icons: Representations of Rural People in Late Nineteenth Century Russia* (New York; Oxford, 1993). Slezkine. Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917*, ed. by Daniel R Brower and Edward J Lazzerini, Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies (Bloomington, 1997).

the outsiders looking in on their lives. Although the diversity of travellers and of Siberia meant that unanimity was impossible, the underlying analytical commonalities remain.

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Manhood and Humour in the construction of the 'other' during the British Civil Wars, 1642-1651.

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Agamemnon Shaglock Van Damme was the fictional creation of parliamentary propagandists, the imaginary clerk of a royalist regiment.¹ His ridiculous name alone reveals a number of common royalist stereotypes as well the humour and disdain his character was meant to evoke. Agamemnon was a Greek god, king of Mycenae and brother to Menelaus, who was known as proud, passionate "but vacillating in purpose."² He was made a cuckold by his wife, Mucenae, and killed by her lover, Aegisthus. Thus this name evokes the royalists' pride and lack of purpose while making insinuations about their sexual potency and paganism. 'Shaglock' refers to the royalists' long hairstyle, often criticised in the parliamentary press. 'Shag' whether a noun, adjective or verb was associated to hair in early modern parlance. It could describe the action 'to toss about', be used to describe something that is 'shaggy' or be 'a mass of matted hair'.³ Taken with the second part of the word - 'lock,' meaning 'the hair of the head' – Shaglock most likely signified, to toss about the hair.⁴ 'Damme' was a shortened form of 'damn me,' a common profanity.⁵ Royalists were accused of being frequent blasphemers. Finally, it is interesting to note that the name itself appears to be Dutch (Van), a possible reference to the international character of the royalist army. Revealed both in Agamemnon Shaglock Van Damme's name and the pamphlet in which he figures is the potential richness of laughter and humour as a source for cultural historians and those

¹ Agamemnon Shaglock Van Damme, *The speech of a cavaleere to his comrades, in answer to the wardens speech* (London, 1642).

² "Agamemnon" *The Concise Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*. Ed. M.C. Howatson and Ian Chilvers. Oxford University Press, 1996. Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press. University of Victoria. 12 August 2010 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t9.e89>>.

³ "shag, *v.*¹, *a.*, and *n*¹." *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. OED Online. Oxford University Press. 30 April 2007 <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>>.

⁴ "lock, *n*¹." *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. OED Online. Oxford University Press. 30 April 2007 <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>>.

⁵ "damme" *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. OED Online. Oxford University Press. 30 April 2007 <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>>.

interested in the historical process of othering. And yet, humour continues to be underexplored by historians.⁶

In 1977, noted early modern historian Keith Thomas lamented the fact that “the study of laughter hardly seems the business of the historian. It is a matter for social anthropologists and for literary critics. It is also the business of psychologists.”⁷ A quarter of a century later, in 2001, Valerie Holman and Debra Kelly, writing on the twentieth century, proved that not much had changed when they remarked that many disciplines “notably linguistics, sociology, anthropology and especially psychology” had developed theories on humour.⁸ History still remained absent from the list. The few historians who have tackled the subject have proven its historical values; as Thomas states “to study the laughter of our ancestors, to go on reading until we can hear the people not just talking but also laughing, is to gain some insight into changing human sensibilities.”⁹ Laughter is a highly social activity. It confirms normative values, bringing the majority together while simultaneously identifying the unorthodox and ridiculous behaviour espoused by the marginal. Beyond identifying the margins, humour also helps to define people and behaviour as marginal and is therefore a process of construction as well as mediation. Thus humour is by nature both inclusionary and exclusionary, helping to identify ‘the norm’ as well as ‘the Other.’ During the British Civil Wars, 1642-1651, humour was used by all parties to assert their own adherence to conventional values while deriding the failure of their enemies to conform to these same prevailing and prevalent social standards. In this paper I am particularly interested in the way that the language of manhood was

⁶ For some of the few works on early modern English humour see, for example, Sammy Basu, “‘A Little Discourse *Pro & Con*’: Levelling Laughter and Its Puritan Criticism’ *International Review of Social History*, 52, Supplement (2007); Helen Pierce, ‘Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire in England, 1640-1645’ *The Historical Journal* 47.4 (Dec 2004); Keith Thomas, ‘Bodily Control and Social Unease: The Fart in Seventeenth-Century England’ Angela McShane and Garthine Walker (eds) *The Extraordinary and the Everyday in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2010).

⁷ Keith Thomas, ‘The place of laughter in Tudor and Stuart England’ *TLS*, 21 January 1977, p.77.

⁸ Valerie Holman and Debra Kelly ‘Introduction. War in the twentieth century : the functioning of humour in cultural representation’ *Journal of European Studies* 31 (2001), p.248. Later still, in 2007, Marjolein’t Hart expressed the opinion that ‘even though philosophers, social psychologists, and linguists still dominate the subject, social historical can profit from this expertise [in the field of humour].’ Marjolein’t Hart ‘Humour and Social Protest: An Introduction’ *International Review of Social History* 52: Supplement 15 (2007), pp. 2-3.

⁹ Thomas, ‘The place of laughter,’ p. 77.

employed to mock enemy armies. I will first introduce notions of early modern humour and comment on the types of humour that were used to ridicule martial men – both officers and common soldiers. I will then explore the way allegations levied against martial men threatened their manhood and reflect upon their meanings. Lastly, I will offer some brief conclusions about the significance of using humour in civil war polemical works.

The Roman philosopher Cicero defined humour as

restricted to matters that are in some way either disgraceful or deformed. For the principal if not the sole cause of mirth are those kinds of remarks which note and single out, in a fashion not in itself unseemly, something which is in some way unseemly or disgraceful.¹⁰

As Quentin Skinner argues, early modern humour was heavily influenced by classical traditions.¹¹ Both Roman and seventeenth-century philosophers believed that a powerful link existed between mirth and disdain whereby laughter was produced by feelings of derision and superiority towards those who were shameful, and by extension, inferior. As such, scatological jokes were one type of humour that received wide circulation in the early modern period. Until the nineteenth century jest books abounded with stories on flatulence and other embarrassing bodily functions. During the civil wars such humour was used to ridicule political rivals. Helen Pierce demonstrates the currency of such humour in attacks on Archbishop Laud who is repeatedly depicted 'eating, consuming, and gorging, with physically harsh and humiliating consequences.'¹² Parliamentarians did not have a monopoly on scatological humour and it proved a popular Royalist weapon as well. In *A New Diurnal of Passages more Exactly drawn up then heretofore* it is written that on Thursday there was 'a great Fart in the House they did hear...An One makes nine Speeches while the Businesse was hot, / And spake through the Nose that he smelt out the Plot.'¹³ A similar theme is taken on in 'Upon the Parliament Fart.'¹⁴

¹⁰ Quoted in Quentin Skinner 'Hobbes and the Classical Theory of Laughter' in Tom Sorell and Luc Foisneau (eds.), *Leviathan after 350 years* (Oxford, 2004), p. 141.

¹¹ Skinner 'Hobbes and the Classical Theory of Laughter.'

¹² Pierce, 'Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire in England,' p. 835.

¹³ 'A New Diurnal of Passages more Exactly drawn up then heretofore' in *Rump, or, An Exact collection of the choicest poems and songs relating to the late times* (London, 1662), p. 184.

¹⁴ 'Upon the Parliament Fart' in *Rump, or, An Exact collection of the choicest poems and songs relating to the late times* (London, 1662), pp. 61-63.

