GROUNDINGS

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EDITORIAL

The 10th volume of Groundings marks a milestone for the journal. Having been founded by the Dialectic Society in 2007, Groundings continues to offer opportunities to explore wide ranges of topics in the pursuit of knowledge and enlightenment.

The theme for volume X came naturally and reflected the turmoil of our modern time. Recent political developments in the United Kingdom with Brexit, and the elections in the United States served as inspiration to a great extent, but also developments in technology that may alter how we interact and develop as a society. *Destruction, Progress, and Uncertainty* thus invited students to reflect on wider societal changes, but also engage the contested nature of what qualifies as progress or destruction in a wider setting.

Volume X showcases a range of academic talent in a broad range of disciplines, from economics to history of art. The immense efforts and passions of the authors published here serves to uphold *Groundings* reputation as a unique and important platform for undergraduate thought, and as an invaluable source to the broader academic community. The Editorial Board offers its sincerest thanks to all who made this year's publication possible, including: the academic advisory board, their staff, and every person who submitted work to the journal. Unique in its ability to encourage debate in academic work without confinement of thought, *Groundings*, and sister publication *Groundings Ancients* here continue to be characterised by their commitment to excellence. *Fiat Lux.*

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An Economic Crisis In Perspective: The Currency Debate and Uncertainty
Joakim Book Jönsson

Uncertainty is a powerful concept in many ways, particularly so for economic ideas. The convictions before the financial crisis in 2007-8 that business cycles had been tamed was not the first time neglect of uncertainty proved devastating. This essay discusses the famous Currency controversy in mid-19th century Britain and the failure to take uncertainty into consideration, which ultimately lead to the banking crisis of 1847. The unintended consequences of the Bank Act of 1844 revealed themselves spectacularly in 1847, in the same way convictions about the Great Moderation fell apart in 2007-8.

The financial crisis of 2007-8 raised much criticism against economists from a plethora of perspectives. Some argued that the fault lay with formal economic models unable to explain the crisis[1], others that their emphasis on mathematics and static analysis were particularly to blame.[2] Many attacked economists' institutions and incentives, and economists across the ideological spectrum were quickly

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[1] P. Romer 'The trouble with macroeconomics', *The American Economist (Forthcoming)* accessed Oct 2016 via https://paulromer.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/WP-Trouble.pdf; M. Lavoie 'Rethinking macroeconomic theory before the next crisis', Institute for New Economic Thinking (2016): https://www.ineteconomics.org/perspectives/blog/rethinking-macro-theory; D. Colander, M. Goldberg, A. Haas, K. Juselius, A. Kirman, T. Lux, and B. Sloth, 'The financial crisis and the systemic failure of the economics profession', *Critical Review*, 21 (2009).
[2] G. Gorton, *Misunderstanding Crisis: Why We Don't See Them Coming,* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2012); R. Frydman and M.D. Goldberg, *Beyond Mechanical Markets: Asset Price Swings, Risk and the Role of the State.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press (2011).

pointing fingers at their typical villains.[3] Even the Queen briefly joined the ranks of unwavering critics, asking the profession why nobody saw the crisis coming.[4]

In his book about the financial crisis, the former Governor of the Bank of England ('The Bank'), Mervyn King takes a step back and introduces a slightly different analysis: uncertainty in economic life matters. For a period between the mid-1980s and 2007 often referred to as 'The Great Moderation'[5], private-sector agents and policy-makers alike took the recent past for granted, forgetting about uncertainty since the problem of depressions and business cycles had seemed conquered. King blames the crisis itself on this idealistic development:[6]

> 'Economists have brought the problem upon themselves by pretending that they can forecast. No one can easily predict an unknowable future, and economists are no exception'[7]

> 'At the heart of modern macroeconomics is the same illusion that uncertainty can be confined to the mathematical manipulation of known probabilities.'[8]

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[3] B. S. Bernanke, 'Implications of the financial crisis for economics', *Federal Reserve Board*, conference by the Center for Economic Policy Studies and Bendheim Center for Finance, Princeton University, Sept 24, 2010:
https://www.federalreserve.gov/newsevents/speech/bernanke20100924a.htm; D. Colander 'The economics profession, the financial crisis, and method', *Journal of Economic Methodology*, 17 (2010); J. Taylor, 'Causes of the financial crisis and the slow recovery: a 10-year perspective', SIEPR Discussion Paper No.13-026:
http://siepr.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/publications/Causes_of_the_Financial_Crisis_2.pdf;
A.M. Shaikh, *Capitalism: Competition, Conflict, Crises.* New York: Oxford University Press (2016); A.M. Shaikh 'The first great depression of the 21st century', *Socialist Register*, 47 (2011); J.T. Salerno, 'A reformulation of the Austrian Business Cycle Theory in light of the financial crisis', *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, 15 (2012).
[4] *Financial Times*, 'The economic forecasters' failing vision', Nov 25 (2008):
https://www.ft.com/content/50007754-ca35-11dd-93e5-000077b07658
[5] B. S. Bernanke, , 'The Great Moderation', *Federal Reserve Board*, at the meeting of the Eastern Economic Association Feb 20, 2004:
https://www.federalreserve.gov/boarddocs/speeches/2004/20040220/.
[6] M. King, *The End of Alchemy: Money, Banking and the Future of the Global Economy.* London: Little, Brown.
[7] King, *Alchemy,* 4.
[8] King, *Alchemy*, 121.

Economic actions are much less reliable than are predictions for scientific phenomena, King asserts, for the simple reason that they depend on human behaviour, that sometimes changes when acquiring new information, as opposed to inanimate objects that generally do not internalise information. He concludes forcefully: 'Uncertainty – radical uncertainty – is the spice of life'[9]. There is a long tradition in economic thinking regarding the concept of uncertainty, with notable proponents including Frank Knight, John Maynard Keynes and Joseph Schumpeter.[10]

Much like the crisis of 2007-8, the very same failure to appreciate uncertainty in the domain of economics occurred in Britain 160 years before the run on Northern Rock.[11] Leading up to the banking crisis of 1847, similar convictions of conquering uncertainty were present. The early 1840s were dominated by famous debates in the realm of economic ideas, in which the Currency School prevailed over the Banking School. Their victory was enclosed in the Peel Banking Charter Act of 1844, which would govern the Bank of England's operations until the World War I.[12] The failure to appreciate uncertainty and the unintended consequences following the legislation are vital puzzle pieces in explaining the crisis of 1847[13]; in the very same way, the uncanny convictions before the financial crisis in 2007-8

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[9] King, *Alchemy*, 129.

[10] For more on their respective positions and its implication for economic theory, see J.A. Schumpeter J.A, *The Theory of Economic Development*, London: Transaction Publishers (1983); P. Krugman, 'Mr Keynes and the moderns'; Centre for Economic Policy Research, VOXeu.org, accessed April 25, 2017: http://voxeu.org/article/mr-keynes-and-moderns; H. Hoppe, 'The limits of numerical probability: Frank H. Knight and Ludwig von Mises and the frequency interpretation', *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, 10 (2007); L. Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*, Scholar's edition. Auburn, Alabama: Ludwig von Mises Institute (1998). P. Dizikes, 'Explained: Knightian Uncertainty', *MIT News,* June 2, 2010: http://news.mit.edu/2010/explained-knightian-0602.

[11] H.S. Shin, 'Reflections on Northern Rock: the bank run that heralded the global financial crisis', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 23 (2009), 101-119.

[12] V. C. Smith, *The Rationale of Central Banking and the Free Banking Alternative.* Indianapolis: Liberty Fund Press (1936), 21; J.D. Turner, *Banking in Crisis: the Rise and Fall of British Banking Stability 1800 to the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2014), 75-77; M. Daugherty, 'The Currency-Banking controversy: part 1', *Southern Economic Journal*, 9 (1942), 140.

[13] G. Campbell, 'Government policy during the British railway mania and the 1847 commercial crisis', in Dimsdale, N. and Hotson, A., eds., *British Financial Crises Since 1825.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2014), 73; F. Capie, S. Fischer, and C. Goodhart, 'Central Banking', in F. Capie, S. Fischer, and C. Goodhart and N. Schnadt, eds, *The Future of Central Banking: The Tercentenary Symposium of the Bank of England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1994), 83-84.

that business cycles had been tamed and depressions banished to the dustbins of history, inform us how dangerous neglect of uncertainty can be.[14]

By looking into the debates surrounding Peel's Act of 1844, this essay simultaneously achieves two purposes: first, refreshing knowledge of the Currency debates has a value in itself since the debate is among the most important in the history of economics and the ideas raised then had bearing on economic thinking until our days[15]; second, it provides us with another example of a financial crisis, beyond the commonly-mentioned parallel to the Great Depression, where neglecting uncertainty was fundamental to the development of that crisis.[16] Below the core points of the controversy are described, followed by a more detailed explanation of either side and the Bank legislation of 1844, before concluding with a brief discussing with regards to uncertainty and the 2007-8 financial crisis.

THE MID-1840S: CURRENCY, BANKING AND THE 1847 CRISIS

The mid-19th century Currency debates developed from the Bullionist debates earlier in the century, and can reasonably be said to have begun with Robert Torrens's 66-page pamphlet in 1837.[17] In that year alone more pamphlets were published on the topic of the currency than in over a decade, and during the following years journals, books and even more pamphlets as well as parliamentary enquiries were dedicated to the topic. The background for their writing was the many banking crises of the 1820s and 1830s, and a sense that price inflation from

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[14] On this, see infamous pre-crisis work by Bernanke 'Great Moderation'; O.J. Blanchard 'The state of macro', NBER Working Paper 14259: http://www.nber.org/papers/w14259.pdf 2008; R. Lucas 'Macroeconomic priorities', presidential address delivered at the one-hundred and fifteenth meeting of the American Economic Association, Jan 4, 2003: http://pages.stern.nyu.edu/~dbackus/Taxes/Lucas%20priorities%20AER%202003.pdf. More on this below.

[15] Capie *et al*, 'Central banking',80-85; Smith, *Rationale*, 21; Daugherty, 'Controversy: part 1',140; F. Fetter, *Development of British Monetary Orthodoxy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, vii.

[16] On the parallel between the Great Recession of 2007-8 and the Great Depression of the 1930s, see B. Eichengreen *Hall of Mirrors: The Great Depression, the Great Recession and the Uses – and Misuses – of History*, New York: Oxford University Press (2015).

[17] R. Torrens, *A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Melbourne, on the Causes of the Recent Derangement in the Money Market and on Bank Reform.* London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green (1837).

the Napoleonic wars and the rate at which gold convertibility was eventually re-established had something to do with it.[18]

TABLE 1: A Schedule of the Currency and Banking Controversy		
CURRENCY SCHOOL	CLASH	BANKING SCHOOL
Notable contributors: Robert Torrens Samuel Jones Loyd George Warde Norman James McCulloch		*Notable contributors:* Thomas Tooke John Fullarton John Stuart Mill James Wilson
It did not, but it *should*.	**(1)** Metallic Currency: whether the monetary system *did* and *should* behave as if it were consisted entirely of gold.	It *did* not, and *should* not. Trying to, would produce financial crises.
Strict rules laid down by parliament to ensure (1).	**(2)** Bank of England decision with regards to the currency steered by Discretion of the Governors or by strict Parliamentary decree.	Discretion, flexibility. Some gold drains should not contract the outstanding notes.
Fundamentally different. Distinct concepts, business and functions. The Bank of England is ultimately in charge of the money supply.	**(3)** Whether notes and deposits were the same. Whether the Bank of England could control the money supply.	Same thing, same economic function, that could be instantly translated into one another. No bank could effectively control the supply of money.
Note issuance, all notes in circulation, quantity theory of money (QTM).	**(4)** Price formation; what governed prices and the price level in the economy	*Real factors*: incomes, shortages, availability and preferences.

Sources: see text.

The contributors on either side of the dispute broadly disagreed in four major ways with regards to money, bank notes and Bank of England policy, as seen in Table 1: first, whether the currency system did or did not act as a currency based on a metal (gold or silver) would, and whether that was desirable; second, whether Bank of England decisions with regards to the metallic currency should be placed at the discretion of the Governors, or limited by strict parliamentary decree; third, the relationship between notes and deposits, and their economic function; fourth, as a spin-off to the third, how prices were established in the market and the influence acting upon them by notes and deposits respectively.[19]

The impetus for Torrens and other Currency School writers such as Samuel Jones Loyd (banker and politician), George Warde Norman (Bank of England Governor) and James McCulloch (journalist, professor of political economy) came out of concerns about note convertibility into gold, and a disapproval with how the Bank had let its reserves fall in the 1820s and 1830s. Under the gold standard, the Bank of England ensured note convertibility by paying out gold on demand when presented with Bank of England notes. In order to uphold the convertibility, a sufficient reserve of gold at the Bank was vital; an international drain of gold undermined outstanding notes and could threaten the convertibility and the economy, through a mechanism referred to as the 'price-specie-flow' mechanism. This mechanism, commonly first attributed to David Hume, describes how higher domestic prices due to note-issuing reduces international competitiveness, which creates a trade deficit settled by gold flowing out of the country. That causes a pressure on prices to fall in the home economy, and to increase in the receiving country, re-establishing the relative international competitiveness and correcting the gold flows. The flow of gold could also be influenced by the relative interest rates between countries; increasing (decreasing) the Bank interest rate, attracted (discouraged) speculative gold flows.[20] Excessive domestic note-issuing could thus threaten the gold reserve of the Bank.

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[19] Daugherty, 'Controversy: part 1', 145-152; M. Daugherty, 'The Currency-Banking Controversy: II', *Southern Economic Journal*, vol. 9 (1943), 245-47; Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 165-201; Morgan, V.E., *The Theory and Practice of Central Banking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1943), 120-164; Smith, *Rationale*, 22, 75-81; Capie *et al*, 'Central banking', 80-85.
[20] Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 167-70; Daugherty, 'Controversy: Part 1', 142-46; Morgan, *Theory*, 127; Collins, M., *Money and Banking in the UK: a History*. London: Croom Helm (1988), 173-74; Library of Economics and Liberty, 'David Hume', *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*, accessed April 25, 2017: http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/bios/Hume.html. In the 19th century 'interest rate' was also referred to as 'discount rate'; the two terms are used interchangeably throughout the essay.

To protect the note convertibility the Bank, in accordance with the price-specie-flow mechanism, had to raise its discount rates quickly to attract gold, which, according to the Currency School writers caused commercial crises and instability in the money markets.[21] Torrens wrote:

> when, at the same time, the Bank directors do not draw in their notes, as their treasure is withdrawn, the drain upon their coffers is continued until the Bank is in danger of stopping payment. To avert this danger, the Bank directors resort to a late and violent action on the circulation; they disregard the rule of keeping their securities even; they raise the rate of interest; they refuse bills of unquestionable character; they sell exchequer bills; and thus create alarm and distrust [...].[22]

Since outstanding notes did not fluctuate as they would have done under an all-metallic currency system, the pre-1844 monetary system was considered a disaster that had to be corrected by making notes properly vary with gold holdings.[23] If they did, the Currency School's proponents argued, the problems of gold drains would be much less severe, and the recurrent panics in the financial markets would end.[24]

As for the second dispute, regarding discretionary Bank action, they considered monetary problems exacerbated by Bank actions, and thus suggested imposing strict limitations in Bank note-issuing behaviour.[25] Capie *et al* considers this dispute to be an intellectual forerunner of the Monetarist vs. Keynesian clash over central bank policies and monetary targets in the 1980s, in Britain mostly associated with the reasoning behind Margaret Thatcher's economic policies.[26]

Regarding the third point of controversy, the relationship between notes and deposits, what united the Currency School writers was their passionate claims that notes and deposits were completely separate business activities and even different economic concepts. For instance, economic historian Frank Fetter describes Loyd's

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[21] Torrens, *Letter,* 40-42; Daugherty, 'Controversy: Part 1', 141, 145-46; Smith, *Rationale*, 20.
[22] Torrens, *Letter*, 41.
[23] J. Clapham, J., *Bank of England: a History*, volume II 1797-1914. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1944), 172, 182.
[24] N.T. Skaggs, N.T 'Banking and Currency Schools', in G. Faccarello, and D.K. Kurz, eds, *Handbook on the History of Economic Analysis Volume II: Schools of Thought in Economics*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar (2016), 185; Daugherty, 'Controversy: Part 1', 146.
[25] Daugherty, 'Controversy: Part 1', 142-46; Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 167-172; Smith, *Rationale*, 75.
[26] Capie *et al*, 80-83; White, *Clash*, 321-28.

conviction that 'no man in his right mind could question that note issuing and deposit business were completely separate', similarly stated by other Currency School writers.[27] Daugherty qualifies their position somewhat in pointing out that only *some* Currency School writers completely denied that deposits were money, whereas others regarded deposits as the top of a structure where gold and notes were the base; the impact on deposits would strictly follow the impact on notes, and so only notes needed to be regulated and made to fluctuate with gold. Hence, deposits were secondary to notes in every aspect.[28]

Lastly, on the fourth point concerning how prices were established, the Currency School relied almost entirely on a version of what later became known as the Quantity Theory of Money (QTM). Building on earlier work by Henry Thornton and David Ricardo[29], they concluded that the 'overissue' of notes was chiefly responsible for high price inflation, and that there was a proportional relation between the quantity of notes in the economy and the prices of goods and commodities.[30]

The legislation Prime Minister Robert Peel proposed in May 1844 (and Parliament subsequently passed in August) was almost entirely based on Currency School ideas since Robert Peel was 'of their persuasion'.[31] He nevertheless seemed to have had very little connection with the proponents of the Currency School, and the bill can truly be referred to as 'Peel's Act'; it is an indication either of his skill as a politician

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[27] Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 169-73, quote from p. 171; G. W. Norman, *Remarks Upon Some Prevalent Errors, With Respect to Currency and Banking.* London: Pelham Richardson (1838), 96-7; Daugherty, 'Controversy: part 1', 145-50.

[28] Daugherty, 'Controversy: part 1', 146-47.

[29] H. Thornton, *An Enquiry Into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain.* London: J. Hatchard (1802); D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.* London: John Murray (1821); Library of Economics and Liberty, 'David Ricardo', *Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*, 2008. Accessed Dec 20, 2016:
http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/bios/Ricardo.html.

[30] Daugherty, 'Controversy: Part 1', 141, 145-7, 152; Capie *et al*, 'Central banking', 81; Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 189-91; House of Commons, Thomas Tooke's testimony, Q.5301-Q.5493, pp. 410-433, *First report from the Secret Committee on Commercial Distress; with the Minutes of Evidence,* No. 395. London: (1848), Q. 5395-5397.

[31] Capie *et al*, 'Central banking, 83; Skaggs, 'Banking'; C. P. Kindleberger and R. Z. Aliber, *Manias, Panics and Crashes: a History of Financial Crises.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan (2011), 215-6.

or the dominance of the Currency School ideas in Britain that the legislation so 'faithfully produced the main proposals of the Currency School'.[32]

There were three main parts of the law. First, the Bank was separated into an Issue Department charged with upholding convertibility, and a Banking department, acting as any other profit-seeking commercial bank, which had to honour its liabilities by holding sufficient reserves to cover its deposits. Second, the Issue Department's first £14 million were backed against government securities, after which any additional note issuing had to vary one-for-one with gold bullion, allegedly making the currency behave as if it were gold. Third, any then-issuing bank could not exceed their current levels of issued notes, and newly created banks did not have the right to issue.[33] Campbell describes the key feature as follows:

> Under the system prior to the Bank Charter Act, the Bank had to retain sufficient total reserves to ensure *both* the convertibility of notes to gold, and to cover its deposits. Under the new system the reserve in the Issue Department ensured convertibility, and the reserve in the Banking Department covered deposits. The reserve of one department could not be used to meet the needs of the other.[34]

Although the writings of the Currency School were vastly influential and considered the 'approved doctrine of the day'[35], there was no scarcity of critics. The best of them, considered leaders of the Banking School, include Thomas Tooke, John Fullarton and John Stuart Mill.[36] Their opposing opinions initially came out of pamphlets in the late-1830s and testimonies to the parliamentary committees in 1840 and 1841, but more vigorously in publications in 1844 before and after Peel's Act was made into law. The most reasoned arguments come out of Thomas Tooke's

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[32] Quote found in Capie *et al*, 'Central banking, 83; Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 182-84; Daugherty, 'Controversy: Part 1', 148, 155; Smith, *Rationale*, 21; Clapham, *Bank*, 177-78; Collins, *Money*, 172-73.

[33] Clapham, *Bank*, 183, 188-89; Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 184-186.

[34] Campbell, 'Government', 72-3, emphasis added.

[35] Daugherty, 'Controversy: II', 245.

[36] White, *Clash,* 89; Smith, M., 'Tooke, Thomas, and Ricardo' in Heinz D. K. and Salvadori, N., eds., *The Elgar Companion to David Ricardo.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar (2015), 559-561.

An Inquiry into the Currency Principle and John Fullarton's *On the Regulation of Currencies* as well as John Stuart Mill's article in the *Westminster Review*.[37]

Their arguments were, at once, more intertwined and less consistent than the Currency School, which Fetter attributes to a strategic desire of attacking the Currency School and Peel's Act by every means possible rather than constructing a coherent monetary theory.[38] Their opposition fundamentally stemmed from considering notes and deposits to have 'the same economic function'[39], the distinction attributed to them by the Currency School invalid.[40] Fullarton's vicious attack is, by modern standards, both correct and very amusing:

> the same action on prices which you attribute to the occasional excesses of a circulation of notes [...] must be exercised in a far greater degree by the excessive use of other forms of credit, which perform precisely the same offices in exchange that are performed by the notes, but probably to ten times the extent. [...]
>
> Nothing so preposterous can ever be maintained, as that the same payment, which contributes to a rise of the market, when made through the instrumentality of banknotes, will have no such consequence if effected by the transfer of a bill of exchange or by an adjustment of set-off in a banker's books; or, to put the absurdity at once in its most glaring light, that the action of any given facility of credit on price depends not at all on the *essential nature and tendency of the transaction, but simply on the particular piece of paper on which the amount of credit may happen to be inscribed.*[41]

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[37] Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 172-74, 186-87.

[38] Although Smith points out that Tooke's monetary theory was as consistent and complete as Ricardo's, Smith, M., 'Tooke, Thomas, and Ricardo' in Heinz D.K. and Salvadori, N., eds., *The Elgar Companion to David Ricardo.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar (2015), 561; Schumpeter holds Tooke's and Fullarton's contributions as the most systematically presented cases, J. A. Schumpeter, J.A., *History of Economic Analysis.* New York: Oxford University Press (1954), 726. See also Skaggs, 'Banking', 182 for the same point.

[39] Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 172-73,191.

[40] Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 188-92.

[41] J. Fullarton, *On the Regulation of Currencies; Being an Examination of the Principles, on Which it is Proposed to Restrict, Within Certain Fixed Limits, the Future Issues of Credit of the Bank of England, and of the Other Banking Establishments Throughout the Country.* London: John Murray (1844), 40-41, emphasis added.

He concluded that the entirety of deposits could be instantly turned into notes or all notes into checkable accounts, with no real economic consequences whatsoever.[42] Basing their arguments on similar remarks, the Banking School rejected the entire idea of making notes vary with gold holdings, since they neither believed it possible for any bank to control money, nor that Peel's Act was particularly relevant since the alleged harms coming from overissuing of notes must be equally applicable to deposits, which the legislation took no consideration of.[43] The Banking School proponents went even further and denied the proto-QTM, embracing the Real Bills doctrine stemming from Adam Smith, and concluded that prices are governed by real rather than monetary factors. They sometimes even reversed the causality of the QTM, arguing that the amount of notes and deposits depended on prices; because of what they called the Law of Reflux, "excess" money would be returned to the banking sector and fail to produce any effect on prices.[44] The intellectual importance and rigour of this reversal is questionable, and hence Schumpeter calls it 'downright silly'[45] before qualifying it as a strategic overshot in the context of the Currency School's religious objection to anything but a stable proportionate relation. Hence, in regard to the third and fourth points discussed above, the Banking School took the exact opposite positions from the Currency School, arguing that notes and deposits are essentially the same thing, and that note issuance did not govern prices, but real factors did.

In regard to the first dispute, over the need for notes to act as a metallic currency would, the Banking School writers peculiarly enough accepted the need for a gold standard and note convertibility (as opposed to their Anti-Bullionist intellectual predecessors[46]), but denied the Currency School's assertions that the pre-1844 system did not act as that currency standard. In fact, the previous systems where notes had not varied proportionately with bullion holdings was a necessary outcome of the inability for the Bank of England to control deposits and the fact that reserves could swamp the movement of bullion. Since the Banking School writers

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[42] Fullarton, *Regulation*, 40-41.

[43] Tooke, Tooke, T., *An Inquiry Into the Currency Principle: the Connection of the Currency with Prices and the Expediency of a Separation of Issue from Banking.* London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green (1844), 122-23; Tooke's testimony to the *Secret Committee*, Q. 5377, Q. 5381-82, Q. 5400; Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 188-92; Smith, *Rationale*, 89; Morgan, *The Theory*, 126.

[44] Tooke, *Inquiry*, 123-24; Fetter, *Orthodoxy*, 193; Tooke's testimony to the *Secret Committee*, Q. 5429-30, 5460; N.T. Skaggs, 'John Fullarton's Law of Reflux and central bank policy', *History of Political Economy*, 23 (1991), 458-59; G.A. Selgin, 'The analytical framework of the Real-Bills doctrine', *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical* Economics, 489-93.

[45] Schumpeter, *History*, 709.

[46] Skaggs, 'Fullarton', 462-64.

believed that most international flows of gold 'would end spontaneously' with no 'corrective action on the part of the Bank' required, they advocated a less strict approach where the Bank facing a gold drain should exercise caution and use its good judgement until they were certain of its 'deep-seated causes'[47].

The Currency School put their trust in the international equilibration of gold bullion through the price-specie-flow mechanism; by attempting to connect the outstanding notes with the Bank gold bullion, they believed that the mechanism was ensured, preventing inflation and moderating crises. What they failed to recognize was that the reserve holdings of the Bank also mattered for the total money in circulation; if, while the Issue department redeemed notes in face of an external gold flow, the Banking department reduced its reserves, the total money in circulation in the British economy would not shrink, and so the price-specie-flow mechanism would be disrupted. What became clear during the crisis of 1847 was how changes in reserves in fact *did* overshadow the flow of bullion, taking many Currency School writers by complete surprise. The economic historian John Clapham discussed a speech by Francis Baring in the House of Commons in 1847 shortly after the crisis had begun where he expressed this confusion very well; that '£7m of gold should run off, and yet the notes in the hands of the public should rather increase than diminish'[48] was completely unfathomable to most observers, save perhaps the Banking School writers. In his 2014 article Campbell showed that despite large-scale redemption of notes, the Issue department's actions were sterilised by the falling reserve in the Banking department, maintaining the money in circulation fairly stable.[49]

After having constructed a monetary system that policy-makers and Currency School writers believed would prevent large-scale financial crises and overissuing of notes, they saw 'to their sorrow'[50] the Banking department reverse their efforts when its reserve fell by similar amounts; because they misjudged that possibility, they mistakenly believed that the problem of financial crises was solved, or at least greatly reduced. As Capie *et al* concluded, the Currency School won the intellectual

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[47] Quotes from Daugherty, 'Controversy: Part 1', 154; Selgin 'Analytical Framework', 492; Fullarton, *Regulation*, 40, 50-51; Tooke, *Inquiry*, 121-22; Morgan, *The Theory*, 140; Fetter, *Orthodoxy,* 189.

[48] Clapham, *Bank*, 195.

[49] Clapham, *Bank*, 196; Campbell, 'Government', 71-3. See also R. Dornbusch, and J.A. Frenkel, 'The gold standard crisis of 1847', *Journal of International Economics*, 16 (1984), 11-12; Collins, *Money*, 175-77.

[50] Skaggs, 'Banking', 186.

battle of the 1840s, with the passing of the Banking Act of 1844.[51] Yet in many ways they lost the war, failing to prevent the recurrence of crises or diminish their impact.[52] Campbell points to the 'unintended consequences' of Peel's Act, and concludes that 'the automatic stabilization which it was intended to provide was nullified by the management of the Banking reserve.'[53]

THE GREAT RECESSION OF 2007-8

The over-reliance shown by economists and policy-makers in 1844 of the nature of a metallic money standard, combined with the stabilising workings of the price-specie-flow mechanism illustrates very well the problem of real-world uncertainty in economic policy-making. It is all too tempting for economic actors and policy-makers to downplay risks on account of some major change to the financial system. In the run-up to the 2007-8 crisis, policy-makers and economists confidently believed that they had conquered the problem of business cycles, not unlike what Currency School writers imagined in the 1840s, or economists did during the "roaring 1920s"[54]:

> Above all, there was the naïve belief that policy had tamed the cycle. In the 1920s it was said that the world had entered a "New Era" of economic stability with the establishment of the Federal Reserve System and independent central banks in other countries. The period leading up to the Great Recession was similarly thought to constitute a 'Great Moderation' in which business cycle volatility was diminished by advances in central banking.[55]

A belief spreads that this time is somehow different, on account of completely different circumstances; in the late-2000s, globalisation, securitised debt or technological advanced were commonly given as reasons.[56] The role this conviction plays in financial manias or business cycle is well-described in economic

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[51] Smith, *Rationale*, p. 21; Daugherty, 'Controversy: Part 1', p. 140

[52] Capie *et al*, 'Central banking', 83-84.

[53] Campbell, 'Government', 73.

[54] White, *Clash*, chapter 3.

[55] Eichengreen, *Hall of Mirrors*, 3. See also 20-21, 85-87.

[56] C.M Reinhart, and K.S. Rogoff, *This Time is Difference: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press (2009), 15-20; Eichengreen, *Hall of Mirrors*, 88.

literature.[57] In particular for the 2007-8 crisis, serious incentive problems up and down the "mortgage origination-extension-securitization chain"[58] were caused by a combination of government subsidies, programs geared towards "affordable housing"[59], regulatory capture, the illusion of safety from diversification, financial innovation and opaque products, a mentality of too-big-to-fail fostered by accommodative central banks and over-confident politicians and regulators.[60] This is how Eichengreen, for instance, describes the role of ratings agencies:

> Investors should have known better than to rely on gatekeepers with such dubious incentives. But the complexity of the securities in question made it difficult to independently evaluate the risks. As in any boom period, the rising share of naive investors in the market [...] made it even less likely that the ratings agencies would be caught out.[61]

Of course, this false sense of security and prosperity was hardly limited to shady bankers, financial firms or governments faced with political incentives, but stemmed from an honest belief that this time was different.[62] Ben Bernanke in 2004, while a member of the governing body of the Federal Reserve, were among those who believed that the 2000s was meaningfully different. He described the macroeconomic stability of the preceding decades as a success of monetary policy as well structural changes in the international economy:

> The reduction in the volatility of output is also closely associated with the fact that recessions have become

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[57] See for instance Kindleberger and Aliber, *Manias*, or H. Minsky, H. P *Stabilizing an Unstable Economy*. New Haven: Yale University Press (1986).

[58] Eichengreen, *Hall of Mirrors*, 78.

[59] Eichengreen, *Hall of Mirrors*, 80-83.

[60] For overviews and timeline of the crisis, see Shin 'Northern Rock'; M. K. Brunnermeier, 'Deciphering the liquidity and credit crunch 2007-2008', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 23 (2009); G. Gorton, and A. Metrick 'Getting up to speed on the financial crisis: a one-weekend reader's guide', NBER working paper 17778, (2012), accessible via http://www.nber.org/papers/w17778.

[61] Eichengreen, *Hall of Mirrors*, 79.

[62] Reinhart and Rogoff, *This Time*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv, says that "this time is different" is almost never the case, and that those four words are "most expensive investment advice ever given". They write in their preface "Financial professionals and, all too often, government leaders explain that we are doing things better than before, we are smart, and we have learned from past mistakes."

> less frequent and less severe. [...]Few disagree that
> monetary policy has played a large part in stabilizing
> inflation, and so the fact that output volatility has
> declined in parallel with inflation volatility, both in
> the United States and abroad, suggests that monetary
> policy may have helped moderate the variability of
> output as well.[63]

Computation, communication, and business practices mattered too, Bernanke argued, but the 'Great Moderation' primarily came from improved monetary policy.[64] In academic circles similar voices were heard. Oliver Blanchard, at the time professor of economics at MIT and soon to become the IMF's chief economist, in what has become an iconic representation of the extent to which economists neglected uncertainty, explained that the 'State of macro is good'[65] about a month before the collapse of Lehman Brothers. Reflecting on the (at that point in time rather mild)[66] ongoing financial crisis, a somewhat surprised Blanchard concluded that liquidity shocks to large financial institutions 'appear to have potentially large macroeconomic effects'[67]. But the most striking example of hubris came from Nobel laureate Robert Lucas, who in his presidential address to American Economic Association in 2003 argued the following: 'macroeconomics in [its] original sense has succeeded: its central problem of depression prevention has been solved, for all practical purposes, and has in fact been solved for many decades'[68]. In his autobiography, Bernanke attributed his mistake to forgetting the intricate financial ties between the entire financial system, and the threat posed to the overall financial stability.[69] One is tempted to add Mervyn King's emphasis on neglecting uncertainty.[70]

CONCLUSION

Drawing analogies between the Great Recession of 2007-8 and past financial crises is hardly a novel endeavour, the most striking example being the Great Depression.[71] While the parallel here considered between the 2007-8 crisis and the

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[63] Bernanke, 'Great Moderation'.
[64] Ibid; see also Eichengreen, *Hall of Mirrors*, 85-88, 169-70.
[65] Blanchard, 'Macro', 2.
[66] Gorton and Metrick, 'Getting up to Speed', 3-17.
[67] Blanchard, 'Macro', 14.
[68] Lucas, 'Macroeconomic', 1.
[69] B.S. Bernanke, *Courage to Act: A Memoir of a Crisis and its Aftermath.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company (2015), 113, 136, 162.
[70] King, *Alchemy*, 129
[71] See for instance Eichengreen, *Hall of Mirrors.*

crisis of 1847 concerning the disregard for uncertainty and the belief that the problem of business cycles had been conquered can be found in many other crises, the 1840s provide a particularly important era because of its intellectual disputes.[72] The clash between the Currency School and the Banking School is a scholarly conflict that has re-emerged in various shapes time and again in the history of economic ideas, most prevalently perhaps between Monetarists and Keynesians in the 1980s. The crisis neatly illustrates the failure to take uncertainty into consideration, to which Mervyn King's discussion of the Great Recession equally applies, revealing how ideas dominating economic doctrines more than a century-and-a-half ago can have relevance to modern times; uncertainty in economic life is real, and failing to appreciate that proved costly, not only in the 2000s but in the 1840s as well.

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[72] Kindleberger and Aliber, *Manias.*

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The Casualties of Industrialisation in Glasgow:
Juvenile Delinquents and Magdalene Girls
Amanda Gavin

The Victorian era saw the colossal growth of Glasgow as an industrial city; some prospered but many more suffered the ravages of industrial capitalism. This paper will focus on a figure that came to symbolise the social dislocation of this era - the 'prostitute'. The definition of the 'prostitute' far exceeded a meaning of 'sex worker' and encompassed a meaning of a working class woman who subverted middle class norms without necessarily being sexually active. We will explore who the 'prostitute' was in practise and argue that 'juvenile delinquents' were politically 'prostitutes'. We will draw parallels between preventative industrial schools and adult reformatories such as Magdalene Homes, arguing that they had the same functionality. The paper aims to highlight the resistance of working class women to these attempts at social control and ultimately concludes that they retained a morality that was distinctly their own.

In the 19th century, Glasgow was the site of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation; from 1801 to 1841, Glasgow's population increased from 77,000 to 275,000, and by the beginning of the twentieth century the city was home to 760,000 people.[1] It was the industrial powerhouse of Scotland with a staggering amount of wealth concentrated within the city. However, many fell on the losing side of industrialisation and the population growth brought with it a crippling housing crisis, which made destitution highly visible. The pollution, disease and poor hygiene of the living conditions of Glasgow's urban poor served as a symbolic representation of social disorder. In religious, legal and medical discourses, the 'prostitute' of Victorian Scotland existed as a symbolic causality of the progression of industrial capitalism. In these discourses, the 'prostitute' served to reinforce middle-class superiority: against their 'respectability', she symbolised the degradation and debauchery of working class women; against their middle-class morality, she symbolised working-class depravity; against their virtue, she symbolised vice.[2] In middle class Victorian discourse destitution was usually considered the fault of the individual - their behaviour was perceived as immoral.

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[1] Stephen Sinclair, Introduction to Social Policy Analysis: Illuminating Welfare (2016), p. 27.

[2] Frank Mort, Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England Since 1830 (2002), p. 97.

Accordingly, many of the strategies deployed to combat poverty were of individual moral reform rather than wide social change. Marxist analysis of class relations during the nineteenth century often fails to consider the nuances of gender; the working class was not a monolithic cultural entity and we must recognise that it was gendered. Judith Walkowitz has argued the 'prostitute' was considered a symbol of the social dislocation in the industrial era and became the target for moral reform.[3]

In this essay, I examine the strategies deployed to reform the 'prostitute'. As we will see, the 'prostitute' of Victorian moralist discourse was an ambiguous figure who's meaning far exceeded that of sex worker. For the purposes of this paper, the 'prostitute' was a working class woman who has subverted middle class morality through her appearance, behaviour or perceived 'promiscuity'. We will also consider 'juvenile delinquent' girls as political 'prostitutes' and consider the reformatory schools (RS) and industrial schools (IS) they were sent to in the hope of being reformed. Reformatories for 'fallen' women in the Victorian era have rarely been considered in relation to RS, but it is misleading to approach them as separate movements. By the nineteenth century Glasgow had a vast number of reformatory institutions, many of them quasi-judicial with working relationships with magistrates. The Glasgow Magdalene Asylum was founded in 1812 and later became the Magdalene Institution (GMI) in 1840 with the aim of 'the repression of vice and for the reformation of penitent females'.[4] In 1838 the House of Refuge for Boys in Glasgow was established with the Magdalene Asylum serving as the *de facto* female branch. Two years later the official House of Refuge for Females was established merging with the Magdalene Asylum which became the Magdalene Institution (GMI).[5] The institution existed alongside numerous others designed to reform 'fallen' women; The House of Shelter, the Whitevale Shelter (Prison Gate Mission), the Dalbeth Refuge for Penitent Women (Roman Catholic), the Night Asylum for the Homeless, the House of Industry of Indigent Females, the Glasgow Home for Deserted Mothers and Home for Servants out of Place.[6] These institutions operated in a similar fashion and closely resembled a penitentiary despite entry being voluntary. Engaging in sex work was viewed by middle class philanthropists as one of the biggest risks to young working class girls and institutions used a reformatory approach as well as a preventative one. Providing the poor with industrial skills was often considered the remedy to the destitution made so highly visible by industrialisation and urbanisation in Glasgow. This is

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[3] Judith Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society Women, Class and the State (Cambridge: 1983), p. 32.

[4] 'Advert for Lock Hospital and Magdalene Asylum' in *Handbook of Glasgow Charitable and Beneficent Institutions* (1907)

[5] J.D Bryce, The Glasgow Magdalene Asylum, Its Past and Present: With Relative Facts and Suggestions (Glasgow: 1859), p. 6.

[6] This list may not be exhaustive but this is the institutions and societies traceable by the Post Office Directory; See Anon, 'Wanted: The Truth About Pauperism', *Glasgow Herald,* 30 December 1891 pp. 5-6.

reflected in the movement of RS and industrial schools (IS) for children which in part responded to the criticism of the brutal prison system which placed children with adults regardless of sex. By the 1840s the reformatory approach was virtually indistinguishable from the preventative one.[7] This essay examines industrialisation in Glasgow from the 'bottom up', by considering the effects of 'reformatories' on those who are often hidden from the historical record: working-class women and adolescent girls.

Judith Walkowitz argues that mid-Victorians viewed prostitution as a social disorder, and the discussions surrounding it diverted from the central issues of class politics. [8] Similarly, Mahood argues that poverty was not seen as a consequence of industrial capitalism but rather as a result of poor lifestyle choices such as intemperance and prostitution.[9] However, the directors of reformatories at times displayed a more nuanced understanding; the 1865 annual report of the GMI pleaded to its subscribers 'with regard to destitution, we...call the attention of masters of public works and other employers to the vast importance of the instrumentality they have in their hands for meeting the wants of the working classes.'[10] Laundries were a defining feature of most of the reformatories for 'fallen' women in Glasgow, as they served to support the charitable institutions whilst also providing the inmates with skills. Barbara Littlewood and Mahood consider them to have served a symbolic purpose representing a daily cleansing ritual for inmates.[11] However, the management of the reformatories stated that these served to support the institutions with little mention of any intended ritual symbolism; instead, it is in the intensive religious training in which we find the cleansing rituals. The directors of the GMI stated that religion was the 'great anecdote for moral evil'.[12] Although, juxtaposed by the focus placed on individual moral reform, industrial training in reformatories was intended as a pragmatic solution. The House of Shelter stated that their inmates were employed in needlework, and received 'the proceeds of their labour, in return for which the inmates are lodged, fed, and clothed.'[13] The Catholic Training Home for Young Girls stated that their 'first object was to train the young girls for domestic work.'[14] The Glasgow

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[7] The key differentiation between industrial and reformatory schools were that industrial schools intended to be non residential and were known locally as 'feeding' schools which was considered an incentive for children to attend.

[8] Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society Women, p.41.

[9] Linda Mahood, The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century (New York: 1990), p.52.

[10] GUSC, sp coll BG54-c.11, 'The Fifth Annual Report 1865 The Glasgow Magdalene Institution', Glasgow 1865, p.9.

[11] Barbara Littlewood, Linda Mahood, 'Prostitutes, Magdalenes and Wayward Girls: Dangerous Sexualities of Working Class Women in Victorian Scotland', *Gender & History* 3:2 (1991) p. 167.

[12] GUSC, sp coll BG54-c.11, 'The Fifth Annual Report 1865 The Glasgow Magdalene Institution', Glasgow 1865, p.5.

[13] 'The House of Shelter, 114 Hill Street' *The Post Office Glasgow Directory*, Glasgow 1882, p.153.

[14] Margaret H. Irwin, The Condition of Women's Work in Laundries Report of an Inquiry

Institution for Orphan and Destitute Girls served to provide girls with training fitting them for domestic service which served as a preventative measure for vulnerable young girls who were most likely to 'fall'.[15] Placing girls into domestic service was often viewed as a desirable solution to the 'prostitution problem', since philanthropists hoped the influence of a domestic environment and a middle class family would prevent them from being 'led astray'. However, seduction and rape of domestic servants by masters was pervasive and they were vulnerable to abandonment.[16]

Figure 2.1: GCA P1891, 'Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Board', Glasgow 1886.

The institutions viewed placing an inmate in 'respectable' employment as the desirable result of her time in the reformatory: The Glasgow Home for Deserted Mothers for example made 'efforts...to procure them situations.'[17] Long term relationships could be formed with inmates which at times resembled probation; minutes from the GMI on15 August 1860 recorded a report from a factory manager stating that Mary Fitzroy had been conducting herself satisfactorily.[18] They also

Conducted for the Council of the Women's Protective and Provident League of Glasgow (Glasgow: 1893).

[15] 'The Glasgow Institution for Orphan and Destitute Girls', *Post Office Glasgow Directory*, Glasgow 1881, p. 103.

[16] See Jeffrey Weeks, 'Sexuality and the Labouring Classes' in *Sex, Politics and Society* (2012), pp. 79-80.

[17] 'The Glasgow Home for Deserted Mothers' *Post Office Directory*, p. 103.

[18] GCA, TD 1577 1/1, 'Homes Committee Notes Minute Book No. 2, 1860-1862', Glasgow 15 August 1860.

provided financial support on leaving the institution with Fitzroy recorded as being paid maintenance for her and her child until her first monthly wage.[19] The GMI often printed successful cases in their annual reports indicating the kind of future they envisioned for their inmates. In 1865 it was reported that an inmate recorded as 'M.I.M' was 'Assisted to a situation, in which she continued till she got married about a year ago to a respectable tradesman. The matron has visited her house, and says it is quite a model - everything so clean and tidy.'[20] Magdalene girls were intended to be domestic servants and ultimately good wives for working class men. The reports were read by subscribers to ensure that their donations were being used adequately and the focus remained on cases they perceived as successes, with little detail of the unsuccessful. The statistics provided by the GMI suggest a sizeable proportion of inmates rejected the regime. The statistics from 22 December 1859 to 12 June 1861 show about one third of inmates as leaving of 'their own accord'.[21] Out of 147 inmates who were admitted in 1863, 10 'left of their own accord', seven 'left clandestinely' and one was 'dismissed for insubordination'.[22] These inmates either rejected or failed to achieve the middle class standards of morality and femininity set by the institution. The institution had no legal power to detain inmates but made it very difficult for them to leave once admitted. On admission the inmate would be given a uniform and occasionally their heads were shaven which was designed to suppress the desire to leave. This tactic was less common in the GMI but the Magdalene Asylum in Edinburgh did this regularly and found it effective.[23] Inmates were required to give one month's notice if they wished to leave and were frequently put in solitary confinement for this period. Those who ran away before this were charged with the theft of their uniform and were not allowed to be readmitted.[24]

The reformatory approach was virtually indistinguishable from the preventative one, so children deemed at risk of becoming delinquents were enrolled in IS alongside their criminally convicted peers. The Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Board (Fig. 2.1) met every two weeks to intern 'at-risk' children in an IS.[25] A working-class mother would often have to choose between keeping her children, and giving them up to an IS to protect them from a life of destitution. She would be aware of the sometimes brutal discipline of industrial and reformatory schools, but would also be aware that the schools guaranteed hot meals, safety and adequate clothing. As Fig. 2.1 shows, many children had to struggle through Glasgow's biting cold weather in bare feet - the schools would have provided them with shoes. As a branch of The House of Refuge for Females the GMI would home girls convicted under the Youthful Offenders Act 1854 which tacitly placed adolescent girls in the

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[19] Ibid.
[20] GUSC, sp coll BG54-c.11, 'The Fifth Annual Report', p.11.
[21] GCA, TD 1577 1/1, 'Homes Committee Notes'.
[22] Ibid. p. 8.
[23] Mahood, *Magdalenes,* p.80.
[24] Ibid. p.81.
[25] GCA, P1891, 'Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Board', Glasgow 1886.

category of 'prostitute'. [26] The residential schools for girls closely resembled women's refuges in their approach. The curriculum was characterised by the same intense religious instruction coupled with industrial training. The schooling was not only the proletarianisation of children but a deliberate attempt at social colonisation that produced working class identities in the vision of the middle class. These identities were distinctly gendered: boys were trained in 'masculine' industry and trade such as woodwork, shoemaking, tailoring and printing, while girls were placed in the domestic sphere with laundry work, needlework and cooking lessons. [27] When the Glasgow Reformatory for Girls moved from Rottenrow to the rural location of East Chapelton (Fig. 2.2) in 1870 it became almost entirely self sustaining: vegetables were grown, livestock was kept and 'all the clothes of the school were made on the premises' and washed in the large laundry worked in by the girls. [28] The 1899 inspectors' report of the institution shows that the girls often defied the standards of morality and femininity expected by the staff with theft, bad language, attempts at absconding and 'immoral conduct' all listed as offences. The penal character of RS should not be understated; one girl is recorded as being isolated in a cell for one month within the school complex. [29]

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[26] Bryce, Glasgow Magdalene, p. 6.

[27] The examples of trades are taken from the following sources which covered both male and female industrial and reformatory school curriculums: UGRA, Ba4-d.10, 'Report of the Glasgow Boy's House of Refuge, Duke Street 1854-1864', printed at the institution likely by the boys themselves; GCA, DTC 14/1/48 55A, 'House of Refuge and Reformatories Inspectors Reports 1899' ,Glasgow 1899.

[28] GCA, DTC 14/1/48 55A, 'House of Refuge and Reformatories Inspectors Reports 1899', East Chapelton, Glasgow 1899.
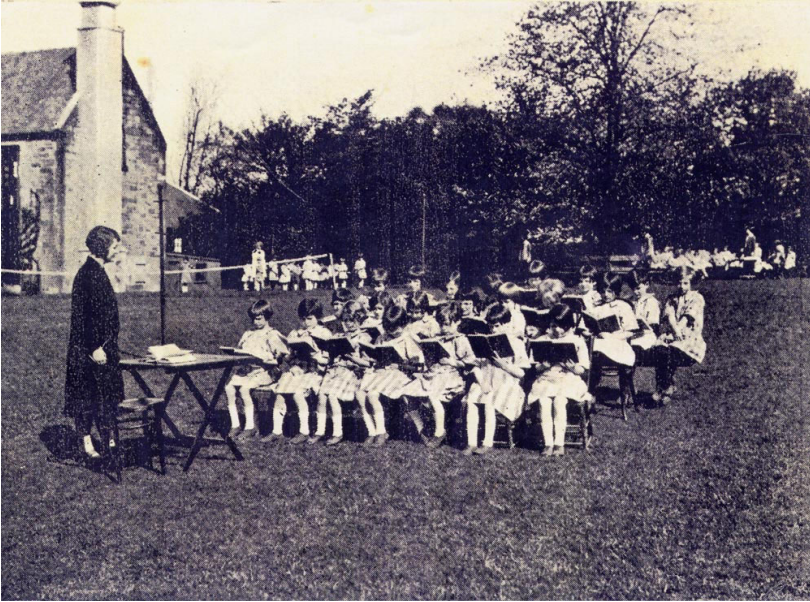
[29] Ibid.

Figure 2.2: GCU, Heatherbank Museum of Social Work, print 881, 'Glasgow Reformatory for Girls at East Chapelton, Bearsden', Glasgow c. 1890.

The notion of working-class parents teaching their children 'depravity' was commonly used to justify middle-class intervention. A series of newspaper reports titled *The Dark Side of Glasgow* printed in 1870 quoted the Victorian idiom 'as the twig is bent the tree will grow'.[30] The author detailed how 'our city arabs' were taught from infancy 'to beg, to cheat, and to steal.'[31] The network of institutions intended to remove children from this environment were conceptualised as a surrogate family with the matron being a stern motherly figure and male directors like patriarchal fathers. The House of Refuge for Boys described their discipline as 'parental kindness, combined with firmness and decision'.[32] The female refuges for 'prostitutes' were structured similarly and inmates were often infantilised as ignorant victims. The 'prostitute' and the destitute street child were viewed as figures that needed middle class benevolence but also to be carefully controlled. The same author described the task of social reformers 'To control our streets then - to teach these city Arabs something of practical humanity, and to help ... them

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[30] GCA, AGN 2114, 'Series of articles from North British Daily Mail 1870s', 'The Dark Side of Glasgow, First Report VI', *North British Daily Mail*, 27 December 1870.

[31] Ibid. 'A Wretched Childhood'.

[32] UGRA, Ba4-d.10, 'Report of the Glasgow Boy's House of Refuge, Duke Street 1854-1864' p.5.

to grow up in habits of industry, and morality'.[33] A strong work ethic and middle-class morality were to be instilled in order to 'save' the poor, but also served as a deliberate social colonisation starting in childhood. The social reformers attempted to forge a working-class identity that was seen as beneficial but never resembling anything other than their own class. A report on the East End of Glasgow stated 'these localities have begun to produce a type of humanity peculiarly their own, both physically and morally.'[34] These discourses crudely resembling eugenics attempted to legitimise middle-class intervention into the lives of those who struggled under industrial capitalism by biologically distancing themselves whilst placing themselves in the role of paternalist.

Figure 2.3: GCA, C67, 'Woman With Naked Baby, Slum Interior', Glasgow, no date, c.1910

As industrialisation in Glasgow progressed, many migrated from other parts of Scotland, Ireland and Britain in search of work. Migrants were usually forced to live in some of the worst conditions the city had to offer, and Glasgow's slums earned a reputation as being among the worst in Europe. Fredrick Engels reported that 'I have seen human degradation in some of its worst phases, both in England and abroad, but I can advisedly say, that I did not believe, until I visited the wynds of Glasgow, that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery, and disease existed in

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[33]GCA, AGN 2114, 'The Dark Side of Glasgow, First Report VI', *North British Daily Mail*, 27 December 1870.
[34] Ibid.

one spot in any civilised country'.[35] The slum housing conditions (Fig. 2.3) were viewed as a source of immorality with a newspaper reporting that 'the rising generation in these polluted localities become certainly infected with the moral pestilence amidst which they are born and reared.'[36] As Frank Mort argued, 'The wretchedness of the working-class environment, the state of the dwellings, non-existent sanitation, lack of concern over personal decency and hygiene were seen to encourage irregular sexual conduct.'[37] Juvenile 'delinquents' and 'prostitutes' were consciously removed from the city and placed in rural locations, removing them from both industrial and moral pollution. The Green Street IS reported that 'every child below a certain age gets to the country in the summer for a fresh air fortnight'.[38] Under the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Repression Act 1878 children from IS and RS were emigrated to colonies in Canada as domestic servants or farm workers. The House of Refuge for Females at Lochburn, which included the Magdalene branch, was a certified 'Protestant reformatory' and emigrated several inmates as domestic servants.[39] An 1898 passenger list for the Buenos Ayrean shows 17 girls aged between 13-18 as being sent with the 'Houses of Refuge & Reformatory & Industrial Schools of the City of Glasgow' to Montreal as 'domestics'.[40] The Juvenile Delinquency Act applied to those aged 14 and under, so given the ages of these girls they would have been from the Magdalene branch of the House of Refuge. The Maryhill Girls' IS recorded a visit to Canada by the Matron to 'see the girls out in service there'.[41] Organised emigration of working class children preceded the Act; in 1864 a Kingston agent complained that girls from the Maryhill Girls' IS were absconding from their situations in the country to the cities; 'I feel confident that in time the country would prove a better place for them, as in the cities they will be exposed to all sorts of temptations'.[42] Whether being homed in a rural location outside of Glasgow or making the difficult passage to rural Canada, young girls were deliberately being removed from an industrially and 'morally' polluted city. However, it appears many were drawn to the urban surroundings in which they had grown up.