Interestingly, despite the popularity of this genre, there are virtually no scatological jokes about soldiers during the civil wars. One rare example is to be found in the ballad *Insignia Civicas, or, The Anti-Royalists described in their King and Colours* (1643), which describes the many different coloured banners under which the parliamentarian troops marched. The author claims that the only colour that united all enemy troops was “Orange-tawny, which Each Boy doth weare, that scarce can wipe his breech.”¹⁵ Traces of excrement in their pants might suggest that these soldiers were fearful – something that is alluded to earlier in the pamphlet when they are accused of running away in battle. Whether a mark of cowardice or not, their lack of cleanliness is proof of their inability to control their bodily functions, that is, of their vulgarity. The other example of scatological humour I have come across is in the *The Welsh-Mans Postures* (1642). The Welsh gunmen are instructed as follow:

Look in her arse or Gun-hole.
Put dust in her Arse.
Then put one bullet in her arse.
...
Make her shitt bullets

The last directive is to “march in good fashion, with her nose in the leaders arse, if her smel not too strong of toasted sheese.”¹⁶ As these examples illustrate the types of humour used to characterise specific groups were not definitive but tendentious.

Considering their popularity, why were scatological jokes not used more frequently to humiliate soldiers? One possible answer is that MPs and Archbishops were expected to be wise and to embody idealised manhood as expressed by patriarchal attributes – namely moderation and restraint. In scatological jokes their bodies betrayed them, exposing their lack of self-control. Such humour demonstrated their hypocrisy and questioned their capacity to govern. Put more bluntly: if they were unable to rule their own bodies by holding in a fart how could they be expected to rule others?¹⁷ Martial men, on the

¹⁵ *Insignia Civicas, or, The Anti-Royalists described in their King and Colours* (Oxford, 1643), p. 1.

¹⁶ *The Welsh-Mans Postures, or, the true manner how her doe exercise her company of Souldiers in her own Countrey* (1642), ii. In the context of this paper it is also interesting to note that in this pamphlet female prepositions are used exclusively to describe Welsh soldiers.

¹⁷ Interestingly, laughter itself would later become an expression of a lack of bodily control and decorum. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* trans.

other hand, were popularly depicted as pillaging, drinking and whoring. In John Marston's *The Scourge of Villainie* (1598) the soldier is characterised as having eaten "out that sacred influence/Which made him man/ That divine part is soak'd away in sinne,/ In sensuall lust, and midnight bezeling [drunken revelry]." ¹⁸ Historians now agree that there were many expressions of manhood in early modern England and, therefore, the behaviour described by Marston was not 'unmanly' but simply relied on alternative codes to assert maleness. ¹⁹ Martial men were popularly identifiable by their adherence to alternative codes that favoured excessive behaviour, and by extension rejected patriarchal moderation. Therefore ridiculing them for loss of bodily control, while embarrassing, would not have hit at the heart of their gendered identity. Rather, humour regarding martial men tended to focus on the foolishness of their choice to abandon self-control. They were not being exposed as hypocrites in the same way as MPs and Archbishop Laud were because they were not pretending to abide by patriarchal standards. Rather, they were exposed for the foolishness inherent in their behaviour, for their irrationality, for their mindlessness. ²⁰ The comedic treatment of

Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1994), pp. 110-7; Skinner 'Hobbes and the Classical Theory of Laughter,' pp. 160-4; and Keith Thomas 'The place of laughter,' pp. 77, 80.

¹⁸ John Marston, *The Scourge of Villainie* (London, 1598), pp. 76-77.

¹⁹ For the seminal work discussing early modern manhood and alternative expressions of maleness see Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood* (Oxford, 2006).

²⁰ Interesting links can be drawn between these perceptions of martial men and those of youthful exuberance. My research to date does not allow me to draw definitive conclusions on the way humour was used to depict these two distinct groups. However preliminary research suggests that youthful excesses were not generally derided in humorous ballads but rather were the source of male authority figures' humiliation. Unlike humorous ballads on martial men, then, youthful transgressions were not depicted as marginal but were rather used to unmask, unman and exclude up-standing members of society. For example, young men were described as having sexual relations with married women and in the process making fools and cuckolds of the husbands. In such jokes it is the patriarchal male's failure to conform to prescriptive norms that is laughed at and youthful excesses have simply exposed their hypocrisy. The different treatment of youths and martial men might be explained by the intended audiences of mirthful print and by historical context. Youths appear to have made up an important part of the audience for jests, and as a consequence their culture of misrule was not represented as marginal. On the other hand, it is unlikely that martial men were ever intended to be the principal consumers of jests involving them. In terms of historical context, I have found few examples of jests concerning youthful excesses published during the civil wars, which may suggest that concerns with order were heightened during this mid-century

political figures exposed their hypocrisy while the comedic treatment of martial men exposed their vainglory, their inordinate pride in their (vulgar) achievements.²¹

Comedic polemical works portrayed martial men as proudly embracing the characteristics that made them most disliked. In *The Souldiers Language* (1644) two royalist soldiers, Jeffrey and Nicholas talk about current affairs and their wartime experiences. Upon meeting, Jeffrey asks where Nicholas' allegiance lies. This annoys Nicholas and he replies: "God damne me, but Ile run my Rapier thorow thee, if thou stand vexing me thus" to which Jeremy answers "But I think by thus speeches, thou art an honest good fellow."²² It is the royalists alleged quarrelsomeness and tendency to swear that allows these two soldiers to recognise each other. In *The Court and Kitchin of Elizabeth comoonly called Joan Cromwel* (1664) it is the parliamentarians', and in particular Oliver Cromwell's, behaviour that is the source of humour. Cromwell and his associates' 'military rude way' results in their "spouling of the Custard; and like *Jack Pudding*, throwing it upon one another, which was ended in the more manly Game of buffeting with Cushions, and flinging them up and down the room."²³ One can only assume sarcasm on the part of the author when he describes what is essentially a pillow fight as 'manly.' Still, it appears to have been considered a more virile activity than a food fight. Cromwell and his companions behaviour, we may surmise, was distinctly unmanly. In both these cases the soldiers become caricatures of themselves, bringing to the surface prejudice concerning both martial men and respective allegiances. By marginalising the subject of the joke a link was established between the audience and the writer of the joke. Both, it was implied, upheld the normative values rejected by the joke's subject.

conflict. For more on youth and jest see, for example, Tim Reinke-Williams 'Misogyny, Jest-Books and Male Youth Culture in Seventeenth-Century England' *Gender and History* 21, 2 (2009).

²¹ Quentin Skinner claims that Thomas Hobbes adopted the Renaissance definition of the ridiculous as expressed primarily in 'vainglory, avarice and hypocrisy'. Whether or not this definition was universally accepted in early modern England it certainly fits in well with this analysis; Skinner, 'Hobbes and the Classical Theory of Laughter,' p. 154.

²² *The Souldiers language, or, A discourse between two souldiers the one coming from York, the other from Bristol, shewing how the warres go on and how the souldiers carrie and demean themselves : with a survey of what forces the King hath at command both forraigne and domestick.* (London, 1644), p. 1.

²³ Quoted in Laura Lunger Knoppers, "Sing old Noll the Brewer': Royalist Satire and Social Inversion, 1648-64' *Seventeenth Century* 15:1 (2000), p. 46. See *The Court & Kitchin of Elizabeth, comoonly called Joan Cromwel* (London, 1664), p. 17.

Common amongst the humorous allegations levelled against martial men were claims of gender transgressions; they were labelled as sexually deviant, cuckolds and effeminate. In the first case, the enemy's alleged sexual voracity was used to illustrate the way absence of self-control threatened officers' and soldiers' manhood. In *The Master-piece of Round-heads* (1643) royalists are accused of sleeping with prostitutes so that their "zeal and heat" were focused towards sex rather than more worthy - i.e. religious - activities. Their inability to restrain themselves has dire consequences and it is revealed that 'the great *French* pock, *Venerean* smocke, and rot is come among um.'²⁴ The account of the alleged liaison between Prince Rupert, commander of the royalist cavalry, and a she-monkey is amongst the most shocking of pamphlets due to the overtly sexual tone and pornographic detail. The she-monkey is described as less demure than a 'whore;' she is ugly, a thief and promiscuous. It is said that "when Souldiers [had] received their pay, when there hands were in her placket [opening in women's under skirt], her hands would be in there pockets."²⁵ She did more harm to the cavaliers than the enemy army, spreading the pox amongst them. It is Rupert's inability to control his sexual passions the leads to his nuptials to the she-monkey. His lust and lack of moderation are made evident on the morning after his wedding night when he awakes in pain and resolves that next time he would not "come on in such a furious manner, and endanger the breaking of his Carbine."²⁶ His unmanly lack of control is expressed in yet another way when his inability to govern his new wife leads to his being made a cuckold within three days of his wedding. His lust for the she-monkey had induced him into unmanly submission; he was simultaneously and paradoxically unable to control his passions or satisfy those of his new wife. These royalist martial men were to be mocked not pitied, for it is their lack of sexual moderation that is the source of their misfortunes.

Parliamentarian leaders were also accused of lacking sexual moderation. In *The Sence of the House* John Hotham mockingly states: "You base-obedient Citizens, d'ye think to save your Lives?/ My Son and I will serve you all, as I have serv'd five Wives" and Henry Marten, whose sexual proclivities were widely publicized in the

²⁴ *The Master-piece of Round-heads, or an Explanation and Declaration of the right Round-heads indeed* (London, 1643), viii.

²⁵ *The humerous tricks and conceits of Prince Roberts malignant she-monkey, discovered to the world before her marriage. Also the manner of her marriage to a cavaleer and how within three dayes space, she called him cuckold to his face*, (London, 1643), ii.

²⁶ *The humorous Tricks*, v.

press, reveals his version of moderation when he promises "I shall not then keep but 3 Whores."²⁷ Martial men's sexual vulgarity would have been interpreted as a threat to the properly ordered society. Thus, their transgressions were of a nature to be of immediate concern to, and unanimously disapproved of by, a heterogeneous audience. The language of manhood was used to construct an image of an Other that threatened society's values and hierarchical order.

Control of sexual urges was just as important as the possession of these same urges in the assertion of manhood. Accusations of cuckoldry - and the implied inability to satisfy and control one's wife - were common. The Earl of Essex, general of the parliamentary army, was a favourite target of such jests, perhaps because he had so publicly been made a cuckold in the 1610s. In one ballad his house is referred to as 'Cuckold's Hall,' in another it is said that "For Essex his Horns hung so in his Light,/ Alas poor Cuckold, he could not see to fight."²⁸ Other parliamentary military leaders were also accused of cuckoldry, notably Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Fairfax.²⁹ As Tim Reinke-Williams argues, being a cuckold was "the most shameful fate to befall a husband, destroying his claims to household authority, questioning the legitimacy of his heirs and diminishing his honour, reputation and credit."³⁰ It implied sexual failure as well as the failure to govern one's household manfully. Many historians view early modern cuckoldry jokes as didactic and punitive - an incentive to abide by normative behaviour.³¹ However, in the case of civil war ballads, I would argue

²⁷ 'The Sence of the House, or the Reason why those Members who are the Remnant of the two Families of Parliament cannot consent to Peace, or an Accommodation' in *Rump, or, An Exact collection of the choycest poems and songs relating to the late times* (London, 1662), pp.101-108, here p.106, p. 107. For more on Henry Marten see, Susan Wiseman, "'Adam, the Father of all Flesh,'" *Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and After the English Civil War* in James Holstun (ed.) *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, (London, 1992).

²⁸ 'Admiral Deans Funeral' in *Rump, or, An Exact collection of the choycest poems and songs relating to the late times* (London, 1662), p. 311; 'A Song' in *Rump, or, An Exact collection of the choycest poems and songs relating to the late times* (London, 1662), p. 136.

²⁹ For example, see Barbara Donagan, *War in England 1642-1649* (Oxford, 2008), 384; 'The Sale of Rebellion's House-hold Stuff' in Charles MacKay (ed) *The Cavalier songs and ballads of England from 1642 to 1684* (London, 1863), p. 82.

³⁰ Reinke-Williams 'Misogyny, Jest-Books and Male Youth Culture,' p. 331.

³¹ See for example, Anthony Fletcher, 'Manhood, the Male Body, Courtship and the Household in Early Modern England' *History* 84:275 (1999), 419-436; Elizabeth Foyster 'A Laughing Matter? Marital Discord and Gender Control in

that the principal purpose of such jokes was not to instruct but to belittle and distance oneself from the enemy, portraying him as distinct, unable to control those below him and unworthy of public support.

In the creation of this ridiculous Other the enemy was also portrayed as effeminate. Most often this was reflected in their physical appearance. In *Soldiers Language* the royalist soldiers Nicholas and Jeremy claim that many of their captains behave “so womanish, that tis probable they were born under *Venus*, not *Mars*, and I think a Fan in the hand will better become them than a Feather in the Cap.” These captains were recognisable “by their scarfs, not by their scars, skill, or courage.”³² Accusations of effeminacy were most often levied against royalists and often focused on their long locks. John Taylor in *An Exact Description of a Roundhead* (1642) describes the Cavaliers as wearing “hair like a woman.”³³ According to John Brown in *Good news from Somerset-shire* (1642) it was the Earl of Newport’s female coif that saved him at Hull where he fell off his horse and into a ditch: “after he had once sunk he was catcht hold on by the haire of his head, and his life saved.”³⁴ Both his fall and the method of his salvation disparaged the Earl of Newport by making him appear defenceless and womanly. Other stories were meant to illustrate the ridiculousness and vanity of the royalists’ hairstyle. In *Nocturnall Occurences* (1642) the author claims to have met a foot company consisting of men and women and was ‘assaulted’ by the sight of the “Captain of the company, whose hair was of that large length, it was carried by sixteen boyes, every boy having sixe more to cary up theirs after.”³⁵ It has been said that by the end of the first year of the wars enemy armies could no longer be distinguished by

Seventeenth-Century England.’ *Rural History* 4:1 (1993); Reinke-Williams ‘Misogyny, Jest-Books and Male Youth Culture’.

³² *The Souldiers Language*, v.

³³ John Taylor, *An Exact Description of a Roundhead, and a long-head shag-poll* (London, 1642), p. 6. See also Thomas Hall, *Comarum akosmia the loathsomnesse of long haire, or, A treatise wherein you have the question stated, many arguments against it produc’d, and the most materiall arguguments [sic] for it refell’d and answer’d* (London, 1654); William Prynne, *A gagge for Long-hair’d Rattleheads* (1644).

³⁴ John Browne, *Good news from Somerset-shire: of the taking of Captaine Digby son to the Earle of Bristow, who had raised a troupe of horse to come against the Parliament* (1642), p. 3.

³⁵ *Nocturnall Occurences. Or, Deeds of Darknesse: Committed, By the Cavaleers in their Rendevous. Whereunto is Conjoyned, The Severall Postures, used with their Whores and Pimpes; answering a Booke (not long since Printed) to which is annexed, the Exercise of Souldiers* (London, 1642), iv.

their hairstyles.³⁶ However such characterizations provided a visual expression of what separated the good from the bad. Parliamentarians were equally mocked for their appearance – although there were fewer allusions made to effeminacy and more to foolishness and lower social status. Oliver Cromwell, for example, is said to have been recognisable because of his bright red nose, characteristic of his former (alleged) employment as brewer.³⁷

Why was humour used in civil war polemical works? The first and primary reason, I would argue, is the accessibility of this genre. Humour was one way in which allegiances (if not political ideas) could be made comprehensible. As Joad Raymond argues, a socially diverse audience – that included the illiterate, who listened to pamphlets being read out loud – participated in print culture, and “pamphlets became a foundation of the influential moral and political communities that constitute a ‘public sphere’ of popular political opinion.”³⁸ Humorous print contributed to popular politics by creating an Other that was recognisable to a varied audience both by unorthodox behaviour and physical appearance. Republican and monarchical theories took a back seat to the image of the fool who failed to appreciate or emulate the most basic and instinctive male characteristics. This failure to be men had implications beyond the embarrassment it was intended to produce. The failure to emulate the epitome of their gender suggested the inability to be a good patriarch and by extension the unfitness to properly govern. As such, humour was a way to delegitimize the enemy’s claim to authority.

³⁶ C.H. Firth, *Cromwell’s Army: A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, The Commonwealth and the protectorate* (London, 1967), p. 230.