The scholarship has often attributed lessening birth rates for working class families in the late 19th century to the success of middle-class moralisation. However, evidence points towards the emergence of a distinct working-class culture that evolved in spite of, not due to, middle-class intervention.[43] Working-class parents

[35] 'Thomas Annan, The Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow' http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/Mar2006.html [accessed: 27 January 2017]
[36] Ibid. 'Early Training'.
[37] Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*, p.93.
[38] GCA, DTC 14/1/48 55A, 'Inspectors Reports', Green Street Industrial School.
[39] PAC, RG 76 Volume 119 File 22968, 'Immigration Branch' pp. 10-11.
[40] PAC, RG 76 C-4542 3661, 'Passenger Lists of the Buenos Ayrean Arriving in Quebec and Montreal on 1898-07-12'.
[41] GCA, DTC 14/1/48 55A, 'Inspectors Reports', Maryhill Girls' Industrial School.
[42] Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge: Young Immigrants to Canada 1833-1939* (Toronto: 2003), p. 385.
[43] Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, pp. 91-2.

repeatedly resisted the loss of control felt through the industrial school system with the Glasgow IS register noting many mothers forcibly removing their children. Grace Reid, aged nine, was 'taken away by mother' on 6 July 1848 and John McMullen, aged seven, was 'taken away by his mother' on 22 June 1849.[44] The children themselves also displayed considerable resistance with James Robertson, aged 14, admitted on 1 February 1849 noted as having 'Left same day - would not permit his hair to be cut offering great resistance to Mr Johnston.'[45] In November 1881 an assistant matron of the Glasgow Girls' IS at Lochburn was prosecuted for the maltreatment of Mary Jane Park, aged 13.[46] Park had absconded from school only to be discovered as having returned to her parents home by the matron who escorted her back to school under the promise to her parents that she would not be punished. However, the matron took Park into the laundry removed her clothes, flogged her until she was badly bruised and placed her in a spray bath. A monitor, in giving evidence stated that the matron said during the punishment 'You are a bad, wicked girl. You are sent here by the Magistrates and I am empowered to punish you and I will punish you.'[47] The institutions designed to remove children from the adult prison system ultimately relied on the same brutality in order to police working class children. It was unusual for the press to sympathise with the girl and her father as the children in IS were generally viewed as a public nuisance requiring systematic and often forceful intervention. This attitude was often reflected in the press:

'To clear the streets...of the pests which now infest them..to rescue to the young from the evil influences which surround them, to dissipate the moral darkness in which they live, and to train them in habits of industry and morality, is a labour which will require the full force of our limited army of working social reformers.'[48]

IS and RS, alongside refuges for 'fallen' women, systematically colonised and policed working class behaviour, sexuality and norms. As juvenile delinquents, young girls were seen as 'prostitutes', and the preventative approach had yet to distinguish itself from the reformatory one. Consequently, an offence need not have been committed before girls were subjected to often cruel reformatory strategies. The progression of industrialisation in Glasgow propelled working-class women and adolescent girls into public view allowing for their 'morality' to come under intense scrutiny from the middle-classes. The 'prostitute' was a figure constructed in the discourse of middle-class philanthropists as someone who both suffered under industrial capitalism, and so needed to be saved, but also as someone

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[44] GCA, D-ED 7/146/2, 'Register of the Glasgow Industrial School'; Notably, education was not compulsory in Scotland until 1872 so these children being removed was not against the law.

[45] Ibid.

[46] 'Another Industrial School Scandal', *The Dundee Courier & Argus,* 19 November 1881; Issue 8843.

[47] 'Glasgow Industrial School Scandal', *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder,* 6 January 1882, Issue 8884.

[48] GCA, AGN 2114, 'The Dark Side of Glasgow, VII', *North British Daily Mail,* 1871.

who had to be carefully controlled. The vast number of reformatories removed women and girls from urban spaces and confined them in the domestic sphere. The approaches combined a gendered industrial training with intense religious instruction, which aimed to produce a Christian working-class woman in the vision of the bourgeoisie. The system of homes and residential schools was characterised by profound paternalism, in which matrons, directors and other inmates served as surrogate families. However, the working-classes consistently resisted middle-class moralisation by leaving institutions, absconding from schools, removing their children, and ultimately forging their own identity and morality. The result was a unique working-class culture in Glasgow by the end of the nineteenth century.

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Imperialism and Hunting: From the Fur Trade to Colonial Activism
Jessica Penney

Hunting is an essential part of socio-economic life for Indigenous peoples worldwide. For many, it allows for cultural continuity and is a source of partial or full income. This article intends to explore how hunting practices have been impacted by European imperial views of "progress" over the past 400 years, and how perceived progress can be destructive to some aspects of social life. To do this, the place of Indigenous hunting practices in global processes is examined. From the 17th century fur trade, to the fall of fur, recent anti-fur campaigns and environmental movements, 'Western' views on fur and hunting have grounded Indigenous practices in the global economy. This is seen through the application of world-systems and underdevelopment theory.

Introduction

Destruction and progress are not oppositional terms; they can be deeply intertwined. This paper focuses on how imperial and colonial 'progress' has had devastating effects on the social context of hunting for Indigenous peoples in Canada. I emphasise the economic context, and how European imperialism rooted Indigenous hunting in the global economy. I take a chronological approach, starting with the early fur traders and the fall of the fur trade, moving on to anti-fur campaigners and environmental activism that has targeted or inadvertently affected Indigenous peoples. I explain how imperialism has planted Indigenous hunting firmly in global processes through the lens of world systems theory and underdevelopment theory. While this paper is not meant to be strictly linear, it takes into account some of the main historical events related to hunting and Indigenous peoples.

First, I must outline my positionality in relation to this article. I am an Indigenous woman, specifically Inuk. My maternal family is from Nunatsiavut, and I was raised in Nunavut. Throughout this paper I occasionally use personal pronouns because some of the issues I outline undeniably affect my family and me. My family consists of fishers, hunters, and trappers. While Indigenous peoples are often 'Othered' in Western academic discourse[1], I see my writing about the issues that

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face my family and culture as a way of "writing back" to the colonial, racist and imperialist academy[2].

To clarify terminology, I use the term 'Indigenous' to encompass the three Indigenous groups in Canada: Inuit, First Nations, and Metis. I capitalize the word because it is a proper noun[3]. I also use the phrase 'Indigenous peoples in Canada', rather than the possessive 'Canada's Indigenous peoples' or 'Indigenous Canadians' because many Indigenous peoples do not recognize the Canadian state as legitimate or identify as Canadian.

Hunting's Cultural Importance

For Indigenous peoples, hunting is deeply embedded in cultural traditions. Hunting provides for every aspect of life, as seen through the example of the narwhal for Inuit. Narwhal skin (maktaaq), with some attached fat (uqsuq) is a staple food and delicacy[4]. Narwhal also provide raw materials, such as sinew used for waterproof seams[5]. More than providing essentials, hunting contributes to the creation of social structures and human relationships. As Wenzel writes, "the authority and decision making patterns that organize Inuit harvesting and sharing are synonymous with the kinship-based structural precepts that direct Inuit interpersonal, cross-generational, extended family and community social relations"[6]. Hunting determines social roles, and ensures a sense of self and purpose. Community events are focused around feasts and traditional foods, allowing for the construction of important connections.

The way hunting shapes values leads to deep respect and an appreciation of humility. Inuk elder Apphia Agalakti Awa cautions that if someone is abusive or disrespectful to wildlife, something bad will happen to them[7]. One should never

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[1] L.T. Smith, *Decolonizing methodologies: research and Indigenous peoples* (London, 2005) 2.
[2] C. Smith in L. Smith, *Decolonizing methodologies*, 37.
[3] National Aboriginal Health Organization. 2017. *Overview of Inuit Health.* [online] Available at: <http://www.naho.ca/inuit/overview-of-inuit-health/> [Accessed 5 January 2017].
[4] D. Lee and G.W. Wenzel, 'Narwhal Hunting by Pond Inlet Inuit: An Analysis of Foraging Mode in the Floe-Edge Environment' (2004) 2 *Inuit Studies* 135. (henceforth, Lee and Wenzel, 'Narwhal hunting')
[5] Ibid., 136.
[6] G.W. Wenzel, 'Ningiqtuq: Inuit Resource Sharing and Generalized Reciprocity in Clyde River, Nunavut' (1995) 2 *Arctic Anthropology* 56.
[7] N. Wachowich, *Saqiyuq: stories from the lives of three Inuit women* (Montreal & Kingston, 2001), 125.

act proud or act like a human is more powerful than a polar bear or a walrus; otherwise the animals will know and hunt them instead. She says, "We should be humble. If we respect them, then the animals will come to us"[8]. So, while traditional Inuit food is thought to protect from cardiovascular disease and diabetes, beyond nutritional value, the harvesting, processing and consumption of traditional foods have social and cultural importance and are linked to community ethics and Inuit identity[9].

The Fur Trade's Imperialism in the Pursuit of Progress

In the 17th century, the fur trade emerged in the place now known as Canada to serve European demand for hats made of beaver fur[10]. This international demand launched Indigenous peoples into a global market. Beaver hats remained in demand for nearly 200 years; therefore, what happened in the European market had effects on the primary market, shaping how and how much Indigenous peoples hunted for furs[11]. The fur trade was an integrating force between Indigenous peoples and Europeans. It required a partnership, but it was an unequal partnership[12], as I will show below.

The fur trade is explicitly linked to the creation of the Canadian state and colonisation. The Hudson's Bay Company (The Bay) was the largest and most successful trading company. It was created in 1670 through a royal charter proclamation, and the company was given exclusive trading rights in the vast region traversed by rivers flowing into the Hudson Bay. Due to its extensive land ownership, The Bay was the central colonising force in much of Canada. Indigenous peoples travelled to the Bay's trading posts to barter furs for goods such as tools, guns, textiles and food[13]. Often Indigenous peoples were middlemen,

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[8] Ibid., 126.
[9] Chan et al., 'Food Security in Nunavut, Canada: Barriers and Recommendations' (2006) 5 International Journal of Circumpolar Health 417.
[10] Ray, A.J. 2009. *Hudson's Bay Company.* [online] Available at: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/hudsons-bay-company/> [Accessed 14 November 2016]; A.M. Carlos and F.D. Lewis, 'Property rights, competition, and depletion in the eighteenth-century Canadian fur trade: the role of the European market' (1991) 3 Canadian Journal of Economics 705-706. (Henceforth, Carlos and Lewis, 'Eighteenth-century Canadian fur trade').
[11] Carlos and Lewis, 'Eighteenth-century Canadian fur trade', 705-706.
[12] A.J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their role as trappers, hunters, and middlemen n the lands southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto, 2005) xxxi.
[13] Ray, A.J. 2009. *Hudson's Bay Company.* [online] Available at: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/hudsons-bay-company/> [Accessed 14 November 2016].

bringing fur from various communities further inland. Participation in this global market had massive effects on traditional lifestyles and economy, as Indigenous peoples became reliant on European-manufactured goods for survival[14].

As Ray notes above, participation in the fur trade was unequal. Many Indigenous peoples were mistreated, as Apphia Agalakti Awa recalls:

> They never told us how much all the foxes were worth. They just counted them and pressed some buttons…Maybe they thought it was useless to let us know how much they cost because we wouldn't understand anyways, they thought we didn't know the value of money[15].

Based on this, it is safe to assume that, at times, The Bay treated Indigenous peoples in an exploitative manner. They acted paternalistically and made assumptions about people's intelligence levels, while taking advantage of their labor and destroying cultural traditions in order to feed a global desire for fur.

Imagery and cultural products created in Europe during this time, and of this time, also served the colonial purpose of progressing imperial aims. Edward Said writes that, "Too often literature and culture are presumed to be politically, even historically, innocent"[16]. This is evident in literature that sees Indigenous peoples as primitive, or as 'noble savages'. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote that the white European in America was superior in intelligence, power, and enjoyment. Below the white European were the 'Negro' and 'Indian'. He wrote, "The Indians had only the alternative of war or civilization; in other words, they must either destroy the Europeans or become their equals"[17]. Cultural products such as de Tocqueville's literature can be analyzed in terms of the 'Other'. While not specifically alluding to Indigenous peoples in Canada, Young refers to Said's Orientalism, in which Orientalism is seen as an attempt to contain and control the Otherness of the Orient[18]. However, this approach can be applied to the fur-trade era colonialism,

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[14] Ibid.
[15] N. Wachowich, *Saqiyuq: stories from the lives of three Inuit women*, 123.
[16] E. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 2003), 27.
[17] De Tocqueville, A. n.d. Chapter 18: The Present and Probably Future Condition of the Three Races That Inhabit the Territory of the United States. [online] Available at: <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/detoc/1_ch18.htm> [Accessed 14 November 2016].
[18] L. Young, 'Imperial Culture: The primitive, the savage and white civilization' in L. Back and J. Solomos (eds.), *Theories of race and racism: a reader* (London, 2000), 268. (henceforth, Young, 'Imperial Culture').

as "Both Orientalism and colonialism denied subject peoples' human agency and resistance and constructed explanatory models to account for the alterity of those subjects"[19].

The Fall of Fur and Destruction of Culture

"Greenpeace has really ruined our native way of life, man. They really ruined our traditional way, the way we used to be" –Young Inuk Man[20]

While Indigenous peoples were brought into a global system of capitalism through the fur trade, its collapse and recent anti-fur activism has had detrimental effects on the industry, resulting in devastating consequences on Indigenous livelihoods and cultures. I posit that anti-fur animal rights activists behavior is colonial, as it results in the decimation of the cultural traditions and lifestyles of Indigenous peoples. It is necessary for these organizations to assess their tactics and consider their impact on already-marginalized peoples. The European Union's (EU) ban on sealskin is an example of the harm that colonial activism can have on communities that rely on hunting for sustenance and economy.

Seal hunt protests rapidly grew in 1967 after the "Save the Seals" campaign was created and ultimately developed into the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW). The campaign drew support from environmentally concerned individuals and organizations in the United States and Western Europe[21]. Intensity increased against the seal hunt in the 1970s, led by IFAW and Greenpeace, with protest strategies including an appeal to international news media in order to put pressure on local hunters and the Canadian government[22]. The activism has been successful in raising awareness of the animal rights perspective of the hunt, however, "Lost within the strident tones of southern protest and counterprotest was the impact a highly emotional and politicized anti-sealing campaign would have on aboriginal, especially Inuit, access and use of ringed seals"[23]. Due to the efforts of activists, ringed seal skins went from having a value of $16 CAD/pelt in 1973-74 to prices of

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[19] Ibid., 268.
[20] R.G. Condon, P. Collings, and G. Wenzel, 'The Best Part of Life: Subsistence Hunting, Ethnicity, and Economic Adaptation among Young Adult Inuit Males' (1995) 1 *Arctic* 44.
[21] G. Wenzel, '"I Was Once Independent": The Southern Seal Protest and Inuit' (1987) 2 *Anthropologica* 199.
[22] Ibid., 199-200.
[23] Ibid., 200.

around \$2.50 CAD/pelt or a completely non-existent outside market in some Inuit communities in 1977[24].

In 1983 the Council of the European Economic Community forbade the importation of commercially hunted sealskins and products manufactured by them into any part of the European community. The ban was meant to take a stand against behavior that European citizens supposedly saw as inhumane and immoral[25]. However, for Inuit, the ban represented not only the loss of an industrial market, but also the loss of a practice that allowed them to maintain their culture in an ever-changing world in which many other cultural traditions were being lost[26]. The general consensus of sealing as cruel, ecologically imprudent, and immoral did not allow Inuit perspectives to be taken into consideration. While the ban was focused on the southern Canadian hunt, it crashed the entire market[27]. Now, the market is only 5-10% of what it was before the bans[28]. While there is an exemption for Inuit-hunted sealskins, Inuit believe it is of no use, as the market has been ruined for all sealskin products.

There are colonial undertones to opposing the seal hunt, as it positions Inuit as "frozen in time"[29]. Activists see Inuit as primitive, entirely self-sufficient, and separate from the global capitalist economy. However, Inuit culture is dynamic, and has been affected by global processes. Inuit sealers believe that they should have the right to make a profit just like everyone else[30]. Furthermore, Julia Emberley writes that utilitarian values are often ascribed to Indigenous peoples, which conforms to a type of primitivism, in a similar way to Said's concept of Orientalism[31]. Fur is seen to be utilitarian, rather than having symbolic cultural value. This reveals a Eurocentric bias that links practical value with an earlier part of history (as a chronological line is drawn from practical to symbolic)[32]. This

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[24] Ibid., 200.

[25] G. W. Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic* (London, 1991) 1.

[26] Ibid., 2.

[27] Arnaquq-Baril, A. 2016. *'Angry Inuk' argues anti-seal hunt campaign hurts Canadian Inuit life.* Interviewed by Anna Maria Tremonti. [radio] CBC Radio. 4 May 2016. (henceforth, Arnaquq-Baril, Angry Inuk Interview)

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] J. Emberley, *Venus and Furs: the cultural politics of fur* (London, 1998) 181.

[32] Ibid., 181.

"utilitarian function attributed to fur clothing works to situate the Paleolithic/primitive as an originary movement, used by the museum to represent a causal and teleological development from the 'primitive' to the 'civilized'"[33]. From these examples, we can see how Eurocentric anti-fur activism has placed Indigenous peoples in a societal box, labeling our hunting practices as backwards and unnecessary in a progressive 'modern' world, while ignoring the strong cultural reasons for the continuation of these practices.

The colonial animal rights movement has, through their impact on seal hunting, redefined Inuit culture[34]. Inuit consider hunting to be part of the essence of being Inuk. As Wenzel writes:

> Hunting as a right, has, for Inuit, its foundations in their customary and consistent acknowledgement of the environment as an active element of their day-to-day lives. This acknowledgement embodies within in the belief that animals also possess rights – the right to refuse Inuit hunters, to be treated with respect, to be hunted and used wisely.[35]

Colonialism has made sealskins a part of the northern economy, but could not accept the contemporary realities of Inuit and their concerns[36]. This has lead to numerous cultural changes. At the same time as the first protests (1950s and 1960s), Inuit were forced off the land, and away from nomadic lifestyles, to join a cash economy[37]. After the ban in 1983, people had no choice but to move into towns and make money by carving or doing unrelated work. The ability to sell sealskins[38], which had previously allowed Inuit to continue living nomadically while supplementing subsistence hunting with an income, was no longer present.

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[33] Ibid., 182.
[34] Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights*, 5.
[35] Ibid., 4-5.
[36] Ibid., 4.
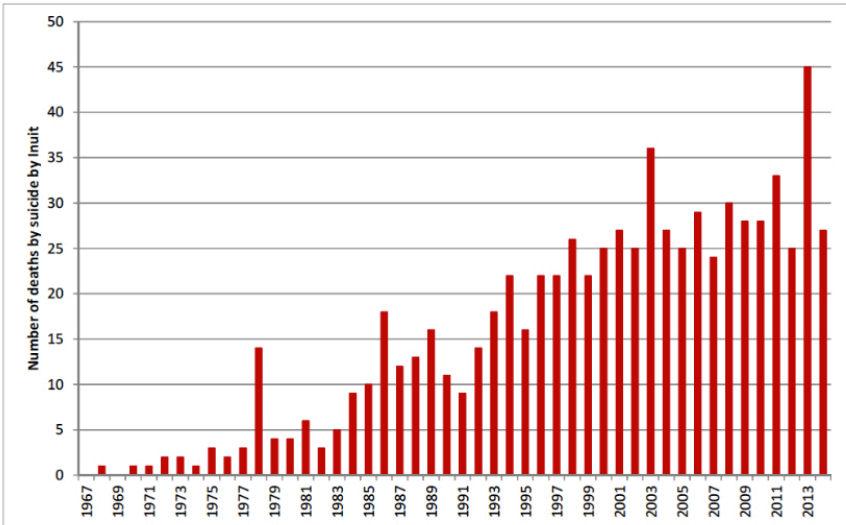[37] Arnaquq-Baril, Angry Inuk Interview.
[38] Ibid.

Figure 1: Deaths by Suicide by Nunavut Inuit, by year, 1967-2014[39]

More than culturally devastating – the activism has been deadly. Suicide rates spiked after the ban. As seen in Table 1, in 1978, the year after prices dropped, the suicide rate jumped drastically. Due to the EU ban and inability to make money, people went without food[40]. While it might be imprudent to blame all suicides on the ban, it was certainly part of a number of intense societal changes during this time. There are also more unintended consequences. The collapse of the commercial seal hunt has forced Inuit to turn to the mining and gas industry for economic opportunities[41]. This means that Inuit have been forced to shift their support from a renewable, sustainable industry to one that is non-renewable and environmentally degrading. Economic options are limited in northern Canada, as it is nearly impossible to manufacture products due to shipping costs; therefore raw materials (such as sealskins) are some of the only things that can be produced on a large scale[42]. It should be noted that, despite challenges, Indigenous peoples are

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[39] Hicks, J. 2015. *Statistical data on death by suicide by Nunavut Inuit, 1920 to 2014.* [online] Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. Available at: <http://www.tunngavik.com/files/2015/09/2015-09-14-Statistical-Historical-Suicide-Date-Eng.pdf> [Accessed 21 December 2016]. Pg. 7.

[40] Arnaquq-Baril, Angry Inuk Interview.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

resilient and still continue to hunt in order to use and/or sell their furs. In the Northwest Territories, on average 57 percent of Inuvialuit and 43 percent of Dene and Métis people continue to fish/hunt for subsistence and recreation[43].

'Clean' Energy as Colonial

Inuit in Canada are still experiencing the effects of the ban on sealskin, but yet another activist movement is having destructive effects on hunting practices. Environmentalists and governments often tout hydroelectricity as a 'clean' energy alternative to non-renewable fossil fuels. Advocates argue that it is a renewable technology because water supplies are replenished in the annual hydrologic cycle[44]. Renewable energy such as hydropower is considered relatively environmentally benign compared to fossil fuels because they do not involve a process of combustion. Hydropower also has distinct advantages over non-renewable technologies in regard to increasing concerns over global climate change[45]

However, Indigenous peoples in Canada have been negatively affected by 'clean' energy schemes. Most recently, the Make Muskrat Right campaign, in reference to the Muskrat Falls dam in Labrador, has drawn attention to this issue. The Nunatsiavut Government, the Labrador Inuit self-government, commissioned a report to investigate potential downstream impacts on Lake Melville and the surrounding Inuit population[46]. Harvard University scientists expect substantial negative effects of methylmercury concentrations in the lake's ecosystem and increased exposure of Inuit to it[47]. Methylmercury is a toxin that affects the central nervous system, and chronic exposure from consumption of aquatic foods has been associated with brain impairment in children[48]. This is linked to hunting among Indigenous peoples because Inuit rely on marine animals for food and cultural activities.

Unfortunately, when campaigning for their rights to hunt and fish, Indigenous peoples are often made to conform to essentialist ideas of their identities. An

[43] Government of Northwest Territories. 2015. *Trends in hunting and fishing in the NWT.* [online] Available at: <http://www.enr.gov.nt.ca/state-environment/182-trends-hunting-and-fishing-nwt> [Accessed 5 January 2017].

[44] G.W. Frey and D.M. Linke, 'Hydropower as a renewable and sustainable energy resource meeting global energy challenges in a reasonable way' (2002) 14 *Energy Policy* 1262.
[45] Ibid., 1262.
[46] Nunatsiavut Government, *Lake Melville: Avatiut, Kanuittailinnivut* (Nain, 2016) 3.
[47] Ibid., 3.
[48] Ibid., 10.

example of this is the James Bay Cree resistance to hydroelectric development[49]. The James Bay Cree argued that the hydroelectric development was not a 'clean' source of power, as it was being advertised. They highlighted the fact that it would damage the land they rely on by flooding massive land areas, destroying wildlife and habitats, threatening Cree society and ignoring Cree rights[50].

The James Bay Cree's cause was successful; they combined a complex political strategy with rich discursive strategies for presenting Cree hunting as a productive and protective activity, worthy of public concern and support[51]. Nevertheless, the way in which this discursive strategy managed to succeed was degrading. The James Bay Cree found that they needed to present the stereotype of 'Indians' as a noble and victimized people[52]. This imagery was critical in mobilizing support against hydroelectricity development: "The image of the noble indigene is widely circulated among a broad public and it conveys sympathetic concerns, but at the same time it is also associated with a negative and disempowering set of images"[53]. The disempowering image is that 'Indians' are noble, but also naïve and unchanging, devastated by modernity or inevitably becoming 'Westernized'. Similar to the aforementioned Othering present in Orientalist and colonialist art and media[54], this discourse is also used to justify claims of Euro-American and Canadian dominance[55].

Far too often Indigenous peoples are ignored by movements that we embody. We are animal rights activists, as we express deep respect for animals that give their lives for food, clothing and cultural activities. Indigenous peoples are also environmentalists, the original stewards of the land in the multitude of sovereign Indigenous nations that have been combined (often without consent) into Canada. However, Eurocentric activism has ignored this and instead promoted practices that harm us, rather than asking for our valuable input.

Hunting and Global Processes

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[49] H.A. Feit, 'Hunting, Nature, and Metaphor: Political and Discursive Strategies in James Bay Cree Resistance and Autonomy' In J.A. Grim (ed.) *Indigenous traditions and ecology: the interbeing of cosmology and community* (Cambridge, MA, 2001) 420. (henceforth, Feit, 'Hunting, Nature and Metaphor')

[50] Ibid., 418-419.

[51] Ibid., 420.

[52] Ibid., 423.

[53] Ibid., 423.

[54] Young, 'Imperial Culture', 267.

[55] Feit, 'Hunting, Nature, and Metaphor', 423.