³⁷ See Knoppers, “Sing old Noll the Brewer,” pp. 35-36, pp. 45-6.

³⁸ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), 26. For more on the early modern development of the public sphere and popular politics see, for example, Tim Harris, “The Problem of ‘Popular Political Culture’ in Seventeenth Century London,” *History of European Ideas*, 10, 1 (1989), pp. 43-58; Peter Lake and Steve Pincus “Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England,” *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (April 2006), pp.270-92; Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (New Haven, 1994). Conversely, Jason Peacey argues that since politicians controlled the market for print throughout the Civil Wars, pamphlets were used to fulfil politicians’ propagandist goals, with politicians controlling the messages that were allowed to reach the public. For Peacey, propaganda and the public sphere were mutually exclusive: “propaganda, and the engagement with the public through a broad range of literary forms, represents an attempt to restrict the boundaries of discussion and to control the terms of debate”; see Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Burlington, 2004), p. 331.

The use of humour also had the added advantage that it was difficult to respond to effectively. While political theory might invite debate, humour closed the door to any discussion. As Marjolein't Hart contends, "criticism expressed in a joking manner is more difficult to refute by 'rational' arguments."³⁹ Once a person had been labelled foolish the effectiveness of any response on their part would have been greatly reduced. First, they would have been difficult to take seriously and, second, their response would have been perceived as defensive, a reaction to a bruised ego. Laura Knoppers observes that the parliamentary press responded to attacks that Cromwell was Machiavellian but "the weapon of laughter, in particular the brewer image, was largely left unanswered in popular print."⁴⁰

It could also be argued that humour was a test of wit and of courage. Each side was duelling with words, trying to outdo the other. Judgement and wisdom were characteristics attributed to men. Not only did the foolishness of the enemy unman him but the wit used to undo him might be perceived as a testament to each side's manliness. Humour during wartime could also be seen as a evidence of courage. To cheat death or face danger and come out smiling could have been viewed as a sign of bravery.

Finally, humour ensured that the subject of the joke appeared non-threatening. It created a distance between his behaviour, which was most definitely socially threatening, and himself, a person disempowered by the exposure of his unorthodoxy and his foolishness. It should be noted that these ballads did not exist in a vacuum and would undoubtedly have been consumed alongside pamphlets and newsbooks that detailed the horrors of the enemy camp. Taken in isolation, jests do not tell the whole story of wartime propaganda but they do tell an important one. In a civil war in which families and communities were split, the creation of a foolish Other – versus a bloody one – would undoubtedly have contributed to a less monstrous image of the enemy and facilitated future reconciliation.

The British Civil Wars were not only fought on battlefields but in the press as well. In the struggle for public support, newsheets, printed sermons, broadsides, and ballads were mobilized and used to construct and define enemy parties. As Peter Burke argues, cultural assumptions about fools "reveal the standards of that culture by ... falling short of them."⁴¹ Humour and the image of the

³⁹ Hart, 'Humour and Social Protest', p. 8.

⁴⁰ Knoppers, "Sing old Noll the Brewer", p. 47.

⁴¹ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, 1994), p. 149.

ridiculous 'other' became an integral part of each side's propaganda campaign. Cultural assumptions on gender were repeatedly used to disempower and delegitimize enemy armies by rendering martial men figures of ridicule. Such farces relied on stereotypes of martial men as immoderate and vainglorious. Their depiction as promiscuous, cuckolded, vain and effeminate hit at the heart of their gendered identity questioning their manhood. Martial men not only became impossible to take seriously, their failure to play the man was depicted as a threat to society's hierarchical values and to proper governance. An analysis of the content of polemical tracts only takes us so far. Still needed, though much more difficult to achieve, is an analysis of the way such tracts were received and whether humour had its intended effect. Still, we can conclude that humour and gender were important elements in civil war propaganda, constructing an identifiable Other and contributing to justifications for war.

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The European Imagination, Civic Nationalism and the Legacy of Oriental Despotism

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In this paper I will question the ability of civic nationalism to sponsor, at the European level, “a new type of imagination” which is vacated of ethnically construed Othering tropes.¹ It will be argued that the logic of “civic integrationism” which is recruited to promote a post-ethnic conception of European citizenship masks its many racialised effects.² In other words, this paper takes care to remain attentive to discursive manoeuvres through which the civic rendition of the Idea of Europe makes veiled references to an ethnically demarcated Other. The critique advanced does not claim however that the post-national European project is forever beholden to such ethnic Othering. Rather, the argument advanced merely suggests that the turn to civic idioms as the basis for collective identity is unable to usher in any such desired break. Instead, civic virtues as the prevailing criteria for generating a European body politic, are anchored in many of the discursive meanings and representational images redolent of colonial European understandings of minority others. Simply, the minority ethnic subject is coupled with certain intrinsic cultural properties which render her an undesirable, deficient citizen.

In other words, it will be argued that it is the minority contingent – as represented in the popular political debate – who serves the function of a negational reference when rendering civic values an intelligible cluster of concepts with everyday purchase. Quite simply, the minority presence – most acutely the image of the interloping Muslim – is invested with a series of inscriptions which distinguish her as an instance of *lack vis-à-vis* civic, democratic values. It becomes the contrasting reference, in a manner akin to what Austin termed in the philosophy of language as the negational substantiation of a concept.³ If civic competencies are packaged as the master metric of a *demos'* rationality, it is the minority Other,

¹ Monica Sassatelli, ‘European Identity between Flows and Places’, *Sociology* 44.1 (2010), p. 76.

² Christian Joppke, *Veil: Mirror of Identity*, (Cambridge, 2009).

³ To be faithful to Austin’s original coinage: it is the ‘substantive-hungry’ wherein many words require relational negation in order to imbibe it with intelligible, practical meaning. For example, to claim something is tall, is, in itself, meaningless. Tall for what?

which is – though no longer contrasted as inalienably other – revived as the standard bearer of irrationality.

Given this formulation, there is considerable historical symmetry at play here with regard to certain techniques of Orientalist Othering operationalised at the colonial centre. Central to the historical link I attempt to instantiate here will be the work of Andre Grosrichard and his mapping of the distinctions drawn in eighteenth-century France: between the ideals of political governance ascribed to themselves and those that putatively prevailed in the Ottoman realm.⁴ The Ottoman – identified by Montesquieu as the paradigmatic exemplar of the Oriental mode of political engagement – is predicated on sentiments of whim, decadence, cultural (sectarian/religious) excess, and most importantly, despotism. In other words, it is a realm bereft of inclinations which can foster the rule of law (secular or not) and civic participation in the affairs of state. I argue that the current turn to an Enlightenment discourse of civic values as the basis for a community attachment trades, unfortunately, on many of the same ethnically charged distinctions.

The turn to ‘civic integrationism’ is tempting insofar as it desists from making an overt claim to an ethnically-construed polity. This marks a welcome departure from the Romantic era’s privileging of an ethnic coherence as the precondition for collective citizenship. Citizenship is no longer normatively predicated on ethnic membership. Hereby, the metaphysical pretences of national belonging are put under considerable stress. It is no longer committed to a poetics of a ‘people that always were, and will forever be’.⁵ Similarly, it disrupts the oft-repeated mantra of common origins: the habitual referencing of a common past with particular lineages – be it Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian and Humanist-Enlightenment – will all be recognizable to those attentive to public deliberation on the European character. This critical strand of ‘civic values’ narrative is of course to be embraced by anybody who harbours an interest in rendering citizenship more inclusive and accommodating.

The current debates around the European Union and post-nationalism are where these sentiments tend to be aired with most conviction. Many proponents of the EU, typically inspired by a Habermasian distinction between the civic and the ethnic nation, postulate the EU as being able to generate solidarities amongst its

⁴ Alain Grosrichard, *The Sultan’s Court: European Fantasies of the East* (London, 1998).

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1983).

disparate constituents around a revered set of constitutional principles and procedures. Here, the parochial pride required for 'deliberative' or 'intense' conceptions of participatory democracy is said to reside inside a constitutional, civic patriotism.⁶ The EU regionalising state is interpreted as post-national, potentially able to triumph over an antiquated conception of an ethnically defined democratic polity. Habermas' vociferous advocacy in his prominent role as a public intellectual for a European Constitution – "A democratic constitutional state whose integrity is generated through the willing political participation of its citizens" – is indicative of the pre-eminent status accorded to the institutionalization of a civic allegiance or solidarity at a European level.⁷

It is argued that a "democratic order does not inherently need to be mentally ordered in 'the nation'."⁸ Bauman, like Habermas, in his work *Europe* is eloquently dismissive of those who suggest that such a polity cannot be realised without bonds of ethno-cultural attachment to undergird it.⁹ This is seen as a historically illiterate reading which betrays the commentariat's own ideological biases and affective commitment to the national form. Habermas, on the same note, traces historically the graduation from "local and dynastic" (feudal fealty and divine rule) forms of political organisation to the nation-state form and its *raison-d'etre* which cultivated a democratic consciousness. Hereby, he thinks it entirely reasonable to suppose that social contracts shall further mature.¹⁰

Although most would consider the ambition to enact a purely civic-state compelling, the very idea of a civic-ethnic distinction does appear to be vastly overstretched. The distinction can seem largely a misnomer, and in turn, leads to a misdiagnosis of the citizenship issues which militate against a realization of a workable and comprehensive EU.¹¹

The following citations make apparent how many contemporary Western states are described, though not necessarily by Habermas himself, as *already* post-ethnic. Ignatieff, now better

⁶ Jürgen Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 64-73.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 76. See also Jürgen Habermas, 'Why Europe Needs a Constitution', *New Left Review* (Sep/Oct 2001).

⁸ Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation*, p. 76.

⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Europe: An Unfinished Adventure* (Cambridge, 2004).

¹⁰ Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation*, p. 102. Habermas is of course known for his firm belief in modernity and the political norms it enshrines – see *Between Facts and Norms* (1996).

¹¹ Donald Ipperciel, 'Constitutional democracy and civic nationalism' in *Nations and Nationalism* 13.3 (2007), p. 401.

known for a hapless tenure as leader of Canada's Liberals, wrote in 1993 that France and the USA in particular already demonstrate "A community of equals, rights-bearing citizens, united in a patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values."¹² Similarly, Kymlicka comments that in all post-war Western democracies, "There is a shift towards a post ethnic and thus civic form of nationalism."¹³

Here, the transition to a post-ethnic, civic articulation is often proffered as descriptive fact; whereas, it is perhaps more properly read as merely a polemic assertion. It is a substantive intervention by those who nobly hope to actualise a regional polity which is unencumbered by the regimes of exclusivity and 'internal' marginalizations which have been so central to the history of the ethnic nation-state.¹⁴ As such, in masquerading the substantive as descriptive, many commentators instantiate an artificial abstraction of the civic, lifting it from the ethnic undercurrents which necessarily underpin it.

Indeed, the very act of claiming of such a civic purpose might be considered a discursive trope through which an ethnic commune is able to confirm for itself a civilizational mastery of political objectivity/neutrality.¹⁵ It engineers a narration of ethnic telos which confers upon themselves an innate quality of neutrality and objective political reason. "The very idea that one's own nation has transcended [ethnic] nationalism is itself a kind of [ethnic] nationalism."¹⁶

Conversely, those racialised citizens/denizens who fall outside the parameters of a pre-given, automated body politic are said to encounter liberal democracy from a position of want or lack.¹⁷ In

¹² Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging* (Toronto, 1993), p. 6.

¹³ Will Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 282-3. The language of civic nationalism was perhaps best popularised, apart from Habermas, by David Miller's (1995) defence of nationalism as necessary for any redistributive welfare state to properly function.

¹⁴ See, for example, Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London, 1990) and Partha Chatterjee, 'Whose Imagined Community?' in G. Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation* (London, 1996).

¹⁵ Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism: and the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton, 1994).

¹⁶ Jason Read, 'Writing in the Conjuncture', in *Borderlands*, 3.1 (2004), p. 6. Steffan Jonsson's (2009) mapping, in a Swedish context, of this operation where universalism is contrasted to the parochial ethnic cultures attributed to immigrant communities, is an exemplary read.

¹⁷ Paul Silverstein, *Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race, and Nation* (Bloomington, 2004), p. 58. Silverstein comments in his seminal work on French republicanism and the universal ideals it purportedly endorses, that "Republican universalism

other words, they have to learn and adopt these principles. The presupposed white citizen is instilled, automatically, with a civic, Universalist ethos. In contrast, the racialised citizen, first-generation or not, acquires these qualities. Thus, he is rendered a secondary citizen with regards to the normative subject who, in popular discourse, comes to embody the civic state. The Muslim denizen for example, is seen as, in the first instance, being unable to adopt values of equality (e.g. sexual and gender), and accordingly, must be rehabilitated. He must be re-formed (acculturated) in order to realise a civic ethos and principles of universal equality. To paraphrase Ranciere, those with minority immigrant background are “floating citizens” whose status is provisional and indeterminate.¹⁸

Sara Ahmed argues in *Politics of Emotion* that Muslims, represented as dispositionally misogynistic, are ascribed a unique cultural property which renders their civic potential fraught. Misogyny here is ably ascribed to ‘Them’, whilst successfully excised from our own way of being. Similarly, “Homophobia is intrinsic to Islam but in the West would be seen as extrinsic, as a problem of certain *individuals*.”¹⁹

It is of course possible that the ‘native’ disavows, renounces or fails in his commitment to liberal democratic principles. However, this position of inadequacy is the minority Other’s default position. He must arrive at the civic state, whilst the indigenous is automatically, already there.

The later works of Etienne Balibar are exemplary in revealing the manner in which such ethnic associations lurk behind any supposedly civic conceptualisation of the EU state.²⁰ Here, he clarifies the discursive manoeuvre through which the Idea of Europe makes veiled references to a body politic defined by an ethnic character.

These gestures towards ethnicity need not evince positive descriptive techniques. In other words, it need not overtly indulge in making apparent which traits and practices constitute, in reality, a

is a historical product of colonialism. Its definitions of nation, nationality and citizenship are themselves historically linked to a series of ongoing exclusions of particular peoples and cultural features.”

¹⁸ Jacques Ranciere, ‘Racism: A Passion From Above’, in *Monthly Review* 9.1 (2010).

¹⁹ Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York, 2004), p. 93. Emphasis added.

²⁰ Etienne Balibar, ‘Is European Citizenship Possible’, *Public Culture* 8 (1996) and *We, the People of Europe?* (Princeton, 2004).

given ethnic whole (i.e. the slippery elusiveness of Britishness or Europeaness).²¹ Rather, it can be content in merely referencing a series of negative inscriptions. As Hall argued, any claim to identity is only efficacious in terms of what it negates.²² It is what it is not (absence) – what is denied access – which is significant in asserting a claim to presence (being). In other words, in a manner akin to classical semiotic play, it may simply define what it is not. In the instance of modelling ideal civic citizens, it generates meaning by positioning itself against those who do not automatically register as harmonious with the intended, ‘democratically desired’ demographic.²³

Herein, a revealing distinction appears between Habermas’ and Balibar’s respective reading of European solidarity and its compromises. For Habermas, the key grievance pertains to the manner in which the rhetoric of the EU state is overly reverential towards the various individual ethnic nationalisms. He is troubled by the tendency to aggregate the various singular nationalisms at a regional level. He captures this problematic in the epithet “A Europe of fatherlands.”²⁴ Balibar, on the other hand, sees a more ominous threat in Europe’s ambition to inaugurate an entirely regionalized, novel form of ethnic exclusivity. Here, the designated European peoples are contrasted to a pilloried, criminalised and racialised working class. The stress in this instance is not on the lingering presence of member-state nationalisms (which is seen as inevitable) but rather, on what he deems the nascent traces of a new set of ‘apartheid’ like relations in the signalling of a European community. The regional polity takes its formative cues from a discursively transmitted non-European, in Bhabha’s term an ‘inside-outsider’ or as Balibar terms them, the ‘foreigner of foreigners’.²⁵ As such, the Maghrebs of the banlieues, the Pakistanis of Bradford, the Turks of Berlin, the Albanians of Malmö, and the Surinamese (‘Allochtoon’) of Amsterdam are all bundled into the same signifier(s). They constitute, on a European plane, a coherent prompt specifying a demarcated Other. Whilst reviving many of the comforting meanings

²¹ Recall Bernard Crick’s ambivalent lament in ‘An Englishman Considers his Passport’ – “I am a citizen of a country with no agreed colloquial name” – which neatly captures the confusion in generating meaning from within (when lacking a well demarcated external reference).