Wallerstein's world-systems theory ties all of these historical events together. He writes that in a world-system, politics, economics, social structures and culture are intertwined, and cannot be dealt with separately[56]. The modern world-system has its origins in the 16th century, and has always been a capitalist world-economy[57]. A world-economy is "a large geographic area within which there is a division of labor and hence significant internal exchange of basic or essential goods as well as flows of capital and labor"[58]. According to Wallerstein, there are many political units in the world-economy, as well as many cultures and groups, and a common cultural pattern, geoculture[59]. He also asserts that a world-economy and a capitalist system go together[60]. Through world-systems theory we can see that the fur trade introduced Indigenous peoples in Canada to the capitalist world-system, and has transformed lives ever since. As Wenzel writes, "History 'proves' that fur traders and government services have transformed Inuit from an independent aboriginal people to consumers in a cold climate"[61]. The fur trade rocketed Indigenous peoples into the capitalist world-economy, and the crisis that collapsed the fur trade was determined by global factors, including the geographic background and industrial efficiency of England[62].

Another theory that can help to explain why Indigenous peoples have been greatly affected by world-systems is underdevelopment theory. While Canada as a whole is not an 'underdeveloped' nation, Indigenous peoples in the country far too often live in appalling conditions compared to their non-Indigenous counterparts. The average lifespan for Inuit women is 14 years less than that of the average non-Indigenous woman in Canada, suicide rates in Nunavut are six times the national average, and the unemployment rate among Inuit is more than three times the Canadian average[63]. Underdevelopment theory attempts to account for the colonial past in current economic and social matters[64]. "Nations grow and develop, but some of their main characteristics remain closely connected with their original economic

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[56] I. Wallerstein, *World-systems analysis: An introduction* (Durham & London, 2005) x.

[57] Ibid., 23.

[58] Ibid., 23.

[59] Ibid., 23.

[60] Ibid., 24.

[61] Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights*, 5.

[62] H.A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (New Haven, 1930) 390.

[63] National Aboriginal Health Organization. 2016. *Terminology*. [online] Available at: <http://www.naho.ca/publications/topics/terminology/> [Accessed 23 December 2016].

[64] C.S. Filho, *Monopolies and Underdevelopment: From colonial past to global reality* (Cheltenham, 2015) 1.

and social formation"[65]. Being a 'colony', or being colonised, created internal power structures that marked many aspects of development (or underdevelopment)[66]. These internal power structures still exist, as it has already been shown that Indigenous peoples can be deeply affected (culturally, socially, and economically) by challenges to our hunting practices.

Conclusion

It is possible to see, from an analysis of hunting's role in the lives of Indigenous peoples in Canada, how imperialism and colonialism have had destructive effects on social lives. While hunting has and continues to have fundamental importance for many Indigenous peoples, the introduction of a global market created many devastating changes. The fur trade established a lasting relationship between Europeans and Indigenous peoples, and also established oppressive discourses that continue to this day. The 'fall of fur' revealed the negative effects of belonging to a global market, asserting that Eurocentric activism can harm Indigenous peoples' cultures and wellbeing. Even 'clean' energy can be destructive, as it damages the land and water essential to Indigenous cultural survival. But even countering the harmful effects of activism can result in Indigenous peoples having to embrace the oppressive stereotypes attributed to them. From the above-mentioned examples and a world systems and underdevelopment theory analysis, we can see that, unfortunately, the global community has not progressed from a colonial and imperial mindset towards Indigenous peoples and practices.

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[65] Ibid., 1.
[66] Ibid., 1.

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Nihilist Aesthetics: The Destruction and Salvage of Meaning in the Poststructuralist Novel
Callum Howe

Drawing upon continental philosophy and literary theory of the 20th and 21st centuries, this article examines the destabilisation of textual hermeneutics under poststructuralism. As meaning in language is destabilised, a crisis occurs in which it threatens to evaporate entirely. The nihilism of Gianni Vattimo is used as a backdrop to a discussion of the nihilist implications of postmodern philosophy. Through an examination of two postmodernist texts – Crash by J. G. Ballard and C by Tom McCarthy – this article seeks to illustrate this central nihilistic crisis of the postmodern condition, as well as the affirmative responses formulated by those who choose to embrace this state of affairs, rather than deny it. Theorists such as Lyotard and Derrida give an account of the emergence of meaning within the destabilised linguistics of poststructuralism, and in doing so they display the potential for an affirmative formulation of nihilism. Through this depiction of the salvage of meaning after its apparent annihilation, this article ultimately attempts to define the key aspects of a distinctly nihilist postmodern aesthetic.

Characteristic of much of the literature of postmodernism is a radical aesthetic of transgression and destruction, irreverent of traditional social structures and norms. Themes of extreme sexuality and violence, existential angst, and the transgression of social boundaries are explored through the poetics of deconstructionism and its strange, indeterminate ontology of void and non-presence. Through a destabilisation of signification and language, deconstructionism encapsulates a key feature of postmodernity in its scepticism towards absolute truth and objectivity. Critics of the theory deride its destructive potential – fearing it undermines both metaphysics and morality – while its proponents revel in the creative possibilities which this offers. In the works of those in the latter category, we observe the emergence of a postmodern nihilism. Gianni Vattimo defines this condition in postmodern thought as 'hermeneutic nihilism'.[1] Hermeneutics is the study of interpretation and meaning, and so the nihilism of postmodernity arises from the postulation that there is no objective truth underpinning the ways of the world,

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[1] Gianni Vattimo, *The End of Modernity* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991)

and therefore, meaning is inherently absent from all things. In a general sense Vattimo diagnoses this as a symptom of the 'death of God', an idea first proposed by Friedrich Nietzsche in the 19th century. This is the revelation that there is no ultimate truth to which all other lower order truths of morality, meaning and material being can be anchored, and so 'the very notion of truth is dissolved'.[2]

We find a clear intersection between this philosophical account of postmodernity and the literary theory of the period, in Roland Barthes' *Death of the Author.* The traditional arbiter of meaning (the 'Author God') is deposed from any authority over the text, and all exegetic literary practices are shown to be futile, as there is no inherent meaning to be found in the text.[3] In both cases the annihilation of a central stabilising figure – the unifying origin of all meaning – sets the precedent for nihilism. The nihilistic literature of postmodernity is realised in the deconstructionist theories which followed Barthes' essay. Characteristic of this literature is a distinct aesthetic of indeterminacy, void and absence in which meaning exists only as an illusion to be shattered and dissolved before the reader. Two texts which employ this aesthetic are Tom McCarthy's *C* and J. G. Ballard's *Crash.* Both are heavily concerned with the annihilation of meaning in postmodernity, and the implications of the resulting existential emptiness.

The literary mechanics by which illusions of meaning are conjured and annihilated in nihilist aesthetics can best be described by reference to the poststructuralist theories of Jacques Lacan. Lacan formulated a modified theory of Saussurean linguistics, suggesting that the relationship between signifier and signified is necessarily unstable, with meaning in constant slippage. Pragmatic discourse and public communication are made possible only by the formation of what he calls 'point de capiton', best translated as 'anchoring points'.

> [The anchoring point is] the point of convergence that enables everything in this discourse to be situated retroactively and prospectively.[4]

These anchoring points are the contextual reference points from which language derives its meaning within the system of its utterance: the structural binds which temporarily manifest a contingent meaning by holding signifier and signified in

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[2] Ibid., p.167.
[3] Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author' in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism,* ed. by Vincent B. Leitch, 2nd edn. (London: Norton, 2010) pp.1322-1326.
[4] Jacques Lacan, *The Psychoses: The Seminars of Jacques Lacan,* trans. Russell Grigg, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller (1981; New York: Norton, 1993) p.263.

alignment. However, this meaning is illusory in nature. Lacan is describing the formation of meaning in abstract, not actually linked to any objective reality: an indeterminate, self-suspended signification. This is evident when he states that the signifier need not 'answer for its existence in the name of any signification whatever'.[5] It is this deconstructed model of language which we find displayed in the aforementioned novels. We see this in *C,* in a scene where the infant Serge, the central character, is playing with a group of blocks with pictures and symbols printed on their faces:

> Serge holds this new vertical line-up together while he contemplates it; then, deciding it's satisfactory, he removes his hand from the stack. As soon as he does, it starts to wobble, the combined weight of hippo, mud, rabbit and magician proving too much for the beleaguered cyclist, who's further let down by the soft, uneven surface beneath his wheels. As the blocks tumble, rhombi, trapezia and deltoids flash and disappear in a frantic progression, spreading out across the rug.[6]

In the formation of the tower of blocks, we see the emergence of a rudimentary sentence. Through their pictorial language, a chain of signification is constructed, momentarily 'anchored' into a sequence by the physical force of each individual block constituting the tower. Meaning emerges through the alignment and interplay of signifiers within this system of language. But McCarthy is explicit in reminding us that the unstable physical structure of this rickety tower – allegorical of the instability of signification in language – means it will inevitably come crashing down under its own weight. The blocks tumble away, back into a chaotic insignificance, and the transient illusion of meaning is annihilated. It is this deconstructionist effect which produces the strange and chaotic ontology of *C*, where illusions emerge and can only sustain themselves for a brief moment before dissipating. Thus it is revealed, as Jean-Francis Lyotard writes, that in the void ontology of nihilism 'only the transcendental illusion can hope to totalize [meaning] into a real unity'.[7] We can observe the very same effect in *Crash* in a scene where the narrator, Ballard, remembers an experience at an airport:

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[5] Jacques Lacan, 'The Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious' in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Vincent B. Leitch, 2nd end. (London: Norton, 2010) pp.1169-1181 (p.1172).
[6] Tom McCarthy, *C* (London: Vintage, 2010) p.20.
[7] Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition,* trans. Geoff Bennington, Brian Massumi (1979; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) p.81.

> Two months before my accident, during a journey to Paris, I had become so excited by the conjunction of an air hostess's fawn gaberdine skirt on the escalator in front of me and the distant fuselages of the aircraft, each inclined like a silver penis towards her natal cleft, that I had involuntarily touched her left buttock.[8]

Ballard stands on a moving escalator, and as he progresses upwards a visual configuration comes into alignment from his perspective, forming a seemingly significant chain of meaning through the interplay of the separate parts. Again, we find the material conditions under which the thread of signification emerges to be unstable, in that the stairs under Ballard's feet are moving. The signification observed is ephemeral: an image manifesting for only a moment as its component parts move into alignment, before falling out of alignment and breaking the chain of signification achieved by their combination. This is a key feature of the nihilist aesthetic in postmodern literature. These texts display the mechanics by which illusions of meaning are conjured through a contingent moment of alignment in poststructuralist poetics, then ultimately annihilate them before the eyes of the reader to display the nothingness beneath, showing meaning to be a baseless, transient phenomenon.

This nihilist aesthetic is not only linguistic in nature. We also find in this literature, a moral component – or perhaps more aptly, the lack of one. Moral nihilism is the theory which recognises the dissolution of objective moral truths after the 'death of God', and so asserts that moral judgements as essentially meaningless and insubstantial. We see this represented in both the content and language of the poststructuralist nihilist text. In *C*, Serge seems to exhibit an almost sociopathic disconnection from all ethical thought or judgement, never placing moral significance in any of his actions or experiences. This is evident when he is in conversation with his university head in London:

> "I know it's difficult to readjust. [...] You've lived through war and all its horror and-"
>
> "But I liked the war," Serge tells him.[9]

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[8] J. G. Ballard, *Crash* (1973; London: Fourth Estate, 2014) p.29.
[9] McCarthy, Tom, *C* (London: Vintage, 2010) p.214.

Scenes of violence and sexual deviance are presented in un-emotive language, a prose style which is evidently as disengaged from ethical discourse as the characters within.[10] Even in the plotlines of the novel, we find no ultimate moral resolution. There is no sense of closure offered, through which 'good' characters are rewarded, and ill fortune befalls the transgressors of civic or moral law. These divine judgements might have been dealt out by a vengeful 'Author-God' in historic literatures, operating within an established tradition of moral principles. But the beauty of 'good' and the ugliness of 'evil' are absent from nihilist aesthetics, as the very concept of morality is absent from the barren nihilist ontology. Events which traditionally hold so much emotional and moral significance are depicted in a disconnected way, abstracted from the impositions of any presupposed moral reality. In *Crash* we see this expressed in the extreme. The entire narrative centres on the characters' search for extreme sexual experiences, which grow increasingly violent as the novel progresses. Indeed, the novel attracted much controversy for its grotesque content upon its publication, perhaps understandably when we observe such scenes as when Ballard has sex with a disfigured car crash victim:

> My first orgasm, within the deep wound on her thigh, jolted my semen along this channel, irrigating its corrugated ditch. Holding the semen in her hand, she wiped it against the silver controls of the clutch treadle. My mouth was fastened on the scar below her left breast, exploring its sickle-shaped trough.[11]

However, this is not mere fetishism on the part of the author. The events of *Crash* are perhaps some of the most extreme conceivable, completely abhorrent and discomforting when measured against any established ethical standard. As in the extract above, they are described in minute, visual detail; charting the course of these sexual transgressions, and mapping the grotesque wounds they violate, with every sickening penetration laid before the eyes of the reader. This creates a very disturbing experience, and in this we find the true purpose of these scenes. These violent sexual acts, displaying such extremely unsettling deviancies through a clinical and graphic aesthetic, serve as the most severe transgression of sexual and moral norms: a radical act of annihilation by transgression, a shattering.[12] It is no

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[10] James Annesley, *Blank Fictions*, ch.3 'Sex' (London: Pluto Press, 1998) pp.38-57.
[11] Ballard, J. G., *Crash* (1973; London: Fourth Estate, 2014) p.148.
[12] Lars Heiler, 'The Holocaust and Aesthetic Transgression in Contemporary British Fiction' in *Taboo and*
Transgression in British Literature from the Renaissance to the Present, ed. by Stefan Horlacher, Stefan Glomb,
Lars Heiler (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010) pp.243-259.

wonder then that Ballard equates physical annihilation with sexual transgression in his novel, through the strange sexualisation of impact and injury. The devastating car crashes of the novel serve as physical indicators of the equally destructive ideological annihilation which accompanies them. By troubling established sensibilities so severely, the frameworks of moral discourse are completely eradicated from the ontology of the novel, in a most apparent and destructive fashion. It is then clear that this amoral ontology is a space of nihilism, where moral judgements are rendered meaningless against such extreme and aggressive degradation.

Such a destructive and inherently void ideology inevitably lends itself towards extreme pessimism. These overtones are certainly evident in the theoretical writings of another poststructuralist critic, Jean Baudrillard. In his writings Baudrillard presents a philosophical treatise on the postmodern world as being constructed of self-referential simulations. These are illusory realities which are void of any objectivity, and exist suspended in their own self-reference:

> It is no longer a question of a false representation of reality (ideology), but of concealing the fact that the real is no longer real, and thus of saving the reality principle.[13]

This is a nihilist position in that he diagnoses a fundamental absence of objective reality in the world of postmodernity. Characteristic of Baudrillard's point of view is both a despairing nostalgia and a deeply held angst towards the present state of the world. Such sentiments are displayed quite explicitly in much postmodern literature, such as in *C* when Serge listens to the complaints of a young tourist in Egypt:

> I mean, my *grandfather* remembers seeing the Egyptian court in Crystal Palace as a child. [...] until recently you could pitch up here with a compass and a map, and your hosts would arrange for you to find- to '*find*'- [...] a tomb, which they'd prepare overnight for you, mummy and all, while you slept on Oriental cushions. It's all so ... *fake*![14]

The indignation of the young woman is reminiscent of Baudrillard's stance on postmodernity as a troubling world of simulations which exist only to conceal the

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[13] Jean Baudrillard, 'The Precession of Simulacra' in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Vincent B. Leitch, 2nd end. (London: Norton, 2010) p.1565.
[14] McCarthy, Tom, *C* (London: Vintage, 2010) p.260.

absence of any true, authentic reality. The constructed tombs serve not to provide a convincing illusion of authenticity; rather, their apparent inauthenticity serves only to reveal that the entire tourist experience of Egypt is itself inauthentic. It then seems that the state of the world under the shadow of hermeneutic nihilism is one of despair and unease, where nothing is authentic and the ultimate end of knowledge is in this uncomfortable revelation. This point is reminiscent of the critiques of theorist Meyer Abrams against deconstruction, who states that it results in 'a ghostly nonpresence emanating from no voice, intended by no-one, referring to nothing, bombinating in a void'.[15] Indeed, it does seem that the literature of postmodern nihilism is proclaiming its self-referential despair when it wears the colours of inauthenticity so boldly. We can observe the same effect in *Crash*:

> I could see that even now Vaughan was dramatizing himself for the benefit of these anonymous passers-by, holding his position in the spotlight as if waiting for invisible television cameras to frame him. The frustrated actor was evident in all his impulsive movements, and in an irritating way pre-empted my responses to him.[16]

Ballard feels a similar discomfort in observing that the simulation presented by Vaughan supersedes reality in driving his reactions towards him. The 'irritation' described stems from this fact, and the simulation takes on an existentially unsettling character. Similarly, Baudrillard describes the simulations of the world in a way that is characteristically uncanny; hyperreal manifestations of absent realities which, in their apparently artificial representation, implicitly reveal the absence of the reality they purpose to be: 'like the faces in funeral parlours' (Baudrillard, p.1564). The simulation reveals its own paper-thin nature, and the abyss of nihilism is perceived through this translucent fabric. This tacit awareness of nihilism in the subconscious of society and the resulting neurosis is a key feature of postmodernism according to Baurdrillard. In the characters of Ballard and the tourist, these texts draw specific attention to this idea, and it is through this explicit awareness of nihilism as a spectre haunting postmodern life, that existential angst, and a scepticism towards the external world, becomes an integral part of the nihilist aesthetic in postmodern literature.

But this is by no means the terminus of nihilist thought in postmodernity, as Baudrillard and Abrams seem to suggest. Affirmative and optimistic accounts of nihilism are possible to formulate, as both Nietzsche and Vattimo attempt; the

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[15] M. H. Abrams, 'The Deconstructive Angel', *Critical Inquiry* (1977) 3, p.431.
[16] Ballard, J. G., *Crash* (1973; London: Fourth Estate, 2014). p.69.

latter of whom argues that the absence of a unifying origin of meaning reveals 'the meaning and richness of proximity or, in other words, we become capable of playing those language games which constitute our existence'.[17] The possibility of a positive iteration of nihilism becomes clearer when we refer to the idea of the *postmodern sublime,* as formulated by Lyotard:

> The emphasis [of postmodern aesthetics] can also be placed on the increase of being and the jubilation which result from the invention of new rules of the game, be it pictorial, artistic or any other.[18]

Here we can observe a parallel with Derrida's account of deconstruction as a theory of decentralised interplay and interpretation: unrestricted 'free play'.[19] In the annihilation of the unifying origin of meaning, and the subsequent collapse of objective signification in the theories of deconstruction, is a liberation. Without the restrictions of rigid objective signification, we then become the arbiter of meaning in our own experience. Ballard and McCarthy both recognise the potential of response to the crisis of identity which follows the dissolution of values in postmodernist philosophy. They attempt to depict the creative possibility to salvage and reshape the wreckage of such ideological destruction. Vattimo's 'richness of proximity' is the experience of the sublime: a powerful emotive reaction felt in response to our confrontation with the fundamental unrepresentability of meaning through our attempts to capture the world around us.[20] In depicting an ontology of absence and chaotic illusions, the power and beauty of the sublime is realized in postmodern literature. We see this in the previously mentioned extract from *Crash* in which Ballard stands on an escalator. He is compelled, by an intense emotive response to the ephemeral signification which manifests before him, to reach out and touch the stewardess without even being consciously aware of the situation. The power of the illusion is shown to be beyond rationality; a powerfully affective reaction to the ephemeral and unobtainable. This postmodern formulation of the sublime arises as a nostalgic response to the nihilistic void of deconstruction, and so we can see that this is the true aesthetic end of nihilism. These fertile

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[17] Gianni Vattimo, *The End of Modernity* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991) p.177.

[18] Lyotard, Jean-Francois, *The Postmodern Condition,* (1979) p.80.

[19] Jacques Derrida, 'Structure Sign and Play', in W*riting and Difference,* trans. Alan Bass (1978; London:
Routledge, 2001) pp.351-370.

[20] Will Slocombe, *Nihilism and the Postmodern Sublime*, ch.2 'Stylising the Sublime' (London: Routledge, 2006) pp.25-50.

creative possibilities are directly addressed in *C,* in a scene where Serge converses with the war artist Carlisle, who has been commissioned to perform he absurd task of painting from the passenger seat of an aeroplane:

> "Why not just paint it as you see it?" Serge asks.
>
> "Can't even do that," Carlisle wails. "The stuff won't stay still to be painted! Ground won't stay still, air won't stay still, nothing bloody stays still. Even the paint jumps from its bottles, gets all over me"
>
> "Maybe that's the art," Serge says. "I mean the action, all the mess...".[21]

Much like Ballard on the escalator, Carlisle's perspective is in motion. It is shown that objectivity and the 'meaning' derived from authentic representation are completely impossible to capture through his system of signification. But Serge suggests that perhaps the strange, abstract signification (the patterns of the spilled paint) that Carlisle produces *is* the true nature of aesthetic significance. The abstract, self-referential signification achieved through the messy and chaotic act of trying to pin down meaning in language is where we find aesthetic value in the destabilised and otherwise void ontology of nihilism. In the indeterminacy of this chaotic signification, the dissolution of any objective link between signifier and signified and the instability which is represented in this new aesthetic of flux, lies the nature of deconstructionism. The beauty of the sublime is thus realised. The world of simulation becomes not an uncanny unreality, but rather a space of exciting performative creation and potential. In this subjectivist philosophy, meaning becomes a product of artistry, rather than a derivative of objective truth. The aesthetics of postmodern nihilism lie in the appreciation of the ephemeral, the value of the illusion and the unbridled creative acts which birth it. We see such an optimistic attitude to the annihilation of meaning and its boundaries in the perverse sexuality of *Crash* and all its destructive irreverence:

> This obsession with the sexual possibilities of everything around me had been jerked loose from my mind by the crash. [...] The crash between our two cars was a model of some ultimate and yet undreamt sexual union. The injuries of still-to-be-admitted patients beckoned to me, an immense encyclopedia of accessible dreams.[22]

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[21] McCarthy, Tom, *C* (London: Vintage, 2010) p.147.
[22] Ballard, J. G., *Crash* (1973; London: Fourth Estate, 2014). p.19.

The acts which annihilate the frameworks of meaning and leave behind the nihilist ontology are not met with despair, but with an enthusiastic sense of possibility. The act of destruction (the car crash) shatters Ballard's sexual boundaries, revealing the possibility of new experiences beyond them. Through these creative inventions, Lyotard's 'increase of being' occurs. A jubilant reification of the self is achieved, and in this lies a moment of aesthetic significance; the feeling of the sublime.[23] Such an optimistic sense of possibility is also expressed in the end of the novel, wherein Ballard states he will go on to continue seeking the ultimate sexual experience in his inevitable vehicular suicide, an extreme aesthetic experience achieved through his own annihilation.

It is the radical destabilisation caused by the nihilistic philosophy of deconstruction which allow for this aesthetic phenomenon to emerge from the void of meaning. The practice of deconstruction, like Ballard's car crash, is the radical act of destructive annihilation which sets the precedent for subsequent acts of creation. The motifs of chaos and destruction in this literature are conjured, through the void poetics of deconstruction, in order to explore what might be gleaned from the wreckage of meaning that is left in the wake of nihilistic postmodern philosophy. The indeterminacy of unbridled signification, divorced from objective reality, is depicted as the liberator of true creative potential. These writers tackle the crises of identity and ethics, linguistics and metaphysics, at the heart of postmodernist discourse not by rejecting and opposing the poststructuralist philosophy that brings about this destruction. Instead they explore the possibility of a subjectivist account of creativity to act as a constructive force within this seemingly ideologically barren landscape, to create new structures of meaning in the experience of the individual. The dissolution of absolute truth is therefore met with optimism, rather than despair. This is the true character of nihilist aesthetics.

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[23] Slocombe, ch.5 'Postmodern Nihilism and Postmodern Aesthetics', pp.105-138.

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The lower bound on interest rates and ways to overcome it
Pia-Katharina Andres

Expansionary monetary policy was traditionally thought to be restricted by the zero lower bound on nominal interest rates. Yet since 2014, some central banks, facing secular stagnation and deflationary traps, have pushed key policy rates below zero. This paper reviews the theoretical literature on the zero lower bound and proposals to overcome it. It concludes that such proposals are primarily designed to discourage cash hoarding, and their success depends on the economic and cultural environment in which they are to be implemented.

1. Introduction

Economists have traditionally considered accommodative monetary policy to be subject to a zero lower bound on nominal interest rates.[24] This is because economic actors are presented with a choice to substitute for paper currency, which earns an interest rate of 0%.

In the context of secular stagnation in many advanced economies and nominal policy rates at or near 0%, central banks have moved towards unconventional measures, most notably large-scale asset purchase programmes known as 'quantitative easing'. The lower bound on nominal interest rates and the possibility of pushing rates below zero have also gained increased attention. Since 2014, four central banks in Europe, as well as the Bank of Japan, have moved key policy rates into negative territory, showing that the effective lower bound on interest rates appears to be located below zero. This paper will discuss the source of the lower bound, the extent to which it represents a constraint on expansionary interest rate policy, and the three main proposals put forward to eliminate it: abolishing paper currency; taxing paper currency; and creating a variable, but targeted exchange rate between paper and digital currency. The technical practicalities, limitations and potential political repercussions of each mechanism will also be discussed.

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[24] Nominal rates differ from real rates in that the latter take into account the effect of changes in the price level.

The paper concludes that all such proposals primarily aim to discourage cash hoarding. Their main limitation is thus public resistance, such as a shift to other safe, liquid assets as a store of value. The success of implementing each of the proposals discussed would also depend on the specific economic and cultural context in which it is to be implemented.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the cause of the lower bound on nominal interest rates as identified in the literature. Section 3 discusses the extent to which the lower bound represents a practical constraint on monetary policy. Section 4-6 discuss the three main proposals put forward to eliminate the lower bound. Section 7 summarises the experience of central banks which have implemented negative nominal policy rates, and section 8 concludes.

2. The lower bound on nominal interest rates: causes and impact

The 'zero lower bound' on nominal interest rates as a constraint on expansionary monetary policy in a low inflation environment is well-documented in the literature. Proposals on how to eliminate it were brought forward in the early 20th century by Silvio Gesell and as potential remedies during the great depression years by Robert Eisler, discussed by John Maynard Keynes, and advocated by Irving Fisher. John Hicks wrote on the lower bound:

> "If the costs of holding money can be neglected, it will always be profitable to hold money rather than lend it out, if the rate of interest is not greater than zero. Consequently the rate of interest must always be positive."[25]

In the context of present-day monetary policy, imposing a negative interest rate on bank deposits or commercial banks' reserves with the central bank should be uncomplicated. However, paper currency has traditionally earned a nominal interest rate of zero, because of the apparent logistical impossibility of paying (or charging) interest on it. This is the main issue identified in the literature. It would be impossible to verify how much interest was due under the current system, and even harder to enforce a negative interest rate: the holders of currency could simply refuse to come forward to pay it. Paper currency can be used and transferred

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[25] Hicks, J., 'Mr. Keynes and the "Classics": A Suggested Interpretation' (1937) *Econometrica*, 5, 147-159.

anonymously, and its holders can hardly be identified as due to receive or pay interest.[26]

While the lower bound on nominal interest rates is often said to be zero, this may not strictly be the case. Recent policy decisions by five central banks to lower key policy rates below zero (to be discussed in more detail in section 7) have not led to cash hoarding by commercial banks. This should not be taken as sufficient evidence to dismiss the option of hoarding cash as a serious constraint. There are considerable costs involved in securely storing large amounts of paper currency. The lower bound on nominal interest rates is therefore likely to be below zero where large quantities of money are involved, and will depend on how long interest rates are expected to remain in negative territory.[27]

The possibility that under some circumstances the lower bound may be hit at a positive rate of interest has also been considered;[28] this would be the case if there were benefits to holding paper currency (such as liquidity or anonymity) which exceeded both storage costs and a certain positive rate of interest on lending money in the form of bank deposits or otherwise. However, recent developments do not suggest that this ought to be a serious concern.

3. The lower bound on interest rates as a policy constraint

Central banks target interest rates to achieve their desired level of inflation. A crucial channel of the monetary transmission mechanism is demand management, which in recent years has increasingly become a monetary policy goal in its own right. What is usually thought to matter most in practice are real interest rates, which are obtained by deducting the level of inflation from nominal rates. At positive levels of inflation, real interest rates can easily go negative. In a low, zero or negative inflation environment, the lower bound on nominal interest rates can mean that real rates are sub-optimally high. When nominal rates are at their lower bounds and inflation remains below target, the economy has entered a 'liquidity trap'.[29]

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[26] Buiter, W.H., 'Negative Nominal Interest Rates: Three ways to overcome the zero lower bound' (2009) *NBER Working Paper* 15118.
[27] Bech, M. and A. Malkhozov, 'How have central banks implemented negative policy rates?' (2016) *BIS Quarterly Review*, March 2016.
[28] Yates, T., 'Monetary Policy and the Zero Bound to Interest Rates: A Review' (2002) *European Central Bank Working Paper* 190.
[29] Buiter, W.H., and N. Panigirtzoglou, 'Liquidity traps: how to avoid them and how to escape them' (1999) *NBER Working Paper* 7245.

After the high-inflation years of the second half of the 20th century, the danger of entering a liquidity trap was viewed as more of an academic concern:

> "Overall, the risks of being trapped at the zero bound to interest rates are probably small, and probably overstated."[30]

However, times have changed. Inflation has been consistently below the central banks' targets in several advanced economies, including the UK (prior to the recent Sterling depreciation in response to the EU referendum), the Eurozone and Japan. The US Federal Reserve kept its Federal Funds target range near zero for almost eight years after the 2008 financial crisis.[31] In the Eurozone in particular, economic growth has been slow, and inflation at times even negative.[32][33]

Amidst these circumstances, combined with a political climate favouring fiscal austerity, central banks turned to unconventional policy instruments; most notably, largescale asset purchase programmes also known as 'quantitative easing'.[34] Some have also begun to move certain policy rates into negative territory.[35] The lower bound on interest rates has thus become a potentially binding constraint on current policy. The remainder of this paper will provide an overview of the main proposals to eliminate the lower bound, as well as the experience of central banks which have pushed policy rates below zero.

4. Abolishing paper currency

Abolishing paper currency presents itself as an obvious way to eliminate the lower bound on nominal interest rates, which is thought to be caused by the existence of currency as a liquid, riskless and interest-free way of storing money. Paper currency

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[30] Yates, 'Monetary Policy and the Zero Bound to Interest Rates: A Review'
[31] Neate, R., 'US Federal Reserve raises interest rates for second time since 2008 crisis' (2016) *The Guardian — Business*, 14 December 2016.
[32] Gimdal, G. and C. Karakas, 'Secular stagnation and the euro area'(2016) *European Parliamentary Research Service*, pE 573.972.
[33] Hannon, P., 'Eurozone Slides Back Into Deflation' (2016) *TheWall Street Journal—Economy—Europe Economy*, 18 May 2016.
[34] Borio, C. and P. Disyatat, 'Unconventional monetary policies: an appraisal' (2009) *BIS Working Paper* 292.
[35] Bech and Malkhozov, 'How have central banks implemented negative policy rates?'

is exceedingly used only for small payments, if at all, in many economies, and its abolition is therefore sometimes considered a relatively hassle free affair with the added effect of impeding black-market and other illegal activities.[36] In a cashless economy, nominal interest rates could theoretically become as negative as thought desirable - unless economic agents chose to substitute another type of safe, liquid asset for deposits, a limitation which applies to all three proposals and will be discussed further in section 8.

Consideration should be given to several issues potentially arising from such a move. The ease with which paper currency could be abolished and the readiness with which this would be accepted by the general populace should be expected to vary from country to country. Sweden is seen as the champion of de-facto cashless societies: its central bank estimates that paper currency in circulation makes up less than 2% of GDP[37] and (according to anecdotal reports) cash payments are frequently refused even during small transactions such as paying a taxi fare.[38] While elsewhere some businesses accept only cash or charge fees for card payments, the opposite is true in Sweden. 'Contact-less' credit or debit card payments are also exceedingly common in the United States and other Anglo-Saxon countries. However, elsewhere paper currency is used much more frequently: in Japan, for example, it is used for the vast majority of retail transactions.[39] Under such circumstances the decision to abolish cash may well be met with a substantial amount of resistance and it might be disruptive to day-to-day economic and social life. It would also involve additional costs to businesses who do not possess card payment facilities, which would most likely affect small businesses disproportionately. These necessary investments could of course be subsidised by government.

In a society resistant to the abolition of paper currency the latter might very possibly be replaced by alternative means of payment offering a similar level of anonymity and liquidity. After all, anything can be used as a medium of exchange as long as it is accepted by those one wishes to trade with and can be carried

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[36] cf. Buiter, 'Negative Nominal Interest Rates: Three ways to overcome the zero lower bound'

[37] Sveriges Riksbank, 'The Swedish Financial Market' (2016) *Sveriges Riksbank Publications*, Stockholm, August 2016.

[38] Heller, N., 'Imagining a cashless world' (2016) *The New Yorker — Letter from Stockholm*, 10 October 2016.

[39] Mayger, J. and C. Anstey, 'Cash Is Still King in Japan, and That Could Be a Problem for the BOJ' (2016) *Bloomberg Markets*, 8 November 2016.

without unreasonable effort; the familiar example of cigarettes as a type of currency among prison populations springs to mind.

While the prospect of impeding illegal activities and tax fraud by making anonymous payments impossible may sound appealing, consideration should also be given to the question of civic rights. Abolishing anonymous payments altogether could be seen as an infringement upon rights to data protection, civil liberty, and privacy.

Abolishing cash would also prevent the economic participation of agents who do not have bank accounts, despite not being involved in illegal activities. This may include children and the homeless. Immigrants, particularly those without legal status, would also be extremely vulnerable. While their labour force participation falls under illegal activities and some might welcome their exclusion, it remains a contentious political and economic issue.

Less radical proposals involve measures to effectively 'phase out' paper currency. Rogoff[40] proposes that holding large sums of money be made more difficult by the abolition of large banknotes; Kimball[41] suggests that stripping paper currency of its legal tender status might make cash less attractive as a store of value, without removing its function as a means of payment (at least for smaller transactions).

5. Taxing paper currency

Buiter[42] and others attribute the suggestion to impose a 'carry tax' on paper currency to Silvio Gesell, who proposed introducing a chargeable, monthly stamp required in order for banknotes to retain their value.[43] The purpose of this proposed policy was to prevent money hoarding; an idea favoured also by Fisher.[44]

Inspired by Gesell's proposal, an alternative currency called 'Wara' was temporarily used in some German communities in the early 1930s. At the time, the Reichsmark tended to be hoarded due to the uncertain economic environment, and the resulting insufficient supply of currency in circulation further depressed economic activity. The Wara had to be stamped weekly at a rate of 2% of its value, which led

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[40] Rogoff, K., *The Curse of Cash* (2016) Princeton: Princeton University Press.
[41] Kimball, M., 'A Minimalist Implementation of Electronic Money' (2013) *Confessions of a Supply-Side Liberal*, 20 May 2013.
[42] Buiter, 'Negative Nominal Interest Rates: Three ways to overcome the zero lower bound'
[43] Gesell, S. and P. Pye, *The natural economic order* (1958) London: Owen.
[44] Fisher, I., *Stamp Scrip* (1933) New York: Adelphi.

to its faster circulation. The resulting revival of one particular community's economy became known as the 'miracle of Schwanenkirchen'. A similarly successful experiment using stamp scrip was carried out in the Austrian town of Woergl, and some local areas in the United States followed these examples. The scrip currencies were later deemed illegal in Germany and Austria.[45]

Thanks to more advanced technology, a carry tax on paper currency could now be imposed via more sophisticated means than by using a stamp (which would be highly vulnerable to counterfeiting). Goodfriend[46] proposes implanting a magnetic strip in each banknote in order to monitor when the bill was last withdrawn and tax it accordingly. Buiter and Panigirtzoglou[47] highlight the danger that unstamped currency may continue to be accepted as a means of payment and the tax thus be circumvented. In order to enforce the carry tax, they propose a more visible distinction than that proposed by Goodfriend, such as a stamp, and to introduce a penalty on those who hold currency on which the carry tax or negative interest has not been paid, such as confiscation.[48]

6. Decoupling paper currency from the unit of account

Paper and digital currency commonly hold the same value and can be exchanged at a ratio of 1:1.

Robert Eisler envisaged a distinction between the values of bank money and paper currency, within a broader programme for maintaining price stability.[49] Buiter[50] provides a number of historical examples in which the unit of account differed from the medium of exchange. In practice, paper currency could be abolished and replaced by a currency of a different name, or it could remain as it was but be stripped of its parity in value with electronic money.

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[45] ibid.
[46] Goodfriend, M., 'Overcoming the Zero Bound on Interest Rate Policy' (2000) *Journal of Money, Credit and Banking*, 32, 1007-1035.
[47] Buiter and Panigirtzoglou, 'Liquidity traps: how to avoid them and how to escape them'
[48] Buiter and Panigirtzoglou, 'Liquidity traps: how to avoid them and how to escape them'
[49] Eisler, R., *Stable Money: The Remedy for the Economic World Crisis* (1932) London: The Search Publishing
[50] Buiter, 'Negative Nominal Interest Rates: Three ways to overcome the zero lower bound'

Modern proposals based on this idea, such as time-varying deposit fee at the central bank's cash window suggested by Kimball[51][52] or the 'euro and wim' economy described by Buiter,[53] emphasise the imposition of a controlled exchange rate between digital and paper currency. This exchange rate could be achieved by imposing a variable deposit or withdrawal fee, either on all bank deposits/withdrawals or only at the central bank.[54] Alternatively, instead of using a fee as such, the central bank might impose an exchange rate in regular intervals and treat commercial banks' cash deposits (or withdrawals) accordingly, requiring banks to do the same. If, for instance, at a given point in time the exchange rate stood at 1.1 units of paper currency to 1 unit of digital currency, a person depositing 1 unit of paper currency at a commercial bank would only see their account credited by 0.99 units of digital currency. This would be because the same principle would apply to commercial banks depositing (or withdrawing) reserves at the central bank.

Retaining the digital currency as the unit of account could be required by law. During periods in which nominal policy interest rates are negative, the paper currency would be made to depreciate against the electronic currency. Parity could be re-established (as it is now) whenever rates are positive, or paper currency could be made to appreciate during such times.

An important limitation is the danger that the public might resist using the digital currency as the unit of account, and refer to the paper currency instead, if unofficially.[55] In effect, then, digital money would gain value, instead of paper currency losing it. Furthermore, the policy might result in significant menu costs for businesses if both prices were to be provided at all times and the exchange rate changed frequently.

7. Negative nominal interest rate policy in practice

In the aftermath of the 2008 crisis and a context of secular stagnation, central banks in several advanced economies reached the limits of conventional interest rate policy, with rates at or near zero. To provide further stimulus, balance sheet policies in the form of large-scale asset purchase programmes were introduced.

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[51] Agarwal, R. and M. Kimball, 'Breaking through the zero lower bound' (2015) *IMF Working Paper* 15/224.
[52] Kimball, M., 'Negative Interest Rate Policy as Conventional Monetary Policy' 2015 *National Institute Economic Review*, 234, R5-R14.
[53] Buiter, 'Negative Nominal Interest Rates: Three ways to overcome the zero lower bound'
[54] Agarwal and Kimball, 'Breaking through the zero lower bound'
[55] Buiter, 'Negative Nominal Interest Rates: Three ways to overcome the zero lower bound'

Since 2014, the central banks of the Eurozone, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden and Japan, and to some extent Hungary and Norway, have also breached what was previously thought of as the lower bound on nominal interest rates and lowered policy rates below zero. As of yet, rates have not gone below -1.25% in any jurisdiction.

The rationale for introducing negative nominal policy rates differed between jurisdictions. In the euro area, Sweden, Hungary, Norway and Japan, the aim was to stimulate growth and inflation. In Denmark and Switzerland, negative rates were primarily a reaction to the negative interest rate policy of the ECB, which put considerable appreciation pressure on the Swiss franc and Danish kroner (as well as other European currencies). Overall, negative rates fed through to financial markets normally and were quite successful in stabilising exchange rates, while effects on growth and inflation were mixed. There has been no evidence of cash hoarding by banks in any of the jurisdictions in question.[56]

8. Conclusion

This paper has provided an overview of the literature on the lower bound on nominal interest rates, which arises due to the existence of paper currency as a safe, interest-free store of value. Three proposals put forward to eliminate it have been discussed: abolishing paper currency, taxing it, and decoupling its value from the unit of account. The paper has also provided a brief overview of central banks which have pushed some policy rates below zero; notably, none of them used any of the proposals previously discussed.

In essence, proposals to eliminate the zero lower bound always aim to prevent cash hoarding. The biggest threat to their effectiveness is therefore the possibility of public resistance. Even if paper currency were abolished completely, people might turn to other assets to replace it, such as precious metals or foreign currencies. As Keynes pointed out, dismissing Gesell's stamped currency,

> "money [is] not unique in having a liquidity-premium attached to it, but differ[s] only in degree from many other articles [...] if currency notes were to be deprived of their liquidity-premium by the

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[56] cf. Bech and Malkhozov, 'How have central banks implemented negative policy rates?'

> stamping system, a long series of substitutes would
> step into their shoes [...]"[57]

Opinions on the likelihood of this occurring vary among scholars,[58] but it is a danger that should not be dismissed outright. Negative nominal interest rates, especially if they were imposed on individual savers, might prove politically controversial. The argument that negative real interest rates have always existed and been accepted without further protest may not be reliable prediction of public reactions: public awareness of inflation levels and knowledge of the difference between nominal and real interest may not be as strong as economists might hope or assume. In other words, the public is likely to exhibit 'money illusion'.

Moreover, the more negative nominal rates become, the more likely it seems that each mechanism's limitations might come into play. If paper currency were abolished, the only way to circumvent the negative rate would be to substitute for other safe, liquid assets. Parallel currencies might appear. If paper currency were to depreciate against digital currency or be taxed, resistance to the policy through continued use of unstamped cash or use of paper currency as the unit of account might be more likely to emerge at increasingly negative levels of interest rates than only slightly negative ones. Any choice of steps to eliminate the lower bound should thus be evaluated with a view to the specific cultural and political context in which they are to be implemented. In countries like Sweden, phasing out or abolishing paper currency might be feasible. Elsewhere, a currency tax or exchange rate might prove more effective. Furthermore, empirically, negative nominal interest rates have not typically had any substantial effects on growth and inflation (in the Eurozone, for instance, both are still below target) and it is uncertain whether removing the lower bound on nominal interest rates will be sufficient in addressing secular stagnation.

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[57] Keynes, J.M., *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936/1939) London: Macmillan.
[58] cf. Goodfriend, 'Overcoming the Zero Bound on Interest Rate Policy'

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James Ensor: Anarchism, Spirituality and Degeneracy in the Belgian *fin de siècle*
Maria Anna Cynkier

The article aims to outline the motifs present in works of James Ensor, a Belgian artist, whose art relates to the Symbolist approach to painting. By iconographical analysis combined with the examination of social factors, this article will evaluate Ensor's contribution to the Symbolist practice during the end of the 19th century. Neglected for a long time by the discipline of art history, his flamboyant visions depicting masks and skeletons are now thought to constitute important emblems allowing for the exploration of the fin-de-siècle soul, troubled by progress and uncertainty and manifested in anarchism, degeneracy as well as spiritualism. This article will argue that the choice of iconography was not solely determined by the artist's inner life, but its foundation can be found in the dramatic social changes occurring in the late 19th century Belgium and Europe.

Camilla: You sir, should unmask.
Stranger: Indeed?
Cassilda: Indeed it's time. We all have laid aside disguise but you.
Stranger: I wear no mask.
Camilla: (Terrified, aside to Cassilda) No mask? No mask![1]

This excerpt, taken from R.W. Chamber's 1895 short story collection *The Yellow King,* encapsulates the atmosphere of uncertainty present among Belgian society at the end of the nineteenth century. Works which could easily correspond to the mood of this scene belong to the oeuvre of James Ensor (1860-1949), arguably the most significant Belgian artist since the times of Rubens and one of few who did not involve themselves primarily with variants of realism.[2] Thus, he is often mentioned besides Hieronymus Bosch and Peter Breughel the Elder. Notably, this is not for anti-realism, as none of them rejected nature, but on the grounds of their shared

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[1] R.W. Chambers, *The King in Yellow,* (2015), accessed December 4th, 2016, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8492/8492-h/8492-h.htm.
[2] L. Tannenbaum, *James Ensor,* (New York, 1951), 27.

carnivalesque and grotesque visions.[3] The phantasmagorical images crafted by Ensor's perception of Belgian fin de siècle society reveal to the modern day viewer how the closing decades of the nineteenth century were a period of rapid social changes hurtling towards uncharted fields. Ensor's world is a peculiar world, a realm when once known reality underwent radical and appalling transformation – a world of progress, destruction and uncertainty.

Before introducing his bizarre fantasies, Ensor was known to the public as a leader of the Belgian avant-garde, who was committed to landscape and genre painting. Having abandoned the Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts, which he dubbed "an institution for the near-blind" after only two years, Ensor devoted himself to Symbolist practice.[4] The Symbolist movement, initiated by Jean Moréas's Manifesto in 1886, was primarily concerned only with literature, however, rapidly extended to include visual art. What interested Symbolist painters was the assumption that an artwork should express the immaterial concepts (or "Ideas") concealed by symbols existing in the real world.[5] According to Michelle Facos, a leading scholar on Symbolist art, there are two main factors that distinguish a Symbolist work: "an artist's desire to represent ideas" and "a manipulation of colour, form, and composition that signals the artist's relative indifference to worldly appearances.[6] Thus, the range of Symbolist works is varied and often very subjective due to the personal understandings of each artist. The process of embellishing external stimuli with internal flourishes is reversed to create a more conceptual, personal and altogether more ambiguous work.

Ambiguity was not merely confined to the singular expressions of these artists but would have been felt throughout society as a result of the *Zeitgeist*. The period of Symbolist activity coincided with the concluding decades of the 19th century, described as fin de siècle. Despite the term being coined a little over a hundred years ago, fin de siècle literally translates into "end of the century" and could thus be attached to every such period but is often specifically attriuted to the 1890s. One of the central characteristics of fin de siècle is a universal awareness of time and future, resulting in the consideration of world events to be moving towards a final conclusion. Historically, fin de siècle have at times been accompanied by prophecies declaring the end of the world, punishment of sinners and, in Christianity, the second coming of Christ. Throughout time these myths were

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[3] Ibid., 7.
[4] J.D. Farmer, *Ensor,* (New York, 1976), 10.
[5] M. Facos, *Symbolist Art in Context,* (Berkeley, 2001), 1.
[6] Ibid., 1.

altered and adapted to current events. Furthermore, natural disasters (floods, famines, etc.) and social degradation were associated with a coming apocalypse. Therefore, the term itself did not merely signify the end of the 19th century but described a *Zeitgeist* of decay and decline determined by multiple social and historical factors.[7] This period of rapid change carried a foreboding sense of disaster as uncontrolled progress was seen to deteriorate the morality of society. A fuzzy future hung in the mist for fin de siècle society with nothing certain spare an impending sense of doom and destruction.

These circumstances fostered the development of many new political formations, one of which was anarchism, presently synonymous with violence and often associated with Marxism due to their shared disdain for the bourgeois and ruling class. Nineteenth century *fin-de-siècle* anarchism was pointedly less militaristically authoritarian with an emphasis on the individual liberty, its power and the optimistic belief in harmony and an inherent goodness of the human psyche. At the apex of James Ensor's career, in the 1880s and 1890s, anarchism became a well-organised underground political group in France and Belgium.[8] As a consequence of the failure of liberalism in Europe both political right and left became extreme. In time members of each wing began to reject aspects of present society along with its degradation and dreamed of a utopian future. The anarchist movement appealed particularly to artists as it represented a political situation matching rebellions against traditional modes of teaching and academies.[9] Although it is difficult to precisely establish the nature of Ensor's political sympathies, the Symbolist circles of Belgium certainly leaned towards socialist thought, with the house of young intellectuals Ernest and Mariette Rousseau (whose family were early patrons of and strong supporters of Ensor's work) being where these artists debated politics – all of whom Ensor was close friends with and, being near Brussels, a place which he often visited.[10] While those contacts familiarised him with anarcho-communist theory, he got a chance to observe its practical sides in the group Les XX, a central movement to the development of the Belgian fin de siècle avant-garde. Ensor made his debut with the formation and, though the group itself was not rebellious, through their Salons they employed anarchist tactics such as hanging red flags, red exhibition catalogues and the

[7] S. West, *Fin De Siècle*, (Woodstock, 1994), 1.
[8] Ibid., 33.
[9] M. Facos, *Symbolist Art in Context*, 91.
[10] S. F. Eisenman, 'Allegory and Anarchism in James Ensor's Apparition: Vision Preceding Futurism', *Record of the Art Museum*, (1987) vol.46, 14.

democratisation of art by the inclusion of decorative arts in their shows.[11] Thus, through the rejection of conventions both art and politics worked to vitalise new modes of expression and governance. Anarchism and art were, in ways, social and political commentary in the face of a society unsure of its future amidst a backdrop of upheaval and industrial progress.

The artist, familiar with the works of English caricaturists such as Thomas Rowlandson and William Hogarth, fused this anarchist spirit with satirical elements in the same vein as the aforementioned to create many comedic paintings and etchings which touch upon the political debates of his time. An excellent example of this is the lesser-known drawing *Doctrinal Feeding* (figure 1) from 1889 in which the artist represents members of Belgian Liberal and Catholic parties along with the king Leopold II, all sitting on a bowl's edge. Three of them hold cards: on the left a general holds "Service personel" (personal service), which refers to paying lower classes to serve military terms alongside a bourgeois man, representative of the Liberals, holding "Suffrage universel" (universal suffrage) which would give conservative Liberals more control over the lower classes; on the right squats a bishop with a university rector, representatives of the Catholic party holding "Instruction obligatoire" (obligatory instruction), which alludes to their control over the orientation of education. Leopold II is situated in the middle at the centre and all of them are defecating on the crowd in the bowl beneath. By utilising scatological imagery, Ensor not only antagonised Belgian politicians but defied the beliefs of his contemporaries whilst emphasising his unsympathetic attitude to their value systems. In the nineteenth century, scatological imagery had an additional symbolic meaning representative of assorted cultural realities. Smell was used to differentiate between status and living spaces; secretion of the poor was associated with excrement and the absence of odour of the middle classes implied education and wealth.[12] When viewed from a different angle, movement towards deodorization of the society could thus be understood as an attempt to control society. Ensor takes this to the next level in *Doctrinal Feeding*, one of his most direct political statements, by inverting the scatological referent so that it becomes a symbol of the ruling order, displaying their hypocrisy. Fear of populism and also of authoritarianism of the established order is presented here in a manner both lambasting and humorous. The debasement of the public, as illustrated by Ensor, is a result of the so-called progress dictated by these authority figures. As a scathing

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[11] M.A. Stevens *et al., Impressionism to Symbolism: The Belgian Avant-garde 1880-1900,* (London, 1994), 49.
[12] S.M. Canning, 'The Ordure of Anarchy: Scatological Signs of Self and Society in the Art of James Ensor,' *Art Journal,* (1993) vol.52, 52.

analysis of the upper classes, his work encapsulates the social and political feelings perceived by the public of his times.

Another more frequent visual device used by the artist to explicitly assess social deceit was his use of theatrical masks which, through their characteristics of semblance and disguise, literally symbolised the uncertainty and unease felt by Ensor's society in the face of ambivalent anxiety. The history of masks can be traced back as early as the Stone Age. With the rise of Enlightenment rationalism masks were relegated to a means of disguise during Carnivals where the anonymity loosened social taboos. Conversely, in animistic societies masks were understood as either demonic devices or were assigned various roles (including exorcism of evil spirits, clan cohesion and protection of the dead.)[13] In 18th-century Venice, as a psychological instrument, masks culminated as stimuli for a number of works by Goya, Watteau and Callot.[14] Ensor was acquainted with such compositions and in fact masks were a trademark feature of his, so much so that the nickname "the painter of masks" was obsessively associated with his artistic output.[15] He thought of them in terms of "freshness of colour, sumptuous decoration, wild unexpected gestures, very shrill expressions, exquisite turbulence."[16] Ensor would have been made aware of these qualities from childhood. His hometown Ostend was famed for hosting the most renown carnival in the whole of Belgium. By Ensor's adulthood in the 1880s, puppet shows became a popular entertainment for the Belgian middle class and Ensor was known to visit Théâtre Royale de Toone, a popular marionette playhouse in Brussels.[17]These were cheerful memories for a young James and stipulated his interest in the carnivalesque carrying forward into adulthood and onto the canvas. Masks and their meanings are bonded by an arbitrary relation. They take up the conventional means and easily modify the wearer's cultural identity according to his or her preferences.[18] Ensor understood the double nature of masks: they disguised an individual's fears whilst revealing inner truths and serving as a psychological other. The former notion is most apparent when examined in the individuals depicted in his works. In his oeuvre, as in *The Intrigue* (figure 2), masks and faces are undifferentiated and detached from

[13] A. Swinbourne 'Meeting James Ensor' in A. Swinbourne (ed.), *James Ensor,* (New York, 2009), 13.

[14] Ibid., 22.