²² Stuart Hall, ‘Who Needs ‘Identity?’’ in S. Hall and P. Du Gay (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London, 1996).

²³ Etienne Balibar, *We, the People of Europe?* (Princeton, 2004), pp. 169-71.

²⁴ Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, p. 501.

²⁵ Balibar, *We, the People of Europe?*, pp. 31-50.

associated with national narratives (Empire, pastoral idylls, whiteness, democracy) at a regional level, it also seeks to make blatant a common alien presence which makes Europe, as an imagined Self, coherent.

Ultimately, the argument developed here reveals that the socio-juridical nightmares of engineering regional/transnational citizenship cannot be resolved through an additive approach. Whereby, it cannot be merely “a new community of citizens adjacent to existing national communities.”²⁶ An additive model of European citizenship can only advance the platitudinous claim that those who are European Citizens are deemed so by virtue of ‘not being excluded from the respective member nation-states’. Such an axiom has no discursive purchase or gravitas to sustain the novel and radical energy required to legitimate a supranational state. It becomes banal. Rather, such a post-national state requires a post-national logic of citizenship, and thereby, according to Balibar, a post-national logic of exclusion.²⁷

This chimes with Jensen and Richardson’s counsel that a European identity can only obtain legitimacy if it pursues a distinctive narrative from those animating existing national states. It cannot afford to be in ‘zero-sum’ competition with the nation-state, as is to an extent confirmed in Herrmann’s oft-cited large-scale study.²⁸

Habermas too recognises that the European Idea cannot be simply a re-territorialised nation (what is less apparent is an awareness on his part of how civic pretensions might conceal a racialised, Othering operation). Or as Bauman states, “The European Union will not be and cannot be an enlarged copy of a nation-state, just as nation-states were not and could not be bigger versions of estates or parishes.”²⁹ It must reveal a qualitative shift. It is mistaken to take the most recent expression of political solidarity (the nation-state) to be the most elevated form of ‘social union/integration’. It would be remiss of any serious scholar to commit such an error of confusing the current and known for the only and eternal.

Consequently, despite Habermas being attentive to this need, Balibar’s departure from Habermasian civic-ethnic dichotomies might be recast as an emphasis on the ethnic dimension being

²⁶ Balibar, ‘Is European Citizenship Possible?’, p. 360.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 361.

²⁸ The data conclusions suggested that people who happily consent to the European project do not, in general, consider it as posing a challenge vis-à-vis the integrity of the nation-state and national identity.

²⁹ Bauman, p. 135.

covertly activated at a European level through the civic. The civic surface merely conceals its ethnic desires. Moreover, this ethnic tenor might be better understood as being entirely European and thereby, largely post-national. To equate the post-national with the post-ethnic is not a given for Balibar.

Ranciere has dubbed such forms of Othering which refrain from articulating biologically couched segregationist beliefs: 'cold racism'.³⁰ Discrimination is no longer predicated upon intuitive understandings of superior and inferior races. Instead, vilification is furthered in the name of equality: the universality of law, the equality of citizens and the equality of the sexes. Others have dubbed this process 'new' or 'cultural' racism, whereby certain minority subjects are characterised as being informed by unequivocally different cultural sets which are, more invidiously, antithetical to rational, objective conduct vis-à-vis democratic co-existence.³¹

As Paul Gilroy argues, the black man is often seen as being informed by a pathological culture, susceptible to bouts of anti-social breakdown which disrupt the common public sphere.³² Or the Muslim is seen as being overly bound by cultural values which, for instance, do not promote an appreciation of individualist secularism. Indeed, Christian Joppke earnestly suggests that Muslims find the very idea of the individual, as an autonomous agent who is to be sole author of his life, culturally alien.³³ What is being configured here is the racialised Other as "irrational" contra a European rationality which finds able expression in civic norms of equality and democracy.³⁴

The objective of the paper here is not to appraise whether such claims are justified. Perhaps, Muslims – regardless of background, class, region of origin, type of Islam subscribed to, and variation in circumstances concerning her reception by the local, 'host' community – have only one common interpretation of Islamic dogma. Perhaps such contingency does not matter and it is in fact

³⁰ Ranciere, 'Racism'.

³¹ See, for instance, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, (London, 1991), P.A. Taguieff, 'The New Cultural Racism in France', *Telos* 83 (1990) and Taguieff, *The Force of Prejudice: On Racism and its Doubles* (Minneapolis, 2000).

³² Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture* (Oxford, 2004). The most recent manifestation of this popular understanding was in David Starkey's rather hapless, avuncular performance on Newsnight where he claimed that black culture was to be blamed for the summer urban riots (Guardian 2011).

³³ Joppke, *Veil*.

³⁴ Charles W. Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca, NY, 1997).

true, that when such an individual turns to Islam for guidance they are all, *tout court*, unable to endorse a secular, inclusive public sphere.

This paper does not weigh this claim normatively. Rather, it simply suggests that the turn to such forms of Othering premised upon representations of certain ethnic subjects as lacking certain civic inclinations is not without historical antecedent.

Indeed, it might be said that the notion of cultural racism as a novel form of racially relevant exclusion intimates too significant a paradigmatic shift. It is unlikely that anyone used or uses race in a manner divorced of ethnic (cultural) connotations. It is always denoting a set of characteristics and habits which is seen to constitute some form of cultural disposition, pathology and/or incompatibility. For example, racism is never discrimination merely on account of race in itself (this would constitute a rather infantile form). Instead, it always mobilises a rationale which can excuse certain inequities and exclusions on account of the supposed cultural tendencies relevant to the group in question. In other words, race is invested with cultural (ethnic) assignments.³⁵

In the context of contemporary European ruminations on identity: ethnic particularity is seen as the preserve of those who are racialised as non-European.³⁶ It is the foreigner and his descendants, racially inscribed, who is most often the bearer of ethnicity (as a set of cultural properties). The majority is governed by Universal values, whilst the racialised gravitates to the parochialism of a particularised Culture. As Alana Lentin elegantly states, paraphrasing Du Bois: "The white Liberal can claim the badge of transcendent [objective] identity only because he has never been forced to wear any other."³⁷ Ethnicity and race is collapsed here in doing much of the same descriptive work.

To better substantiate this claim, it is instructive to visit a more focused comparison between contemporary civic idioms of Othering and one instance of the colonial model. Here, the question of Turkey with regard to EU ascension reveals some of this epochal overlap. With help from Alain Grosrichard's study of eighteenth-century French representations of Ottoman governance, it will be

³⁵ See, for example, Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1998) and John Solomos, *Race and Racism in Contemporary Britain* (Basingstoke, 1993).

³⁶ See, for instance, Paul Gilroy, 'A Response', *British Journal of Sociology*, 60.1 (2009) and Alana Lentin and Gavin Titley, *The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: Racism in a Neoliberal Age* (London, 2011).