[15] S.M. Canning, 'James Ensor: Carnival of the Modern', in ibid., 9.

[16] D.S. Werman, 'James Ensor and the Mask of Reality', *Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies,* (2003), 345.

[17] T. Hyman, 'James Ensor: A Carnival Sense of the World' in C. Brown (ed.) *Ensor,* (London, 1977), 76.

[18] D. Pollock, 'Masks and the Semiotics of Identity', The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, (1995), vol.1, 581-587.

their original carnival context, they become emblems of the horrible and the frightful in contemporary society. They present an uncertainty in turn provoking anxiety within the viewer as they look upon the uncanny. By the inanimateness of masks, Ensor exposes the self whilst simultaneously dehumanising and devaluing the wearers. His masked figures are a means of constructing his own pictorial, carnivalesque language. By only representing a broader section of society, Ensor is able to make a definite and powerful statement about his generation, torn by experiences of fear and apprehension towards the future as uncharted progresses challenged fundamental truths and individuals anticipated the destruction of the known world.

The social insecurity expressed in Ensor's paintings was intensified by factors such as changes in science, particularly within the discipline of natural history. One notable discussion initiated during the 19th century was concerned with the course of evolution. The writings of Darwin and his work *On the Origin of Species* (first translated into French in 1862) divided the scientific community between those who advocated his theories and those who favoured older ones formulated by Jean-Baptiste Lamarck.[19] Whilst Darwin's work was a product of the rationalist and positivist spirit of the Enlightenment, the fin de siècle conversely featured a reciprocal interest in the spiritual and intangible which naturally resulted in an increased interest in religion and its impact on people's lives. Darwin's writings were the destruction of solid moral values and signified vast change on a foundational level along with the apprehension that many felt towards such radical new groundwork. As scientific theories endangered religious beliefs of many, the person of Christ as well as Catholicism itself was questioned. The fin de siècle was a time in which Darwinism was under pressure by those who wanted to assert the social importance of spirituality. The divinity of Christ himself and the theological mission of his teachings were now, however, questioned. One of the most pertinent books on this issue was *The Life of Christ* by David Friedrich Strauss published in 1835 and translated into French in 1856.[20] The scientific focus and analytical approach of the book suggested that the power of Christianity lies not merely in Christ's divinity but in his social mission. With his first Biblically themed works, collectively titled *Visions- The aureoles of Christ* or *the sensitivities of the light*, exhibited at

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[19] B. Larson, 'Evolution and Degeneration in the Early Work of Odilon Redon', *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide 2*, vol.2 (2003), accessed January 30th, 2017, http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring03/76-spring03/spring03article/220-evolution-and-degeneration-in-the-early-work-of-odilon-redon

[20] S.M. Canning, 'Visionary Politics: The Social Subjects of James Ensor's Religious Imagery', in C. Brown (ed.) *James Ensor 18690-1949 Theatre of Masks,* (London, 1997), 63.

the Les XX salon in 1887, Ensor likewise began exploring the potential conveyed in religious allegory as a vehicle for personal expression, social commentary and intent.[21] This series of works for the first time featured a combination of his earlier pieces; paintings shown at the Brussels and Paris Salons depicting leisurely activities, landscapes and the separate lives of the middle class and the poor. The drawings were executed in a monochromatic palette and principally conveyed the public moral agenda concerning religion. That being said they did not reflect Ensor's religious beliefs. Despite his upbringing in a predominantly Catholic country, Ensor himself had always been deeply anti-clerical.[22] Consequently, *Visions'* Christian iconography did not aim to celebrate religious themes but instead aimed to engage with a unifying idea; the victory of marginalised individuality. They present the life of Christ defined in terms of his interaction with society in order to emphasise this proposal – which could be detached from the religious context and associated with socialist art – of anti-authoritarian posture. Ensor's paintings of Christ, such as those showing Him present at the entrances to cities and parades, combined with contemporary architectural settings, therefore became accounts of contemporary events. With this means, the artist hoped to engage the public in a debate about the state of society and to confront it without invoking intimidation.

Ensor developed these ideas in his most famous work, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889* (figure 3). The canvas portrays a tragi-comic tide of carnival crowd and Christ entering contemporary Brussels. This is an imagined event inspired by the biblical entry to Jerusalem with the difference lying in the fact that in Ensor's painting, Christ is – similar to the artist – mostly ignored and isolated amidst the masses of modern society. Some of the figures are more masked than others, but all of them are marked by grotesque or caricature with many being demons, witches or death. The figure of Christ atop a donkey wearing a halo with an arm outstretched in blessing might be a tribute to the old Flemish master Ensor admired, Peter Breughel the Elder and his painting *The Procession to Cavalry* (an oil panel painted in 1564 now in Vienna), in which Christ carrying the cross is also interwoven into the mélange of the crowd. The painting can be comprehended as a modernist scene in which the lone individual confronts masses blinded by ideology again reiterating the common theme of the outsider's triumph within spiritual iconography and Ensor's religious works. This reading uses the psychology of the flourishing masses of the 1880s in France to redefine their pathological conditions as "caused by the

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[21] Ibid., 58.
[22] L. Tannenbaum, *James Ensor,* 61.

absence of reason."[23] However, the problem with this take is that it assumes opposition between an individual (the source of truth) and the public (the source of insanity). An alternative reading was set forth by Stefan Jonsson who suggests that Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889 depicts the "society degree zero," a community existing before the sociological division on masses and individuals.[24] The hypothesis is relevant especially in regard to its correspondence with the state of Belgian society. This could be seen in the foundation of the 1885 Belgian Workers Party, which shook the country, to the universal suffrage in 1893, a period coinciding with Ensor's most creative years.[25]Jonsson thus proposes a reading in which a carnival is presented as an apsychological event, with "masklike humans and humanlike masks" in which one's identity is a facade only resembling a natural guise as the wearer has none themselves.[26] This pessimistic view on the individual can be expanded to the state of the Belgian society in itself as one which is affected by the broader phenomena of mental and moral decay presupposed by the fin de siècle zeitgeist.

In order to reveal those uncertainties and crises of individual identity, Ensor empowered his works with skeleton and skull forms. He started utilising the skeletons in 1886 to characterise the isolation and anxieties of his contemporaries, including his own.[27] The nineteenth century witnessed a revival in medieval aesthetics that coincided with new discoveries being published in medicine and anatomy. Those two factors combined invoked a rebirth of the depiction of skeletons and death in art. The motif itself goes back to Medieval manuscripts which upheld the religious belief that on certain nights of the year the dead come to life. This macabre belief assumed that the dead can play at being alive but the live cannot play at being dead and led to the production of Hans Holbein the Younger's woodcuts of the *Dance of Death*, the title of which would go on to give its name to a whole genre of pictorial art. Ensor's depictions of death, often oscillating between allegory and parody, are based on the same visual assumption – skeletons engaged in human activities. One example outlining his vision is *Skeletons Trying to Warm Themselves* (figure 4). In it two main skeleton figures, representing a bourgeois couple, are hovering near a stove. A possible dialogue between them is written on its surface: "The fire is out" ("Pas de feu") and "will you find any tomorrow? ("en trouverez vous demain?"). Although the scene elicits empathy, the concept of the

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[23] S. Jonsson, 'Society Degree Zero: Christ, Communism and the Madness of Crowds in the Art of James Ensor', *Representations*, (2001), 75, 3.
[24] Ibid., 3
[25] S.F. Eisenman, 'Allegory and Anarchism...' 14
[26] S. Jonsson 'Society Degree Zero...' 10.
[27] I. Pfeiffer and M. Hollein (ed.), *James Ensor*, (Ostfildern-Ruit, 2005), 85.

long dead skeletons seeking warmth is ultimately absurd, eerie and surreal. The idiosyncratic manner of this work and most of Ensor's ouvre, including the aforementioned pieces, is fitting for the surreal circumstances in which Ensor's fellow Belgians found themselves in at the end of a century seen as paradoxically depressed through advancements. Although Ensor himself was not disabled psychologically, he was in ways disturbed at the apex of his career and was considered an outsider. With time, this isolation was hyperbolised and he became a myth in his own lifetime, gaining the nickname "Pietje de Dood" (The Grim Reaper).[28] Moreover, since the mid 1880s, his life became very distant from ideal; the father, who always supported him, was falling into alcoholism and his own mother failed to appreciate his art. The gradual embrace of illusionism and phantasmagorias of his figures can be linked to his difficulties in coping with the people surrounding him. "Hounded by followers", he would later note "I joyfully took refuge in the solitary land of fools."[29] It was a time in which he received a lot of negative criticism. Although Les XX considered itself to be revolutionary it ultimately operated like a usual salon and rejected most of Ensor's submitted pictures. Excluded by family and even by his circle of friends, Ensor became isolated from the art world and in turn created his own, grotesque one.

His isolation is particularly evident in his self-portraits, in which Ensor himself becomes the subject of his vision. One which particularly aptly outlines the artist's relationship towards death is a peculiar etching *My Portrait Skeletonised* (figure 5), completed in two stages. It was based on a photograph (figure 6) executed in 1888 in Rousseaus's house.[30] The first stage of the self-portrait is almost an exact mirror-image copy of the photograph, with only Mariette Rousseau's face removed. In the next stage, the artist reworked the etching by "skeletonising" his face. Ensor postulates the skull's symbolism of the artist not only confronting death, but himself becoming, not an un-dead, but an ever-dying character. On the contrary, *My portrait in 1960* (image 7) depicts the painter's skeleton in the year of his hundredth birthdays. This piece is a melancholic reminder of the temporality of human existence and the only common fate to all people: death. Despite his work gaining recognition in the beginning of the twentieth-century, isolation and a sense of rejection continued to haunt Ensor until the end of his life. In 1942 a Belgian radio mistakenly announced the artist's death and on the following days the citizens of Ostend saw him standing in front of his bust in one of the public parks.

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[28] Ibid., 81.
[29] R. van Gindertael, *Ensor,* (Boston, 1975), 22.
[30] I. Pfeiffer and M. Hollein (ed.), *James Ensor,* 87.

In response to their worried questions Ensor replied: "Je porte mon deuil" ("I am in mourning for myself").[31]

The multiplicity of terms attempting to categorise fin de siècle art share many overlapping qualities thus making the era a difficult one to define. Nonetheless, James Ensor's work enables us to gain insight into this inconclusive age. He was an artist who created works expressing the times he lived in by utilising grotesque, carnivalesque figures and frightening sceneries. His art is unique in that it regards diverse aspects of the fin de siècle and invites the viewer to reflect on the discrepancies of the period. These conflicts were caused by scientific and technological developments as well as sociological changes. These influenced Ensor's pessimistic consideration towards his own contemporaries with whom he shared the feelings of apocalyptic doom. With those means he referred not to external, but to the inner world of the viewers and proclaimed his role as a producer and observer of the carnival of the modern. One of the pillars of Symbolist art was the emotional response from the viewers and James Ensor was preoccupied with the relationship between personal meaningfulness and social responsibility, as he himself stated, he wanted "to speak to the men of tomorrow."[32]

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[31] Ibid., 93.
[32] L. Tannenbaum, *James Ensor,* 30.

Appendix

Figure 1 James Ensor, *Doctrinal Feeding*, 1889, etching, 23.8 cm x 18 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent.

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Figure 2 James Ensor, *The Intrigue,* 1890, oil on canvas, 90 x 149 cm, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, inv. 1856.

Figure 3 James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889*, 1888, oil on canvas, 252.7 x 430.5 cm, the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 87.PA.96.

Figure 4 James Ensor, *Skeletons Trying to Warm Themselves*, 1889, oil on canvas, 74.8 x 60 cm, Warm, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, AP.

Figure 5 James Ensor, *My Portrait Skeletonised* (left: 1st state, right: 2nd state), 1889, etching on Velin, 11.6 x 7.5 cm, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ostend.

Figure 6 Anonymous (probably Ernest Rousseau), James Ensor in front of a
window from the Rousseau family house in Brussels, photograph, Ostend,
Mu.ZEE, Xavier Tricot Trust.

Figure 7 James Ensor, *My Portrait in 1960*, 1888, etching, 11.6 x 7.5 cm, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ostend.

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From 'salt of the earth' to 'enemy within': How the defeat of the 1984-85 miner's strike reframed the relationship between the British state and its workers
Bryony MacLeod

The aim of this paper is to examine the defeat of the 1984-1985 miners' strike and assess whether an alternative strategy could have yielded a successful outcome for the miners, or if the writing was on the wall from the outset. It will look at the consequences of the government's ideological neoliberal victory and the long-term ramifications for the relationship between the British state and worker, arguing that the Thatcher government purposefully dismantled and discredited the trade union movement, entrenching the values of meritocracy and a flexible labour market in the British economy. The legacy of these events can be seen in the suppression of wages and stagnation in improvement of living standards, greatly damaging the economic autonomy and community integrity of working class communities in the initial aftermath. The result of this was widespread intergenerational poverty, extending also to encompass middle class professionals in the 21st century.

'Given the degree of preparation by ministers, the range of resources at the state's disposal, and the manner in which much of the media focused both on Scargill per se and graphic images of picket-line violence (thereby ensuring that public opinion was generally negative or hostile towards the NUM), the miners' defeat in 1985, a year after the strike began, was virtually inevitable. Perhaps the only surprise was that the strike lasted as long as it did.'[1]

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[1] Dorey, P, '"It was Just Like Arming to Face the Threat of Hitler in the late 1930s". The Ridley Report and the Conservative Party's Preparations for the 1984–85 Miners' Strike', Historical Studies in Industrial Relations, 34 (2013), 197.

The 1984-85 miners' strike broke the trade union movement and propelled Britain from its experiment in social democracy[2] - a project which had developed and grown over the past century, particularly after 1945 - into its modern neoliberal incarnation. The strike was a response to deindustrialisation[3] and the Thatcher government's war on trade unions as a key policy issue of its radical right-wing political agenda. It was triggered by Ian MacGregor's - the new chairman of the National Coal Board (NCB) - announcement of the closure of 20 'uneconomic' pits and the loss of 20,000 jobs, a number believed to be far short of the total by the National Union of Miners (NUM)[4]. As a strike, it was atypical in that its objective was not confined to short-term material goals such as improved wages or working conditions. This time the future of mining and the industrial professions was at stake, as were the survival of worker's rights, working class communities, and the trade union movement.

The miners fought a long and arduous battle, but despite their achievement of maintaining a year-long strike and widespread support, they were ultimately unable to secure their objectives. The Conservative government approached the dispute with ruthless determination, according to the left-wing Socialist register the groundwork for total defeat was laid down years before the strike[5], as evidenced by the comprehensive strategy outlined in the Ridley plan[6] and Keith Joseph's Stepping Stones report[7]. By 1984 a series of anti-union employment laws were on the statute book[8], the National Reporting Centre (NRC)[9] had been established and was ready to coordinate a rapid response police force trained in riot control and drawn from all over the country, a judiciary ill-disposed towards militant unionism was in place, coal stocks were high, diversification of the energy industry was

[2] Ackers, P, 'Gramsci at the Miners' Strike: Remembering the 1984-1985 Eurocommunist Alternative Industrial Relations Strategy', Labour History, 55.2 (2014), 151-152

[3] Turner, R, 'Post-War Pit Closures: The Politics of De-Industrialisation', Political Quarterly, 56.2 (April 1985), p.167

[4] Philips, J, 'The Miner's Strike in Britain, 1984-85', Campaigning for change: can we learn from history?, Friends of the Earth, (2016), pp. 145

[5] Saville, J, 'An Open Conspiracy: Conservative Politics and the Miners' Strike, 1984–5', The Socialist Register, 22 (1985–86), p. 295

[6] Ridley, R, 'Report of Nationalised Industries Policy Group (leaked Ridley report)', Margaret Thatcher Foundation, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/110795

[7] Joseph, K and Strauss, N, 'Stepping Stones Report', Margaret Thatcher Foundation, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/111771

[8] Saville, J, 'An Open Conspiracy: Conservative Politics and the Miners' Strike, 1984–5', p.299-301.

[9] Buckley, S. B, 'The state, the police and the judiciary in the miners' strike: Observations and   discussions, thirty years on', Capital & Class, vol. 39, (2015), pp. 425.

underway, unemployment was at 11.5%[10], the national media outlets at the time ranged from those actively discrediting the miners to those who were lacklustre in challenging the dominant narrative espoused by Thatcher and the NCB, social security benefits were restricted for strikers and their dependants, condemning many families to poverty. The government was willing to commit millions of pounds towards securing unassailable ideological victory[11]. In addition to these exogenous factors, the striking miners lacked unity within their own ranks, particularly in Nottingham. The controversial issue of a national ballot came to epitomise this divide and was seized upon by the miners' opponents in order to discredit the strike.

Defeating the miners' strike marked a watershed moment in British politics and, 30 years on, is still a highly relevant area of study, informing both academic analysis and political response to our current values and policy debates. The snap election of 2017 is testament to this dichotomous debate, the Labour manifesto[12] harkening back to the moral economy of the Labour government of 1945 and the Conservative manifesto emphasising tax breaks for the wealthy and the further shrinking of the welfare state[13], the Labour party being faced with the uphill struggle to challenge the popular neoliberal narrative. This paper will examine each element of the miners' defeat and assess whether a different approach could have yielded a successful outcome or if the writing was on the wall from the outset. It will also look at the consequences of the government's victory and the ramifications for the British worker.

The 1970s and 1980s were typified by increasing political polarisation, Thatcher's radical right to Scargill's militant left served as an apt microcosm of the global political landscape of communism versus capitalism. Both ends of the political spectrum were increasingly frustrated by a series of inadequate Labour and Conservative governments who had promised much in their attempts to please the majority but had served neither. Unemployment was rising, the oil crisis and stagflation had caused severe national disruption, anxiety over economic decline and Britain's global status was rife, and a series

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[10] Denman, J, 'Unemployment statistics from 1881 to the present day', Office of National Statistics, (1996), p.7
[11] Phillips, J, 'Containing, Isolating and Defeating the Miners: the UK Cabinet Ministerial Group on Coal and the three phases of the 1984–5 Strike', Historical Studies in Industrial Relations, 35 (2014), p.137
[12] The Labour Party Manifesto 2017
[13] The Conservative Party Manifesto 2017

of large-scale industrial disputes had challenged the authority of the political establishment. Think tanks and campaign groups were established with the purpose of furthering a right-wing political agenda out of frustration with the failures of the post-war 'consensus' and Keynesian economics. It was felt by the right-wing of the Conservative party, the National Association for Freedom (NAFF), the Institute for Economic Affairs, and the Centre for Policy Studies that a radical restructuring of the economy was required with a focus on monetarism, privatisation, and the weakening of trade unions[14].

The 'Ridley Plan' and 'Stepping Stones'[15] were the building blocks of this policy direction, forming the basis of Thatcherism. Both documents adopt a tone of hyperbolic catastrophe in their depiction of Britain as a 'sick society' with a 'moribund economy[16]', in desperate need of rescuing from the clutches of socialism and the thrall of the Labour party and the unions. The report of the Nationalised Industry Policy Group, a Conservative research group headed by Nick Ridley documented their findings on how best to manage the economically inefficient nationalised industries and set out a plan for denationalisation. The main thrust of their argument was that by implementing greater incentives for profitable sectors and successful managers, retracting government subsidies, and fragmenting the nationalised industries, it would then be possible to maximise the advantages of diversification and competition to achieve the dual purpose of releasing the state from the economic burden of supporting cumbersome industries and liberating the economy from the monopolistic power of those industries and their unions.

The confidential annexe of the Ridley Report[17], entitled 'Countering the Political Threat' designated coal, electricity, and the docks as the three most likely battlegrounds in the event of discontent at the election of a Tory government and the implementation of the Ridley plan. This threat and the 'full force of communist disruptors'[18] were to be defeated in five steps. First,

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[14] Saville, J, 'An Open Conspiracy: Conservative Politics and the Miners' Strike, 1984–5', pp.295-301

[15] Dorey, P. 'The Stepping Stones Programme: The Conservative Party's Struggle to Develop a Trade Union Policy, 1975-1979' Historical Studies in Industrial Relations (HSIR) 31/32 (2011), pp.115–54

[16] Joseph, K and Strauss, N, 'Stepping Stones Report', Margaret Thatcher Foundation, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/111771

[17] Ridley, R, 'Report of Nationalised Industries Policy Group (leaked Ridley report)', Margaret Thatcher Foundation, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/110795

[18] Dorey, P, '"It was Just Like Arming to Face the Threat of Hitler in the late 1930s". The Ridley Report and the Conservative Party's Preparations for the 1984–85 Miners' Strike', Historical Studies in Industrial Relations, 34 (2013), 182.

higher wages should be afforded to the vulnerable industries to deter rebellion. Second, a battle should be provoked in a non-vulnerable industry in which the government could be confident of victory and the vulnerable industries would be discouraged from launching an attack. Third, coal is named the most likely area of conflict. The tactics for defeating it would be to build up maximum coal stocks, particularly at power stations, the hiring of non-union lorry drivers who would be willing to transport coal across picket lines, and the installation of dual coal/oil capabilities in all power stations. Fourth, the government should restrict social security payments to striking miners and their dependants leaving the unions to finance the living expenses of all members participating in strike action and their families. Fifth, there must be a large mobile police squad to deal with violent picketing[19]. Each step of the Ridley plan was implemented with scrupulous adherence to a document published seven years before the strike began. The government's actions were not a reaction to the much maligned allegedly undemocratic and violent strike masterminded by the despotic communist president of the NUM, Arthur Scargill. It was a carefully planned and executed battle plan as part of a long-term strategy to weaken and abolish nationalised industries and the trade unions, dismantling the civil liberties of working people in the process.

The whole argument of an inefficient industry as a drain on the economy is problematic in the case of mining as it is based on highly questionable methods of accounting. The fiction of the terminally poor economic performance of the mining industry has been refuted by economists such as Andrew Glyn[20] and Emile Woolf[21]. On closer inspection of the mining industry's finances Glyn found that operating costs were grossly exaggerated by including such outgoings as redundancy payments from former closures, pensions, and interest on government loans, all costs that would continue regardless of whether pits closed or remained open. The costs incurred by the rapid closure programme consisted of cash incentives offered to strike breakers, vast amounts spent on policing, unemployment benefits for thousands of unemployed miners, and the resulting loss in income tax receipts. It is estimated (conservatively) that the strike cost the government £6 billion (£14

[19] Ridley, R, 'Report of Nationalised Industries Policy Group' (1977)
[20] Philips, J, 'Contested memories: The Scottish parliament and the 1984–5 miners' strike', Scottish Affairs 24.2 (2015): pp. 190-191
[21] Saville, J, 'An Open Conspiracy: Conservative Politics and the Miners' Strike, 1984–5' pp.317-321.

billion in 2014 prices)[22]. Wholly false economic arguments captured the public consciousness of 'common sense' and the persistent failure of opposing political forces to effectively refute misleading lines of reasoning before the argument has been lost has had severe and far-reaching social, political, and economic ramifications. The Labour front bench were disinclined to strongly associate their party with the NUM under the leadership of the fervently left-wing Arthur Scargill and they failed to make a compelling case against Thatcher's depiction of the miners as 'the enemy within'[23] and the depiction of their actions as violence and anarchy against the state[24].

Thatcher was first elected as Prime minister in 1979 with a comfortable majority of 339 seats to Labour's 269. In 1983 she increased her share of the seats to 397 to Labour's 209. Such a clear mandate enabled her government to confidently implement a series of restrictive legislative measures against the unions. The Employment Act 1980 limited picketing to the individual's place of work, restricted secondary industrial action and eliminated the capacity of unions to call for arbitration when employers violated agreed terms and conditions. The Employment Act 1982 limited the definition of trade dispute, confined the accepted grounds for strike action to pay and conditions, redundancies, and closely related issues. Striking for political reasons was forbidden. Trade unions were made liable for damages resulting from strikes. Funds could be sequestered upon refusal to pay fines. The Trade Union Act 1984 made striking without a ballot illegal and imposed mandatory secret ballots for the election of committee members and the decision to use funds for political reasons. Clause 6 of the Social Security Bill 1980 reduced the amount of benefits payable to the dependants of strikers by between £12 and £16. If a striking union member's wife had her own income it would result in additional cuts. These laws dramatically restricted the ability of trade unions to mount an effective opposition to the mistreatment of employees by employers, as they were intended to. They formed the skeleton of the Conservative government's long-term plan to dismantle the unions in Britain. Freeman and

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[22] Phillips, J, 'Containing, Isolating and Defeating the Miners: the UK Cabinet Ministerial Group on Coal and the three phases of the 1984–5 Strike', Historical Studies in Industrial Relations, 35 (2014), 137.

[23] Phillips, J, 'Containing, Isolating and Defeating the Miners: the UK Cabinet Ministerial Group on Coal and the three phases of the 1984–5 Strike', Historical Studies in Industrial Relations, Vol.35 (2014), pp.122

[24] Saville, J, 'An Open Conspiracy: Conservative Politics and the Miners' Strike, 1984–5', The Socialist Register, 22 (1985–86), p.322.

Pelletier convincingly argue a direct correlation between these laws and a sharp and lasting decline in union density in the UK[25].

Policing played a central role in antagonising and breaking the strike. The NRC, based in London, coordinated a rapid response mobile police force to mass pickets throughout the country[26]. This style of policing was relatively new and raises questions about the legitimate use of force the state uses against its own citizens[27]. The government's decision to send thousands of police officers with no connection to the local area put both miners and police in the dangerous situation of being in a potentially violent conflict with people who are strangers, defined as mutual enemies, as opposed to neighbours[28]. The risks of losing control through fear of an unknown adversary when there will be no ongoing relationship and need for reconciliation, are greatly increased. Violence by both pickets and police was captured on film and reported in oral history testimonies, and while many miners were arrested and charged with crimes of breach of the peace and rioting there has been no investigation into unprovoked police brutality, unjust arrests, and the prohibition of the pursuit of civil rights. Parallels can be drawn between policing and media coverage[29] during the strike, particularly at Orgreave, and the tragedy of the Hillsborough disaster[30]. A campaign to conduct a Hillsborough style investigation into Orgreave is ongoing.

At the time of the strike he NUM was a powerful union with a long history of successfully negotiating wage settlements and acting with strength, unity, and pragmatism. The NUM had led successful strikes in 1972 and 1974 over wage levels, and in 1981 their threatened strike action won them the victories of averting pit closures, securing a reduction in coal imports and a rise in

[25] Freeman, R and Pelletier, J, 'The Impact of Industrial Relations Legislation on British Union Density, British Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol. 28(2), (1990), pp.141-164.

[26] Wallington, P, 'Policing the Miners' Strike', Industrial Law Journal, Vol. 14 (1985) pp. 146-147.

[27] Buckley, S. B, 'The state, the police and the judiciary in the miners' strike: Observations and discussions, thirty years on', Capital & Class, vol. 39, (2015), pp. 419-434.

[28] Buckley, S. B, 'The state, the police and the judiciary in the miners' strike: Observations and discussions, thirty years on', Capital & Class, vol. 39, (2015), pp. 425-426.

[29] Hart, Christopher. "Metaphor and intertextuality in media framings of the (1984–1985) British Miners' Strike: A multimodal analysis." Discourse & Communication 11.1 (2017): 3-30.

[30] Philips, J, 'The Miner's Strike in Britain, 1984-85', Campaigning for change: can we learn from history?, Friends of the Earth, (2016), pp. 152.

subsidies. In retrospect, this was a temporary set-back rather than a defeat for the government and perhaps a failure of the NUM to really maximise their advantage. The government made a tactical retreat and used the next few years to strengthen their position[31]. The decline of the coal mining industry in Britain began after World War One (WW1) and ended in December 2015 with the closure of Kellingley colliery in North Yorkshire, the last deep coal mine in Britain. Coal production in Britain peaked in 1913 with 3024 deep coal mines producing an output of 292 million tonnes, employing 1,107,000 people. The table on page 7 shows the decline from 1913 to the present day with emphasis on the period from 1970 to 1990 to illustrate the state of the industry directly before, during, and after the 1984-85 strike. Pit closures happened continuously throughout this period and was by no means the exclusive pursuit of Conservative governments, Labour governments also played their part in deindustrialisation. The unique elements of the Thatcher years were the ideological ruthlessness and lack of concern that mass unemployment and the destruction of communities was a foregone conclusion. Unemployment was at its highest level since 1938[32] when the strike began, a great asset to the Prime Minister in her struggle against the miners. The collective bargaining power of the labour market was weak, consequently a ready supply of non-unionised workers was willing to cross picket lines and transport coal.   Miners facing redundancy had little hope of securing employment in an alternative profession and the impact on communities whose social and economic fabric had depended on the mine for generations was severe and far-reaching.

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[31] Brotherstone, T and Pirani, S, 'Were There Alternatives? Movements from Below in the Scottish Coalfield, the Communist Party, and Thatcherism, 1981-1985', Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory, 36-7 (2005), p.104

[32] Denman, J, 'Unemployment statistics from 1881 to the present day', Office of National Statistics, (1996), pp. 7

Deep Mine Coal Production UK 1913-2015			
Year	Number of Deep Mines	Deep mined	Employment
1913	3024	292	1107
1945	1570	177	702
1960	1167	189	607
1970	293	137	290
1971	289	136	286
1972	282	109	274
1973	261	120	252
1974	250	100	253
1975	241	117	252
1976	239	110	250
1977	231	107	248
1978	223	108	240
1979	219	108	242
1980	213	112	237
1981	200	110	172
1982	191	106	164
1983	170	102	148
1984	169	35	139
1985	133	75	114
1986	110	90	91
1987	94	86	75
1988	86	84	69
1989	73	80	56
1990	65	73	49
2000	33	17	11
2010	10	18	6
2015	5	9	2

Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy, (2016)

The government had the solidarity of common purpose lacking in the heterogeneous mining communities dispersed throughout the country. The NUM has a federalised structure, each area has its own leadership, history, and priorities[33]. The divisions were especially acute between the more profitable areas due to favourable geological conditions on the one hand and those who were more vulnerable to closure on the other. Nottingham (Notts) was the second largest coal field in the UK and the most profitable, miners working there felt relatively secure and were less inclined to endure the hardships of a long strike. The Notts workforce was more diverse than most, composed of many miners whose origins and family history were not bound to the geographical location of the Nottingham mines and who had been relocated due to the closure of their home pit[34]. The practice of striking and picketing has a long history of contention between mining localities, going back to the 1926 general strike. This was fundamental in the refusal of Nottinghamshire miners to participate in 1984-85. The lack of a national ballot before the strike and mass picketing began was highly controversial at the time and remains so.

The sudden closure of Cortonwood in March 1984 marked the beginning of the national strike. The pit had many years of coal left to mine and workers had been transferred there just two weeks prior to the announcement with the assurance of several years' work. The timing of this closure was inopportune for the miners and propitious for the government and the NCB. Not only was it spring and coal stocks were quite sufficient to keep power stations active for months, the suddenness provoked the NUM into immediate strike action without having time to galvanise popular support across the federalised unions. The NUM leadership were operating under Rule 41 and the 'dominoes strategy'[35], allowing individual areas to go out on strike and seek to persuade others to follow through the use of flying pickets. The Nottinghamshire miners fundamentally disagreed with the NUM national leadership over the interpretation of the NUM rulebook, the extent to which the whole industry was at threat, and the most effective or appropriate

[33] Howell, D 'Defiant Dominoes: Working Miners and the 1984–5 Strike', in Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders, eds, Making Thatcher's Britain (Cambridge University Press), 148–64

[34] Amos, D, 'The Nottinghamshire miners, the Union of Democratic Mineworkers and the 1984-85 miners' strike: scabs or scapegoats?' PhD thesis, University of Nottingham. (2012), Ch. 5.

[35] Howell, D 'Defiant Dominoes: Working Miners and the 1984–5 Strike', in Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders, eds, Making Thatcher's Britain (Cambridge University Press), 148–64

response to the proposed programme of closures[36]. These differences of opinion were exacerbated by lack of adequate communication by the NUM and some unfortunate incidents of violence and aggression perpetrated by Yorkshire pickets against Notts working miners at the onset of the strike[37]. The Notts area were adamant that a national ballot was the only way to legitimise a strike whereas the NUM were determined to pursue a national strike area by area. These divisions lasted throughout the strike and beyond, many ex miners blaming the Notts so-called scabs for their defeat and many Notts miners were angry at what they felt was unjust vilification. Both sides of this argument have substance and it is regrettable that the differences were insurmountable. The miners were plainly outmatched by the government's singular focus and access to vast resources, the one possible hope for victory would have been total national unity across the NUM and the other trade unions. The solidarity shown, particularly by Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC) and Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners (LGSM) enabled the strike to last far longer than would have been possible without their support and was a great show of working class solidarity with other marginalised groups across society[38] [39]. However, the lack of full support from every miner fatally weakened the strike.

The 1984-85 miners' strike resulted in defeat for the miners, leaving a legacy of broken unions[40], communities in decline, and the ideological dominance of neoliberal governance and economics. The defeat of the archetypal respectable, hard-working, communities of miners and their supporters was a sobering event for the working class and the left. The establishment's victory seemed total. Members of the proud and industrious working class mining communities were left with few economic opportunities or support to regenerate the abandoned industrial towns. Once the engine of Britain's industrial revolution, now they were denigrated as 'the enemy within' and abandoned. Many found themselves trapped in the benefits system, working in low paid and low skilled jobs, unemployed, or

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[36] Griffin, C, '"Notts. have some very peculiar history": Understanding the Reaction of the Nottinghamshire Miners to the 1984–85 Strike', Historical Studies in Industrial Relations 19 (2005), 63–99

[37] Samuel, R, Bloomfield, B and Boanas, G, 'Enemy Within: Pit Villages and the Miners' Strike of 1984   85', History Workshop Series, Routledge, (1987), Ch. 1 & 2.

[38] Kelliher, 'Solidarity and Sexuality: Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners, 1984–5', History Workshop Journal, 77.1 (2014), 240-62

[39] Bradley, H 'No More Heroes? Reflections on the 20th anniversary of the miners' strike and the   culture of opposition', Work, Employment and Society, 22.2 (2008), 337-49

[40] Phillips, J, 'Containing, Isolating and Defeating the Miners: the UK Cabinet Ministerial Group on Coal and the three phases of the 1984–5 Strike', p. 141.

suffering from health problems or drug and alcohol dependency. Despite claims made against the NUM of monopolising the industry, their dominance was fragile and vulnerable to the vast amount of alternative resources at the disposal of the government. The last vestiges of collective working-class pride and dignity were lost with the defeat of the 1984-85 miner's strike. The former working-class heroes who had served Britain at great personal sacrifice – in terms of a 'high risk working environment and community isolation'[41] - had been redefined as 'enemies within'[42] and subsequently became drains on society as their prospects for meaningful employment opportunities and economic independence were taken away and replaced with dependence on the state for financial assistance and the stigmatisation attached to this new economic reality.

Thatcher's politics of individualism and self-interest appealed to large sections of the electorate as shown by consecutive sweeping victories at the ballot box, they were not imposed upon a population defenceless against the tide of neoliberalism. There was a willingness of many to ignore the basic needs and civil liberties of the working class and all groups marginalised by the politics of individualism. Trade unionism, characterised as an aggressive attack on the sanctity of democratic governance by right-wing opponents, is no more or less than the collective voice of the workforce as the cogs of the economy to ensure good working practices and fair conditions. Unionism is the means through which workers secure wage levels above inflation to ward against pay cuts in real terms, protect themselves against discrimination and unfair dismissal, ensure safety in the workplace, negotiate and administrate pensions and sickness pay. They provide a vital channel of communication between workers and employers. The weakening of trade unions has rendered workers vulnerable to the new modus operandi of precarious work in modern Britain. Recourse to justice is inaccessible in terms of cost and unavailable to those who need it, giving employers the freedom to act with impunity in relation to their workforce. This does not of course mean that all employers abuse this position of power but it has been made entirely possible for those that choose to.

The characterisation of the 'salt of the earth' miners as an enemy of the state and a threat to the stable governance and economic security of Britain reframed the relationship between state and citizen and had far reaching consequences. The

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[41] Arnold, J. (2016). "The Death of Sympathy." Coal Mining, Workplace Hazards, and the Politics of Risk in Britain, ca. 1970-1990. Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung, 41(1 (155)), p. 102.

[42] Ibid, p. 103.

Thatcher government's assertion that 'hard-work pays'[43] placed the onus of economic security upon the individual rather than the structural conditions of the economic system and popularised the arguably false belief that a person's wealth or lack of it is entirely dependent upon a person's work ethic or talent, solidifying the commitment of successive British governments to the values of meritocracy and thereby relinquishing the state from the responsibility of fixing structural inequality. The responsibility of the citizen to contribute to the state was given pre-eminence over the duty of care of the state. Sacrifice with minimal recompense is now an entrenched expectation of many of the groups of workers who provide vital services to British society. Educators, doctors, soldiers, police officers, and women working as unpaid carers to children and relatives are obliged to work longer hours with declining salaries, the 2016 dispute between junior doctors and Health Secretary Jeremy Hunt is a contemporary example of this ideological debate[44]. The prospects of future generations are greatly inhibited by this dominant narrative, allowing success and prosperity for the privileged few as welfare is stripped from successive groups[45] and the cost of living rises. The result of the upcoming general election in 2017 will decide whether this trajectory will continue or whether it will be reversed and the state will reclaim the role of serving and enabling the many[46].

[43] Arnold, J. (2016). "The Death of Sympathy." Coal Mining, Workplace Hazards, and the Politics of Risk in Britain, ca. 1970-1990. Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung, 41(1 (155)), p. 105.

[44] Owen Jones 'Jeremy Hunt's battle with junior doctors is his miners' strike moment', The Guardian, (2016), https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/26/jeremy-hunt-crush-junior-doctors-miners-strike

[45] Stanton, Richard, et al. "Who's next? Cuts to welfare often target immigrants first but then move to nationals." British Politics and Policy at LSE (2016).

[46] Labour Party Manifesto 2017

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145-159.

Was nationalism to blame for the Smyrna fire?
Foiniki Papadopoulou

This essay examines the role of Turkish and Greek nationalist ideologies in igniting the flames of ethnic tensions that culminated in the Smyrna fire of 1922. The Greco-Turkish war was propelled forward by the nationalist rhetoric of the 'Great Idea' that expressed the fantasy of stretching the Greek state to encompass key areas of ancient and Byzantine Hellenism in Anatolia. This militant ideology was broadly interpreted as a threat to the very presence of Turkish nationals in Anatolia and was thus detrimental to the development of a Turkish counterpart in the form of Kemalist pan-Turkism. As the last event in a cause-and-effect sequence of nationalist conflicts, the Smyrna fire exemplifies the destructive nature of Kemalist nationalism, which was directed against both the human and the material character of Ottoman Smyrna with the aim of purging the city of its non- Turkish elements and creating a tabula rasa on which the history of the newly formed national identity could be rewritten and projected onto the urban fabric.

The Smyrna fire of 1922 exists in history as more than, if one can use the world 'merely', an episode of immense human and material catastrophe that altered the diverse character of the city for good; it signifies the pivotal point in the history of what is now modern Turkey and its transformation from a cosmopolitan Ottoman Empire to a modern nation-state constructed on the basis of a strongly nationalistic mentality. A fitting pretext was given to army official Mustafa Kemal to formulate the Turkish Nationalist Movement, following the commencement of the Greco-Turkish war in 1919 in which Greek troops were given Allied permission to occupy Smyrna and its surrounding area until a referendum could be held to determine which state the inhabitants would join. The movement's military efforts were directed towards resisting the territorial disintegration of the Ottoman state, an empire encompassing diverse peoples including Greeks, Arabs and Armenians, but governed by Turks; thus, the War represented a direct threat to the self-interests of the prevailing Turkish element, whose defense accordingly came to be formulated along nationalist lines. The militant nature of Kemalist ideology came to be tragically exemplified in the Great Fire of Smyrna, when troops chasing after the withdrawing Greek forces deliberately started a conflagration in the city's Christian neighborhoods, spreading panic and death in the Quai. The spark that set Smyrna alight with the Great Fire of 1922 was that of a fierce current of Turkish nationalism, directed firstly against the Christian populations of 'gavur Izmir' (literally 'infidel Smyrna'), and secondly against the material fabric of the paramount symbol of urban cosmopolitanism in the soon to be former Ottoman Empire. However, any effort to trace the roots of the catastrophe also points to a

frenzy of nationalism - this time, its Greek counterpart - that officially commenced with the madness over the arrival of army units in this very city in 1919, and effectively put Smyrna on the frontline of nationalist tensions at the very least three years before the fire itself.

It can be argued that Turkish nationalism would have not necessarily taken the radical form of Kemalist pan-Turkism, which led to such extensive destruction in 1922, were it not for its Greek counterpart that demanded an immediate response. The 'Megali Idea', or 'Great Idea', is a term that dominated Greek political discourse in the years preceding the Smyrna fire. Milton shrewdly points out that the word 'megalomania' comes from the same Greek root[1]; it expressed the national fantasy of stretching the Greek state to encompass Constantinople, as well as the Greek-inhabited areas of Asia Minor, liberating the Greek peoples from Ottoman rule. The term had been coined by the future first Prime Minister Ioannis Kolettis in an impassioned speech to the national assembly on 14 January 1844, in which he championed the cause of 'outside Greeks' (culturally and linguistically identified Greeks residing outside the small Greek Kingdom), asserting that 'a native is not only someone who lives within this kingdom, but also one who lives in (...) any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race'[2]. Part of this speech is worth quoting here for it is an intact articulation of the historical rationale on which the Great Idea was based:

> The geographical position of Greece is the center of Europe. With her right hand she touches the hand of the West and with her left hand that of the East, and it connects the two. Greece was destined, as it seems, to give her light to the West when it fell, and today, regenerated, to enlighten the East. It is us, gentlemen, who inhabit this glorious Greece; it is us who should spread this refinement to the East. It is this vow, and this great idea, which we should have of ourselves [...] [3]

Kolettis offered a conceptualization of history characterized by perfect symmetry; the eastern empires of Alexander the Great and Constantine the Great would be reflected in the extension of Greece's boundaries to include areas from ancient and

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[1] Giles Milton, *Paradise Lost: Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a Christian City in the Islamic World* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), p.37-39.
[2] Ioannis Kolettis, 'Address to the National Assembly' (1844) in Demaras, K.Th., *Ellinikos Romantismos* (Athens: Hermes, 1982), p. 405-7. (Translation my own)
[3] Ibid.

Byzantine Hellenism, in which a number of Greeks still resided under Ottoman control. These allusions to past glories stimulated the national imagination in support of what was essentially a Greek adaptation of European imperialism in the form of a 'civilizing mission' to the East that would actively spread the same 'light' and 'refinement' that Greece had unintentionally given to the West through its classical heritage. This vision also reflected the messianic longings found in oracular texts of the Byzantine and Ottoman times; the prophecy of a 'blonde race' (*xanthan genos*), associated with their co-religionist Russians, taking back Constantinople and liberating the Greeks from the Ottoman yoke, had become a common superstition in the course of over four centuries, which had been popularized and orally reproduced through the use of rhyme in many of the oracular texts[4]. With the invention of the 'Megali Idea', the Greek state took a leading role as the savior of its Orthodox 'unredeemed brethren' from four centuries of Turkish yoke, which itself had successfully managed to shake off. Loaded with appeals from the whole spectrum of a romanticized Greek past, the 'Great Idea' was a brilliant, emotional invention that would serve concrete purposes; through its nationalist rhetoric, it centralized the allegiances of a fractured society, functioning as the primary tool for internal nation-building, as well as external expansion. The 'Great Idea' was to be the dominant ideology of the emergent state, a doctrine of national unity that would prove to be a cohesive force for the Greek nation, until it was consumed in the ashes of Smyrna in 1922 with the defeat of the Greek army by the Kemalist forces.

The city of Smyrna, where the Greek population was in majority and ruled over a flourishing culture of commerce and entrepreneurship, was naturally at the heart of this dream and thus constituted the intended foundation in the construction of a newly revived Byzantine Empire. The extent of this ambition, both in terms of territorial aims, and in the intensity of support it inspired in the Greek public, establishes an inextricable connection between the concept of 'Megali Idea' and the current of Greek nationalism that was climaxing in the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, it hardly comes as a surprise that when the first step was taken on May 1919 with the arrival of 13,000 Greek troops in Smyrna, large portions of the Turkish population interpreted it as a threat to their very existence in Anatolia. The arriving troops hardly made an effort to quiet such concerns; they indulged in all sorts of racial violence, including rape, murder, and pillaging of Turkish shops, while Greek crowds showered them with flowers and joyful acclamations, ending

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[4] Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 17.

any remaining facade of peaceful coexistence. The sheer hysteria of this violence is evident in the accidental killings of Greeks wearing the customary Ottoman fez, and thus mistaken as Turks by the pillaging soldiers[5].

Greek nationalism, epitomized in that day's display of ethnic hatred, had an unprecedented effect on the organization of a Turkish national movement with the sole aim to revenge the occupying forces and defend Turkish independence. Only four days later, on May 19, army official Kemal Ataturk reached Samsun and began assembling a Turkish armed force; in June he issued the Amasya Circular, denouncing Ottoman authority as incompetent in protecting its Turkish subjects in Anatolia, declaring that the country's independence was under threat and calling upon various defense organizations to be united in a central body[6]. The Greek occupation of Smyrna was the pretext that Ataturk needed to create a strong military front under the label of national defense, as it provided his cause with the necessary legitimacy and urgency to be widely accepted by the Turkish public. In the meantime, the Greek army advanced further in the depths of Anatolia, occupying towns with Turkish majorities and engaging in more mistreatment of the local populations; this only strengthened the decisiveness of the Turkish resistance and the bitter feelings against Greeks. In the words of Philip Mansel, 'the occupation's baptism in blood helped ensure its failure'[7] by unifying Kemal's army around a growing feeling of nationalist resistance, which was to escalate on the 13th of September 1922 as Turkish troops entering Smyrna set the Christian districts alight with the 'Great Fire'.

It is interesting to note that despite the amount of controversy that this event has generated in historiography, all conflicting interpretations agree that the blame resides in the nationalism of one or the other community. Turkish official history propagated the myth that the fire was started by the Greek and Armenian populations of Smyrna in order to destroy the city they knew they would be leaving behind. This claim gains some realistic dimension on the grounds of atrocities committed by the retreating Greek troops, who in some occasions even burnt down cities, something they had threatened to do if forced to evacuate according to testimony by Hortense Wood, a British resident whose diary makes frequent

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[5] Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe in the Mediterranean* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), p.160.
[6] George W. Gawrych, *The Young Atatürk: From Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2003), p.75.
[7] Mansel, *Levant,* p. 161.

reference to contemporary events [8]. Some contemporary observants, not all Turkish, blamed the Greeks or Armenians disguised as Turkish soldiers for starting the fire, in order to protect their own businesses or claim insurance under the Turkish state[9]. The 2006 official Greek history textbook caused widespread academic and political outrage by its failure to mention the fire, and its description of the catastrophe as an 'overcrowding at the port'[10], leading to its withdrawal by the Greek Ministry of Education only a year after it was published. Although Repousi, the leader of the project, defended the language on the basis of restructuring the teaching of history in Greek schools away from nationalistic lines, the chapter preserved perfect silence over the acts of racial violence committed by Greek soldiers upon their landing in Smyrna in 1919; omission and misrepresentation of events associated with the Great Fire show its central role in the production of nation narratives of blame. This article will not engage in efforts to prove the Turkish responsibility for the starting of the fire, as numerous evidence presented in international historiography have established it as fact; the point of mentioning the Turkish line is merely to show that all interpretations, even when factually incorrect, place nationalism at the heart of the Smyrna fire by attributing the assumed motives of ethnic communities on nationalistic feelings.

Kemalist nationalism burned with rage towards both the Greek population of Anatolia and towards the accommodating, diverse, and therefore nationally 'weak', character of the Ottoman Empire that failed to contain it; accordingly, the fire, started by Turkish troops on the 11th of September in Smyrna, was aimed both against the non-Muslim inhabitants that formed the backbone of Ottoman cosmopolitanism, and against the very establishment of the Empire which it aimed to replace with a modern nation-state under the motto 'Turkey belongs to Turks'[11]. An innovative study by Biray Kolluoğlu Kırlı, explains the Turkish intention behind the fire in symbolic terms, describing it as an act of punishment aimed to purify 'gavur' Izmir of its literary infidel elements, and as an act of creation in the context of a new Turkish national identity[12].

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[8] Hortense Wood's diary, Brian Giraud Archives, Izmir, 2 Sept. 1922.
[9] Mansel, *Levant*, p. 173.
[10] M. Repousi and others, *Istoria St' Demotikou: Sta Neotera kai Synchrona Chronia* (Athens: OED, 2006).
[11] Erik Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), p.138.
[12] Biray Kolluoğlu Kirli, 'Forgetting the Smyrna Fire', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 60. Oxford University Press: 25–44.

The first strand of Kırlı's argument, the purging of the city of non-Turkish elements, is central in explaining the Great Fire with respect to its nationalist cause. When Turkish soldiers scattered petroleum on buildings in the Greek and Armenian quarters of the city and started setting them alight, Turkish inhabitants had already been notified to leave the Christian districts; the fire had been orchestrated with great care in order to target only the populations that had been actively engaged in opposing Turkish nationalism. This assertion is further backed by the fact that the Turkish and Jewish areas were completely unaffected by the conflagration, which is remarkable given that the different fires had merged by night, uniting into a thick wall of flame and smoke (Illustration 1:1) that would have been impossible to escape if trenches had not been dug around them during the previous days to provide protection. Numerous accounts from contemporary observers note not merely the sheer extent of the fire, but the horrific images of people being burnt alive and drowning into the sea in an effort to escape the flames[13]. In the following days, Turkish soldiers continued the ethnic cleansing of Greeks and Armenians by killing even more people belonging to these ethnic groups. The argument for the nationalist intention of the fire is strengthened by the forced deportations of males between eighteen and forty-five years old, with liberal allowance on both sides: Turkish soldiers forcibly removed Greek men from their families while waiting for rescue boats, who were then sent to repair the damage caused by the Greek retreating army, and effectively starve or die from exhaustion in forced labor camps in Anatolia. This command reflected the desire for revenge as well as that of 'removing the biological power base' of the enemy, as in other ethnic cleansings.[14]

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[13] Mansel, *Levant*, p. 187.
[14] Ibid.
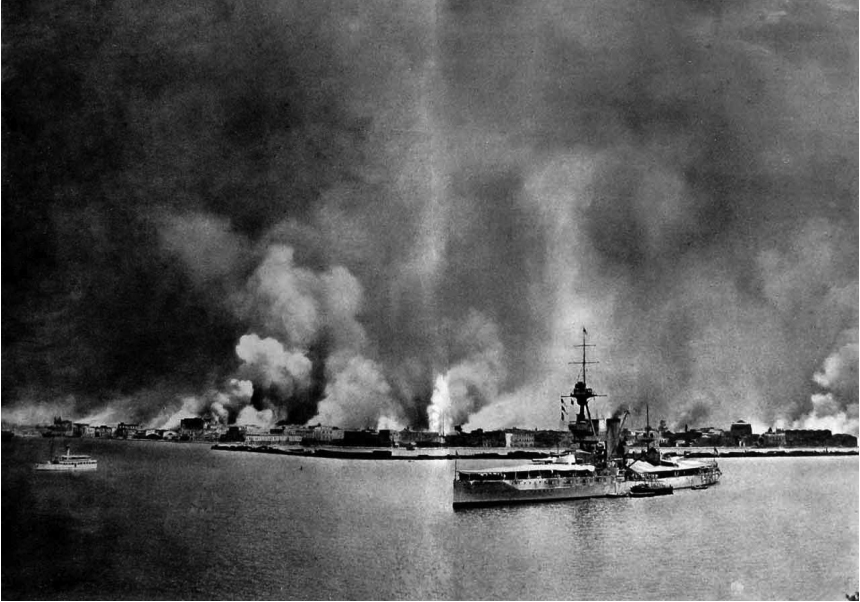
1.1: The Burning of Smyrna, taken from the forebridge of HMS King George V: "HMS Iron Duke stands in the foreground against "an unbroken wall of fire, two miles long" in *The Illustrated London News* (September 30, 1922).

The destruction of Greek and Armenian Smyrna, though on a first level motivated by the desire for revenge and extermination of non-Turkish elements, was also conceived as a necessary step towards transforming the city from the cosmopolitan Smyrna of the Ottoman Empire to 'a Turkish Izmir, purged of two thousand and more years of history'[15]: the latter rose as a phoenix from the former's ashes. This historical transition thus required what Kirli describes as the 'drawing of a new human and spatial geography'[16], a complex work of redesigning the community of Izmir and the material fabric that would host it, which was made much easier by the 'clearing out' of the map. Just as Kemal's purpose of creating a fresh national identity required the overthrow of Ottoman rule and the removal of foreign populations, the reconfiguration of the urban fabric of Smyrna was made possible by the creation of a blank slate, a tabula rasa on which the blueprint of the city could be designed from scratch with no compromises or accommodations. In a reported dialogue that took place between Ataturk and his future wife Latife only

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[15] Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor (1919-1922)* (London: St Martin's Press, 1923), p.311.

[16] Kulloglu, *Forgetting*, p. 27.