³⁷ Lentin & Titley, p. 87.

possible to establish the manner in which the two techniques, the colonial and the civic, share not inconsiderable common ground.³⁸

It is certainly true, as detractors from the political Left make explicit, that Europe does make many desperate attempts to rekindle a explicit sense of 'Europeaness' which is not ostensibly predicated on *civic* pride. The comments made by EU president Van Rompuy are symptomatic of this attempt to Europeanize a demarcated *ethnic* collective.³⁹

Turkey is not a part of Europe and will never be part of Europe. An expansion of the EU to include Turkey cannot be considered as just another expansion as in the past. The *universal* values which are in force in Europe, and which are also fundamental values of Christianity, will lose vigour with the entry of a large Islamic country such as Turkey.⁴⁰

Though this might appear consistent with a basic *clash of civilization* thesis (Huntington 1997) which rejects certain persons outright due to them being ethnically different, the stress on *Universal* values reveals the role of civic competence as the engine which makes possible such a distinction between Us and Them.⁴¹

Seyla Benhabib, her own background being Turkish Jewish, expands on how a rejection of Turkey would result in the permanent entanglement of a *values* discourse with *ethnic* exclusion.

A 'privileged partnership', as favored by Germany's chancellor Angela Merkel, rather than full membership, smacks not only of defeat, but also of the conversion of the European Union into a 'white gentlemen's club'⁴²

She argues that the dismissal of Turkey as lacking an appropriately civic political culture should not mark it as qualitatively different from other European nations and their respective difficulties. The fact that the Netherlands, for instance, might elect into ruling coalitions far-right parties who have no interest in tolerance, is not too removed from certain Turkish ailments. Turkey will of course

³⁸ Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court*.

³⁹ Admittedly, the quote is from his time as opposition leader in Belgium.

⁴⁰ *Financial Times*, 'Van Rompuy against Turkey Membership' (2009), 11.19.2009. Emphasis added.

⁴¹ For the well-known thesis, see Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York, 1997).

⁴² Seyla Benhabib, 'Turkey and the EU: A White Gentlemen's Club', in *Kulturaustausch: Qantara.de* (2009), last accessed 29.01.2009.

struggle, in the face of rampant poverty and geo-political turbulence, to make the improvements all would like to see. But to suggest that Turkey's difficulties are qualitatively unique, as culturally ingrained, is merely the European ideal revealing its ethnic preferences.

Hence, whilst some suggest that the integration of Turkey inevitable given the increasing import of its economic (formidable growth forecasts) and geo-political (strategically placed as an energy intermediary and key cog in middle-eastern conflicts) circumstances; welcoming the Muslim in such an overt fashion is one bridge too far for many others.⁴³ Indeed, even Alan Sked, a man with many conservative instincts, is remarkably alert to how a European imagination, even if nominally positing a cluster of democratic values as its justification, relies, in the final instance, on making available an ethnic Other(s).⁴⁴ As Sked remarks, "a popular Europe is feasible, but only if we have a common enemy, like Islam for instance. But I sincerely hope that doesn't happen."⁴⁵

It is of course true that in the case of any number of Central and Eastern European countries, when their possible ascension is tabled for debate, the arguments hostile to their inclusion would often degenerate into increasingly fraught invocations of Progress(Civilisation)-Backwardness dichotomies. Indeed, the topical issue of sovereign debt has also assumed at times an uncharitable tone where a distinction is made between southern Mediterranean nations as indolent and institutionally impoverished versus the north as advanced and responsible (Financial Times 2010). However, such fractures do not reveal an unbridgeable gulf. In fact, it is not too removed from the type of regionally marked, class-relevant fault lines which continue to scar many countries (be it Great Britain and the colloquial North-South divide or Italy with a richer North – see Northern League – quick to chastise the Neapolitan/'mezzogiorno' South⁴⁶). Turkey, on the other hand, and

⁴³ Ümit Boyner, vice-president of the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association, states with conviction that, "To be honest, Turkey is too significant not to be admitted. And without integrating Turkey, the EU cannot grow to become a world power, because Turkey is a strategic factor." See Ümit Boyner, 'Interview with Ümit Boyner by Hülya Sanca: Europe Will Never Become a World Power without Turkey' *Qantara.de* (2008), last accessed 08.12.2008.

⁴⁴ The Habsburg historian better known as the founder of UKIP who quickly dissociated himself from the party.

⁴⁵ Alan Sked, 'Interview with Café Babel: A Europhile Turned Sour' (2005) 08.08.2005.

⁴⁶ An amusing saying, though far from innocent, surfaced in Italy during the recent sesquicentennial anniversary of Italian Unification. 'In 1861, it was not Italy

particularly due to the associations with Islam, is commonly recognised as the *key* frontier. 'Not just another expansion'.⁴⁷ Admitting Turkey would announce a move which is qualitatively different to the admission of any other European Nation.⁴⁸ Racially speaking, this figure carries a series of ethnic (cultural) inscriptions which render them less than ideal citizens.

Alain Grosrichard's graceful exposition on 18th century French intelligentsia's impressions of sultanate rule is a delightful detour in revealing how the denial of the Other's rational faculties was central to denying them (e.g. the Algerian Arab) the ethical treatment owing to fellow equals.

The Ottoman administration is attributed a beguiling whimsicality and arbitrariness. Coupled to this was an insatiable proclivity for carnal pleasures. Indeed, navigating and amending an intricate labyrinth of codes and taboos concerning the abundant scores of women, supinely adorning every recess of the harem compound, is presented as the primary 'legal' occupation of the Sultan, viziers and all other high-ranking officials. The absence of systematically codified legal parameters (let alone a conception of secular law) for the actual administration of the domain at large, alongside the habitual recourse to brutish displays of violence are the principle distinguishing features of the Sultan's rule. In short, hedonism and "Oriental despotism" prevail amidst the abject absence of i) rule of law, ii) of constitutional checks, iii) norms of equality, and iv) an ethos of collective betterment.⁴⁹

Perhaps Ottoman decision-making structures were in fact so. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, in his frustrated take on the fashion for

that was unified. It was Africa that was separated.' David Gilmour, *The Pursuit of Italy: A History of a Land, Its Regions and Their Peoples* (London, 2011).

⁴⁷ It is telling that UKIP's – the anti-immigration, anti-EU party – advertising prior to the 2009 European Parliamentary elections preyed on anxieties concerning Turkey's mooted ascension. The commercials profiled Turkey as a particularly ominous threat to the domestic order if the UK was to persist with EU membership.

⁴⁸ The potential issue of Russia (though never suggested as a prospective EU member) I would argue is one about voting, political imbalance whereby Russia would, understandably, use the EU as an instrument to merely further in a mercantilist manner its own self-interest. Furthermore, there remains the outstanding issue of an era-defining schism which is yet to be fully resolved. The question of harmonising relations with Ukraine or former Yugoslavian countries are thereby more suitable for comparison, wherein formerly Communist regions with Slavic majorities are prospective member-states (not to mention the Czech Republic, Poland and the Baltic countries who are already fully-fledged members).

⁴⁹ Grosrichard, p. 186.

textual inquiry which masquerades as historical analysis – allegedly precipitated by Said and to lesser extent, Grosrichard – claims that many exponents of the textual turn seem to forget that there were “actually societies out there and they were constituted politically even outside the European Imagination.”⁵⁰ This is not a concern of this paper, though it is difficult to see why the text cannot constitute a valid analytical register in its own right; as it imagery encoded with certain evaluative statements that shapes a population’s imagination and in turn, ethical judgements.

Grosrichard’s work gestures towards the manner in which such taxonomies concerning governmental systems are not about ‘reality’ as such, but are about furthering a hegemonic objective. Many regimes could be described as simultaneously liberal and despotic, but by bracketing ourselves (France/Europe) as only liberal and thereby egalitarian, the French polity at large is prompted to endorse the prevailing relations of power.⁵¹ Injustice becomes the preserve of elsewhere, the way of illiberal ‘barbarians’.

Simply, at the representational level, the Ottoman – unable to envisage any notion of universalism and uninterested in inculcating the populace with a diffuse civic code of political conduct – is read, quite naturally, as inferior.⁵² Indeed, Montesquieu famously decrees the entire Ottoman system as one of ‘Oriental Despotism’. This is not to be equated with a total dismissal of the Ottoman mode. Indeed, there was much which was alluring in this to French high society who would consume with a mystified amusement such depictions. But alluring is the operative term here. It is seen as a titillating “fantasy” of power which is, by the final reckoning, inappropriate for a society committed to some semblance of equality and the ‘common good’.⁵³ As Grosrichard argues, an attraction to such lifestyles was only to be indulged momentarily, never to be seen as worthwhile when contrasted to the first-order values which were said to be readily manifest in “our” domestic, European realm. What was uncontested at the time, was whether the representations itself were remotely accurate (nor was that important).

⁵⁰ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, ‘Frank Submissions: The Company and the Mughals between Sir Thomas Roe and Sir William Norris’ in Bowen, H.V., Lincoln, M. and Rigby, N. (eds), *The Worlds of the East India Tea Company* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 70.

⁵¹ Grosrichard, pp. 135-9.

⁵² The Ottoman is not to be read as simply those who are of Turkish background, but encompasses an entire dizzying array of ethnicities and ‘races’.

⁵³ Unbridled power wielded by the Sultan, and him alone.

It is the time [eighteenth century France] of spectacular endeavours proposing a rationally based society, a new concept of power, and so on; but in a strange counterpoint, there state, civil society, democratic liberties, citizenship, divisions of was the image of Oriental despotism as the very negative of those endeavours, their phantasmic Other.⁵⁴

Much of this is of course old hat to historians familiar with Edward Said's canonical works and, in turn, his counter-critics (e.g. David Cannadine's *Ornamentalism*). But Grosrichard, though like Said primarily a cultural theorist where cultural artefacts are read as texts to be analytically prised, restricts himself to testimonial and intellectual representations of specifically Ottoman forms of governance (despotism) as opposed to mining fictional, literary works for more general, overarching comments. In this sense, Grosrichard is more suitable to the purposes of this paper as it immediately pertains to the distinctions made regarding contrasting political systems.

Furthermore, Said is surprisingly uninterested in the visual arts. This might appear a strange omission as in nineteenth-century art Orientalism was a well-established tradition in its own right and was specifically designated as such. Orientalism was not a particular technique but denoted a cluster of depicted themes. Hence, the expressive romanticism of Delacroix, the neo-classicism of Ingres, and the saccharine Academicism of Gerome all fell under, at different occasions, the Orientalism appellation. Their unity concerns the subject matter portrayed – scenes allegedly sourced from actual Oriental life. In short, the designation was anthropological, as opposed to aesthetic.

The representational standards central to this genre revelled in tales of barbarism, radiant displays of wanton colour, lounging, docile women and a life of excessive ease.⁵⁵ There were also a number of paintings which detailed political life - apart from the much fetishised Sultan's harem – where it was the courts and norms governing political practice which were the themes tackled. One painting in particular rendered by the now largely anonymous Henri Regnault is exceptionally telling of the type of approach Orientalist art assumed when depicting matters of governance.⁵⁶

The title of the painting –which vividly shows a monumental Moor wielding a sword and standing in a stately fashion above a

⁵⁴ Grosrichard, p. 20.

⁵⁵ See, for instance, Christine Peltre, *Orientalism* (Paris, 2004).

⁵⁶ The term is not intended pejoratively but is a mere reference to the general term under which such art was grouped at the time by art critics and connoisseurs.

freshly decapitated corpse (the newly let blood runs in a brilliant red) – is itself indicative: ‘Execution *without* Trial under Moorish Rule’ (emphasis added). Interesting here is the infatuation with the prevalent practise of extra-judicial, summary killings seen as customary to the Orient. Again, there is plenty to suggest that such acts were indeed frequent (as it would have been throughout the world), but my analytical interest lies elsewhere. Nineteenth century eyes would feast on this intimation of dramatic barbarism which contrasted so starkly with the civilized ideals of political practice they had arrogated for themselves.

On a less overt level is Delacroix’s ‘Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi’. The bloody campaign in the early nineteenth century for Greek self-determination – which is allegorically rendered in the painting – had stirred much support amongst the European Left.⁵⁷ The struggle as one for Liberty was ascribed an incipient Republican spirit denied to them by Ottoman authoritarianism. In ‘Greece on the Ruins’, we see the female personification of Greece, standing atop the debris resulting from the latest Ottoman massacre (April, 1826), gesturing plaintively as their noble, pure aspiration is yet again thwarted; whilst a steely dark-skinned Ottoman soldier clutching his standard is glimpsed triumphant in the background. Not incidentally I believe, the female model for Greece, is the very same as she who embodies the revived spirit of egalitarian Republicanism in Delacroix’s fabled homage to the failed French revolution of 1830: ‘Liberty Leading the People’ (Febbraro and Schwetje 2010: 254-262).⁵⁸

Delacroix projects upon the Greek cause the nascent traces of a Universalist political undertaking whilst the Ottoman figure represents the grim alternative of tyrannical despotism. This is not to say that his sympathies were misplaced. Indeed, it was in many ways a dignified struggle for self-determination typical of the Romantic spirit. Rather, it is simply so that the representational

⁵⁷ These sympathies included a combination of Constitutionals, Republicans, Nationalists, proto-Anarchists, and proto-socialists. As Febbraro and Schwetze state on p. 256 of *How to Read World History in Art*, “Europe’s intellectuals and artists and patriots, all of them supported the Hellenic cause – considered a people’s struggle for freedom –against the Turks, who were equated with cruel and inhuman barbarity.” Notable amongst these supporters was Lord Byron, Santorre di Santarosa and The Vicomte de Chateaubriand. Byron eventually died in Greece having journeyed down like many others to assist in the campaign.

⁵⁸ Flavio Febbraro and Burkhard Schwetze, *How to Read World History in Art* (London, 2010), pp. 254-262.

scheme active in the painting exploits the popular framing of dignified, European civic ideals contra Eastern, irrational brutality.

It was common for the 'Oriental' political system to be denied any conception of justice which remotely marries with 'our' own cherished values. As it happens, as an instructive concluding note, it is worth mentioning the current resurgence in historical interest for the Levantine world's stance towards pluralism.⁵⁹ This ability to respectfully manage, however imperfectly, an ethnically diverse population is considered by many a useful reference for some of the problems currently troubling Europe.⁶⁰ Yet, in the circulation of representations concerning the Ottoman world, any such consideration of just principles and the application of civic norms is remarkable by its absence.

Given the circulation of such framings which made it reasonable to consider certain Other figures as 'inferiors', such depictions served a distinct ideological function. Indeed, the ubiquitous critical theorist Slavoj Žižek commends Grosrichard's book as "A classic of the theory of ideology." By generating such impressions of the Ottoman, a rationale could be rallied which legitimated the reading of the 'Oriental' figure as inferior.

It is often said that racism in the past is to be properly contextualised as 'they knew no better.' Whilst correct, it might be helpful to rephrase this somewhat: 'They simply knew.' The Othering of the 'Oriental' was *logical*. To paraphrase Gramsci, it is not simply the case that racism was acceptable in one era and not another, but rather, a rationale was available which rendered certain exclusions 'commonsensical'.

The Ottoman was ill-disposed to cultivate those civic virtues constitutive of an enlightened social order. Consequently, with regard to the contemporary conjuncture and the European Imagination – "a cultural narrative achieving its own type of coherence and unity" – the exclusion of certain bodies rests on a similar rationale.⁶¹ If Europe coordinates itself around certain democratic, participatory values, it is not illogical to intuitively exclude certain figures who seem, at first glance, ill-inclined to assume those very values. Hence, the fact that certain ethnic groups

⁵⁹ Notably Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (London, 2010).

⁶⁰ Paul Gilroy, 'Untitled Concluding Talk' at Research Institute for Cosmopolitan Cultures Conference: Multiculture, Conviviality and Cosmopolitanism (2011), 07/06/2011.

⁶¹ Monica Sassatelli, 'European Identity between Flows and Places', *Sociology* 44.1 (2010), p. 68.

are portrayed by prevailing representational cycles as being culturally hostile to these values leads to an entirely sanctioned, reasonable form of Othering.⁶²

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⁶² Both those already inside – descendents of a much resented migrant constituency – as well as those countries and refugees at the European frontier (e.g. Turkey).

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