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a few days after the destruction, Latife said that she did not mourn the destruction, and that they could 'rebuilt [Izmir] in a better way'; Kemal is reported to have proclaimed in response 'Let it burn! We can replace everything!'[17] Indeed, the new Izmir entered in an intensive programme of 'replacement' which became synonymous with Turkification, as all of its streets were renamed in Turkish, its official documents produced in the same language, and its new buildings constructed in a style that resembled nothing of its previous architecture. The Smyrna fire thus called for the reconstruction of a national identity that would be imprinted on the urban fabric of the new city; Turkish nationalism was able to radically break from the Ottoman past due to an equally radical destruction of the Empire's former symbol of cosmopolitanism. In a sense, just as the fire of 1917 facilitated the Hellenization of Thessaloniki[18], the Great Fire of 1922 was the signal for Turkification not only of Smyrna, but of the whole of the territories of the former Ottoman Empire.

Both Greek and Turkish nationalism are to blame for the Smyrna fire of 1922. Greek nationalism ignited the spark for Turkish resistance through the atrocities committed by troops in the name of the 'Megali Idea' during their first occupation of Smyrna in 1919, and Turkish nationalism wrote the next big chapter in the history of racial hatred by literally setting alight the city three years later. Ottoman Smyrna was thus purged of it of its non- Turkish elements and a tabula rasa was created, on which the newly formed and exclusively Turkish national identity could be reimagined and projected onto the urban fabric.

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[17] Ipek Çalislar, *Madam Atatürk: The First Lady of Modern Turkey* (Istanbul: Saqi Books, 2006), pp. 43-5.
[18] Albert Charles Wratislaw, *A Consul in the East* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1924).

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Life Breaks In: Entropic Modernism in *Mrs Dalloway & The Secret Agent*
Josie Rogers

This essay takes as its framework the concept of entropy, a thermodynamic principle which describes the degree of disorder in a system. As entropy is always increasing, so is the intensity of destruction, decay and chaos in the systems of the modernist text. The essay uncovers the entropic compulsions implicit in Joseph Conrad's The Secret Agent, and Virginia Woolf's high-modernist work Mrs Dalloway, using theory and criticism from Georg Simmel to J. Hillis Miller. Some of the traditional aesthetic features of literary modernism – epistemological crises, temporal distortion, and the trauma of industrial modernity – are considered in terms of the advancing thermodynamic theory of the fin-de-siècle. Such theoretical scientific innovation is shown to permeate individual and collective consciousness in the literature of the period. The essay posits the presence of an entropic modernist textuality; vibrations beneath the surface which denote a gradual decline into total disorder.

The second law of thermodynamics states that the entropy of the universe is always increasing, entropy being a measure of the degree of disorder of particles in an isolated system. The theory explains why we get older but never younger, and why a glass of spilt milk will never un-spill: entropy is a direct function of time, and time does not move backwards. Within a narrative, however, and especially a modernist narrative, time can move in ways which defy the laws of physics. The narratives of Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent* and Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* both concern shifting temporalities and anxieties of death, destruction, and decay. The textual malleability of time goes some way to disorganise and delay the unremitting forward-thrust of entropy in narratives which are terrorised by both past trauma, and trauma yet to come. Formalised in 1874, the theory of entropy can also be used as a lens through which to explore modernist tropes such as the human consciousness, the metropolis, and the ramifications of modernity and industrialisation. To fully investigate, this essay will consider three enclosed entropic systems: the individual; the city or a wider collective of individuals; and the text itself.

Both texts explicitly and implicitly differentiate real 'objective' time from biological time. Theoretical biologists Longo and Montévil assert that humans are not programmed to adhere to a model of time embodied by a steadily ticking clock: 'biological rhythms [do] not seem to have an adequate counterpart in mathematical formalization of physical clocks, which are based on frequencies along the usual, possibly oriented, time'.[1] They posit that human life is 'paced' by certain rhythms – circadian and metabolic – but that 'the addition of a new (compactified) dimension for biological time is justified by the peculiar dimensional status of internal biological rhythms'.[2] The words 'pace' and 'dimension' suggest a pattern of movement which involves a degree of fluidity, but which also occupies a bounded space, namely, the human body. The body often works in syncopation with objectively demarcated time. To further complicate the matter, human perception of time can be distorted from both chronological and biological time. The nature of narrative reflects this: novels do not generally follow days minute by minute, but are regulated by a communication between chronological time and time as it is perceived by the characters and the narrative consciousness. The bells of Big Ben punctuate the text of *Mrs Dalloway,* but the hours delineated by its ringing do not correspond to equal segments of time in the minds of the characters. In *The Secret Agent*, Conrad affords multiple paragraphs of text to Winnie's murder of Mr Verloc, so that the actual reading time of the passage exceeds the time of the action itself. At this point Winnie notices that her perception of time has become blurred, and suspects the anthropomorphised clock of having malicious intent:

> Nothing moved in the parlour till Mrs Verloc raised her head slowly and looked at the clock with inquiring mistrust. She had become aware of a ticking sound in the room. It grew upon her ear, while she remembered clearly that the clock on the wall was silent, had no audible tick. What did it mean by beginning

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[1] G. Longo & M. Montévil, *Biological Time, Symmetries and Singularities: Perspectives on Life* (Berlin, 2014), 16.
[2] Ibid.

> to tick so loudly all of a sudden? ... Mrs Verloc cared nothing
> for time, and the ticking went on.[3]

Time is a constant in entropic systems, and we can consider the individual consciousness to be a single system which inhabits a world populated by other differentiated systems – that is, other people inhabiting other bodies which perceive time uniquely. The text following Mr Verloc's death is characterised by 'immobility'[4] and stasis because Mr Verloc's death denotes the death of his consciousness and thus of his perception of time. Time itself lives on however, in Winnie's consciousness and in the larger dimension of reality, represented by the ticking clock. Stevie's habit of drawing concentric circles indicates his consciousness to be explicitly entropic: its mode of expression not only resembles but builds up to the disintegration of his body, which is violently exploded and scattered in the most extreme physical disorder imaginable. It is destruction in its purest form: consciousness is rent from body, particle from particle. A single discrete system is disintegrated and forcefully re-integrated with the world around it.

Allen MacDuffie's description of entropy, a 'cosmic narrative of universal energy loss',[5] lends itself to the idea of decay, a word which personifies the dark, labyrinthine London of *The Secret Agent.* Decay is a destructive force obscured by protracted, regular deterioration; Winnie's mother reflects that 'everything decays, wears out, in this world'.[6] Consequently the tragedy of life is its defining feature: the inexorable decline into chaos and death. The degree of tragedy accorded to a death is a matter of temporality. Stevie, Winnie, Mr Verloc and Septimus Warren-Smith die prematurely; the natural entropy is brutally accelerated and thus rendered more terrible. Chief Inspector Heat expresses this sentiment:

> The shattering violence of destruction which had made of that
> body a heap of nameless fragments affected his feelings with a
> sense of ruthless cruelty though...the effect must have been as
> swift as a flash of lightning. The man...had died instantaneously;
> and yet it seemed impossible that a human body could reach

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[3] J. Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (Cambridge, 1990), 198.
[4] Ibid.
[5] A. MacDuffie, 'Victorian Thermodynamics and the Novel: Problems and Prospects',
    (2011) 8:4 *Literature Compass*, 1.
[6] Conrad, *The Secret Agent,* 124.

that state of disintegration without passing through the pangs
of inconceivable agony.[7]

Stevie's untimely detonation also metonymically anticipates the violence at the heart of *Mrs Dalloway*: the legacy of the Great War and the huge wastage of young life it caused; a wastage of potential energy, the pathos of which is magnified by its cruel immediacy.

Conversely, J. Hillis Miller argues that 'Clarissa and Septimus seek the same thing: communication, wholeness, the oneness of reality, but only Septimus takes the way sure to reach it'.[8] He figures the dichotomy of life and death in *Mrs Dalloway* as one reflective surface, saying that 'reality, authenticity, and completion are on the death side of the mirror, while life is at best the illusory, insubstantial and fragmentary image of that dark reality'.[9] To die is to succumb to the entropy which is inescapable anyway, thus the actions of Septimus and Winnie display a cosmic defiance of decay. In the essay 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle', Sigmund Freud states that 'two kinds of processes are constantly at work in a living substance…one constructive or assimilatory and the other destructive or dissimilatory'.[10] In humans this translates as a desire to die, to return to a state of un-being and total dissolution. Matthew Wraith declares that this 'death drive' is 'a psychic co-operation and compliance with entropy's diktats',[11] acceding Miller's position that death is not so much a gruesome inevitability but a logical co-dependent of life.

Likewise, Freud also says that 'the pleasure principle seems actually to serve the death instincts',[12] as the id instinctively seeks pleasure to fulfil psychological and biological needs, and death is undeniably a necessary consequence of life. Conrad personifies the entropic aspect of death through the character of the Professor, and more broadly, the concept of anarchy. While the definition of anarchism as a political movement is somewhat more nuanced than a mere desire for chaos and contempt for authority, the use of the word 'shattered' with regard to the Professor's thoughts on the 'established social order'[13] is reminiscent of the dissolutive,

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[7] Conrad, *The Secret Agent,* 71.
[8] J. Hillis Miller, 'Repetition as the Raising of the Dead', in Harold Bloom (ed.), *Mrs Dalloway: Modern Critical Interpretations* (New York, 1988), 98.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *The Freud Reader*, P. Gay (ed.), (London, 1995), 618.
[11] M. Wraith, 'Throbbing Human Engines' in A. Enns & S. Trower (eds.), *Vibratory Modernism* (Houndmills, 2013), 104.
[12] Gay, *The Freud Reader,* 615.
[13] Conrad, *The Secret Agent,* 78.

fragmentary action of entropy. The Professor accepts his status as an entropic system, and thus does not fear death. His nihilistic willingness to blow himself up at any moment affords him dominance over others: 'he meditated confidently on his power...the supreme guarantee of his sinister freedom'.[14] Anarchism also advocates the idea of autonomy of the self whereby people are considered discrete entities, harmonious with the concept of the individual as an enclosed system which is therefore subject to entropy.

For Matthew Wraith, the modernity wrought by the industrial revolution has rendered us not merely discrete entities, but 'human engines'. He reasons:

> It was from the study of engines in the nineteenth century that the scientific theory of entropy first emerged...stating that all energy in the universe was destined towards this degenerate and useless state. This applied to every possible energy process, including not only engines but also organic systems like our own bodies... The throbbings and rattlings of the modernist's engines gave them a kind of quasi-life...not so much the experience of living, but the experience of dying which only the living can know.[15]

Wraith's exploration of the symbolism of vibrations in modernism posits that the act of quivering, shivering, quaking and vibrating in humans is fundamentally entropic due to the nature of energy conservation. To tremble is to communicate visceral, human energy with the external condition of oscillating machines. The commonality of vibration discloses the fate of eventual degeneration in both human and machine. In these texts, shaking signals an intensity of feeling which emphasises the vividness of life. Clarissa, when feeling shock 'made the moment in which she had stood shiver, as a plant on the river-bed feels the shock of a passing oar and shivers: so she rocked: so she shivered'.[16] Similarly, when the Professor feels anger 'his little bald head quivered, imparting a comical vibration to the wisp of white goatee'.[17] Entropy and time being directly related, Woolf's suspension of time causes stasis, an absence of vibration: 'silence falls on London; and falls on the mind. Effort ceases. Time flaps on the mast. There we stop; there we stand'.[18]

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[14] Ibid., 67.
[15] Wraith, 'Throbbing Human Engines', 100.
[16] V. Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway* (Oxford, 1992), 25-26.
[17] Conrad, *The Secret Agent,* 38.
[18] Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, 42.

The modernist awareness of the humanity of machines, or indeed, the mechanics of humanity, is concentrated at the epicentre of industrialisation and urbanisation in the early twentieth century, the city. Wraith claims that 'we gather together in cities to share energy in the face of its relentless dissipation into the thermal background... [and] its entropic drift towards disorder'.[19] This evokes a move from the quantum to the molecular; from the atomic human consciousness to the larger enclosed system of the city. An Italian Futurist manifesto of 1910 declares that the 'people around you in a rolling motor bus are in turn and at the same time one, ten, four, three; they are motionless and they change places; then come back and sit before you like persistent symbols of universal vibration'.[20] Modernisation and industrialisation exert an entropic power over the city, personified by a proliferation of technology and information. People in the homogenised crowds of urban spaces collide with increasing energy like the molecules of slowly heated water.

In *Mrs Dalloway*, the enclosed system of the city of London has a shared, chaotic consciousness. The free indirect discourse of the narrative makes the interiority of each character equally visible to the reader: even the inner thoughts of incidental passers-by are made available. The bells of Big Ben are scattered sporadically throughout the narrative of this shared consciousness, reminding the reader and the characters of the presence of a time which is separate from their own perception, at once familiar and alien:

> Shredding and slicing, dividing and subdividing, the clocks of
> Harley Street nibbled at the June day, counselled submission,
> upheld authority, and pointed out in chorus the supreme
> advantages of a sense of proportion, until the mound of time was
> so far diminished that a commercial clock, suspended above a
> shop in Oxford Street, announced, genially and fraternally, as if
> it were a pleasure to Messrs. Rigby and Lowndes to give the
> information gratis, that it was half-past one [21]

Here the clock itself is defamiliarised and anthropomorphised, yet also holds 'authority'. In his celebrated essay 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', Georg Simmel argues that 'the technique of metropolitan life is unimaginable without the most

[19] Wraith, 'Throbbing Human Engines', 112.
[20] U. Boccioni *et al.,* 'Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto' in U. Apollonio (ed.), *Futurist Manifestos* (London, 2009), 28.
[21] Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, 87.

punctual integration of all activities and mutual relations into a stable and impersonal time schedule'.[22] Simmel sees standardised time as an attempt to counteract the inclination of the city toward entropy, a regulatory - if perhaps futile - force superimposed over the fluidity of 'personal' time.

The enforcement of global, standardised time was introduced in 1884, two years before *The Secret Agent* is set. The narrative revolves around the Greenwich Royal Observatory and meridian line, a tangible geographical space embodying Greenwich Mean Time. Mr Vladimir cites astronomy as the target of the Greenwich bombing, saying:

> I defy the ingenuity of journalists to persuade their public that any given member of the proletariat can have a personal grievance against astronomy [...] And there are other advantages. The whole civilised world has heard of Greenwich. The very boot-blacks in the basement of Charing Cross Station know something of it.[23]

However, in accordance with Simmel, an attack on the location at the heart of international standardised time would work with the tendency of entropy by undermining the globally unifying effect of Greenwich Mean Time and creating anarchic disorder. An attack on time is an attack on the highest authorities – the civic and capitalist systems which rely on synchronicity - but one which would permeate the class system in a trickle-down manner evocative of the energy loss of entropy.

Standardised time was originally introduced in the UK to regulate the new railway system of the 1840s. Technologies of high-speed transport permitted the movement of people at unprecedented velocity. In theoretical terms, the increased speed of such 'particles' increases the entropy of the system they inhabit. On observing the omnibuses at Piccadilly, Clarissa 'felt very young; at the same time unspeakably aged'.[24] This association implies that the possibility of a vehicle which allows humans to progress through space at an essentially inhuman speed also inspires a feeling of transcendence of the normal boundaries of time:

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[22] G. Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in Michael Whitworth (ed.), *Modernism* (Oxford, 2007), 185.
[23] Conrad, *The Secret Agent,* 31-32.
[24] Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, 7.

> [I]n the swing, tramp, and trudge; in the bellow and the uproar;
> the carriages, motor cars, omnibuses, vans, sandwich men
> shuffling and swinging; brass bands; barrel organs; in the
> triumph and the jingle and the strange high singing of some
> aeroplane overhead was what she loved; life; London; this
> moment of June. [25]

Woolf's prose is a rich conflation of speed, movement, noise, the city, and the exaction of a moment in time. Ross Chambers figures noise as one incarnation of the entropic atmosphere of a city because:

> the word noise today designates all the static or interference
> that arises in channels of communication, and by extension the
> entropy that similarly affects all functioning systems and makes
> their smoothest operations secretly inefficient, a parasitic
> presence that is both necessary to life and the consumer of our
> energy and being. [26]

The London of these novels reifies the buzzing sense of productivity and multiplicity which characterises urban modernity. The city itself projects an energetic presence which is diffracted throughout the body of the text.

Chambers calls this atmosphere a 'disorderly energy, the "electricity" of the crowd,' but also asserts that this collective experience is a location of 'alienated encounters...failures to connect'. [27] Mr and Mrs Verloc's failure to connect is painfully explicit to the reader as they are shown the grotesque deficit between Winnie's feelings on Stevie's death, and Mr Verloc's assumptions about her feelings. According to the narrator, 'it is universally understood that, as if it were nothing more substantial than vapour floating in the sky, every emotion of a woman is bound to end in a shower', [28] the kinetic energy of rainfall symbolising the apex of the couple's miscommunication, and showing the text of the book itself to be subject to entropy along the normal axis of time. This degenerative destruction is also rendered in Winnie's physiology, as in the first chapter 'her hair was very tidy' [29] but when tormented by thoughts of Stevie's death, her 'whole being was racked by that inconclusive and maddening thought...in her bones, in the roots of

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[25] Conrad, *The Secret Agent,* 31-32.
[26] R. Chambers, *An Atmospherics of the City: Baudelaire and the Poetics of Noise* (New York, 2015), 4.
[27] Ibid., 6.
[28] Conrad, *The Secret Agent,* 182.
[29] Ibid., 10.

her hair',[30] and after she kills Mr Verloc 'a slimy dampness...clung to her hair'.[31] Woolf's free indirect discourse also magnifies miscommunication between the characters. Clarissa's proclivity for gathering people together for parties is an ordering, organisational force; even her name, as the title of the book, is the commonality which unites the characters. Despite this, it is an echo of the miscommunication of true feeling between Clarissa and Peter which closes the book, as Peter considers that it is Clarissa who fills him with 'ecstasy' and 'extraordinary excitement'.[32]

'It is Clarissa, he said. For there she was'.[33] The use of the past tense emphasises the nostalgia which pervades the text: the characters constantly reflect on the past in an attempt to obstruct the linear progression of time and thus the drift towards disorder, destruction, and death. In *The Secret Agent*, narrative time lurches backwards to before the detonation of the bomb. Mr Verloc tells Winnie '"What's done can't be undone"',[34] but the rewinding of the text paradoxically 'undoes' Stevie's death and its entropic consequences, both physical and textual. Narrative has the power to re-order time and, according to J. Hillis Miller, the narrative of *Mrs Dalloway* 'possesses the irresistible and subtle energy of the bell of St. Margaret's striking half past eleven'.[35] Woolf describes the sound of the bell as 'something alive which wants...to disperse itself, to be, with a tremor of delight, at rest',[36] evoking the diffusion of energy as it travels through time and further towards entropic disarray. As such, Miller argues that the repetition of a word in *Mrs Dalloway* transports the reader back to the situation of the first instance of the word. He cites the use of the word plunge on the first page - 'What a lark! What a plunge!'[37] - and its repetition towards the end as Clarissa reflects upon Septimus's death - 'this young man who had killed himself – had he plunged holding his treasure?'[38] - as an illustration of *Mrs Dalloway*'s dichotomy between positive and negative, rising and falling, life and death. To extend further, the word plunge now holds a cathartic association of positivity for the reader; a textual remembrance. This is the role of the fleeting and hybridised temporalities of the narrative: by

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[30] Ibid., 186.
[31] Ibid., 202.
[32] Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, 165.
[33] Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, 165.
[34] Conrad, *The Secret Agent*, 182.
[35] Miller, 'Repetition as the Raising of the Dead', 81.
[36] Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*, 42.
[37] Ibid., 1.
[38] Ibid., 156.

moving between times and tenses, time and thus entropy are arrested in order to suspend the chaos of the future. These metaphorical pauses give the narrative space to meditate on events unfettered by the advancing tidal force of time. Miller points out that 'the cogito of the narrator in *Mrs Dalloway* is, "[T]hey thought, therefore I am"',[39] and indeed, 'nothing exists for the narrator which does not first exist in the mind of one of the characters'.[40] Furthermore, the substance of the narrative is constructed from the thoughts of the characters, but the characters themselves are only rendered real by their textual production by the narrative: this dynamic of mutual creation and co-dependence expands the inert, timeless spaces in the text.

Ultimately, the narrative consciousness of *Mrs Dalloway* manipulates time in order to allay its anxiety of death and disorder. The narrative moves between the minds of the characters, emphasising their status as differentiated systems, yet simultaneously illustrating the shared consciousness of Woolf's London. The characters of *The Secret Agent* unravel with variable force as time goes on, revealing themselves to be unwilling subjects of the power of entropy, catalysed by the curiously named Chief Inspector Heat, who provides the surge of energy which finally results in the deaths of Mr Verloc and Winnie. Death, destruction, and dissolution are shown to be the inevitable climax of life, but the co-dependence of the terms are key: Virginia Woolf wrote in her personal diaries: 'I meant to write about death, only life came breaking in as usual'.[41] This cohesion between life and death is unavoidably bound by the will of entropy and its relation to time, but is represented differently in the two novels. In *The Secret Agent*, Winnie's suicide is the culmination of a proliferation of chaos, recalling the perfect destruction of entropy at its maximum, and the final page shows the Professor walking the streets of London with only one objective: to maintain his status as 'unsuspected and deadly'.[42] *Mrs Dalloway*, on the other hand, reminds the reader that death cannot exist without life, and Clarissa and her party guests continue to occupy that indeterminate dimension, suspended in a narrative which refuses to completely dissolve in the space of just one June day.

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[39] Miller, 'Repetition as the Raising of the Dead', 83.
[40] Ibid., 82.
[41] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, A. O. Bell (ed.), 5 vols (New York, 1979–85), ii, 167.
[42] Conrad, *The Secret Agent*, 231.

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Reconstructing men from the operating table to the gallery:
A study on the shifting context of male identity in Henry Tonks' pastel portraits of wounded soldiers.
Josephine Tipper

This study explores the changing interpretations of Henry Tonks' pastel drawings of disfigured soldiers from the aftermath of World War I. As the context evolved from a clinical environment to art historical, concerns developed not only regarding the reconstruction of the male body, but also the restoration of manhood after the First World War. The pre-War construction of masculinity, which turned man to machine, must also be evaluated in order to understand how Tonks' images might reinstate the wounded men's identities. The study examines the collective identity of British men during the First World War, focusing on those who were injured in battle. It compares Tonks' pastels with other sources, in order to understand the changing and fragile definition of masculinity from the aftermath of war, and the reconstruction of manhood and identity of disfigured soldiers.

This study will explore the changing interpretations of Henry Tonks' (1862-1937) pastel drawings of disfigured soldiers from the aftermath of the First World War. Tonks produced a series of pastel drawings of wounded soldiers from the First World War between 1916 and 1917, while working with pioneering plastic surgeon Harold Gillies. [1] These half-sized illustrations were intended to aid further education of the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC), and proved to be highly valuable, as they were not only anatomically correct, but also depicted torn flesh in a clearer, more diagrammatic way than the available photography. Tonks was the most obvious choice of artist for Gillies, as not only was he a renowned draughtsman, but he had also studied medicine and surgery in his earlier years.

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[1] Samuel J. M. M Alberti, "Military Medical Art at the Royal College of Surgeons." In *War, Art and Surgery: The Work of Henry Tonks & Julia Midgley* London: The Royal College of Surgeons of England, 2014, 6.

This gave him great anatomical knowledge, which surpassed the norm for artists, and his skill for drawing went beyond most in the medical profession.

The injured man, in art and British culture, has either been hailed as a martyred hero or neglected and hidden from sight. As Tonks' pastels do not conform to the prescribed iconography of the wounded martyr, they instead depict the taboo of men torn beyond recognition and ripped of their manhood. Tonks' background in both the medical and artistic professions gave him the ability to produce work that fuses the worlds of documentary and portraiture. Gillies, in particular, was able to draw attention to the aesthetic quality of plastic surgery, while Tonks' medical training made him acutely aware of the physicality of the subjects.[2] He was also aware of the severity of their injuries, which gave him a unique insight into the impact of modern warfare. In a letter to Geoffrey Blackwell, Tonks wrote: 'It is a chamber of horrors... You bring flaps up [tube pedicles, a technique Gillies developed] from wherever is convenient.'[3]

Tonks' pastels are often nameless, with little information for the modern reader.[4] In medical illustrations there is a sense of anonymity, as the primary focus of the piece is the anatomical reading. However, as these images are of men's faces, it is hard not to seek some personal touch between sitter and viewer. Tonks drew each patient before and after surgery, including individuals who required numerous treatments.[5] The combination of 'before' and 'after' shows both the physical changes made by the surgeon and the reconstruction of the patient's identity. The pairing of images is vital to this experience, such as Private Charles Deeks [Figures 1. and 2.], as the final 'after' image allows the viewer to look past the injuries and have a genuine empathetic interaction with the sitter.[6] In the final images, the patients are almost always shown with neatly combed hair, and occasionally wearing ties and pressed collars with blue jackets. The image of patients well dressed with an air of confidence, suggests that not only have their faces been

[2] Suzannah Biernoff, "Flesh Poems: Henry Tonks and the Art of Surgery." *Visual Culture in Britain* 11 (2010): 25-47, 28.

[3] Henry Tonks to Blackwell, Geoffrey. 1915; Tonks to MacColl, Dugald Sutherland, 1915; and Tonks to MacColl, 1916, Quoted in Joseph Hone, *The Life of Henry Tonks*. London: Heinemann, 1939, 125, 114, and 114.

[4] Marguerite Helmers "Iconic Images of Wounded Soldiers by Henry Tonks." *Journal of War & Culture Studies* 3 (2010): 181-99, 183.

[5] Emma Chambers "Wounded Soldiers and the Memory of War." In *In War, Art and Surgery: The Work of Henry Tonks & Julia Midgley*, edited by Samuel J. M. M Alberti. London: The Royal College of Surgeons of England, 2014, 55.

[6] Ibid, 57.

restored, but also their identities. In reality the wounded veterans found a return to civilian life difficult, with finding work particularly troublesome.

As new weapons and artillery were designed for maximum impact, it was vital new surgical techniques were developed that could help restore the devastated bodies of soldiers.[7] Wounds were extremely complex, as skin and muscle were torn beyond preservation. The Somme provided one of the worst cases of mass facial injury in the history of warfare.[8] At Gillies ward in Sidcup, 200 beds had been made ready for soldiers suffering from facial wounds. This was a vast underestimation, as over two thousand injured men arrived. Gillies recalled: 'Men without half their faces. Men burned and maimed to the condition of animals.'[9]

Facial disfigurement was weighed equally with the amputation of two or more limbs by the government as the most serious war injuries.[10] Those who suffered from them were entitled to the 100% disablement status from the Ministry of Pensions [Appendix 1.].[11] However, post-war aid for veterans tended to concentrate solely on employment, rather than reintegration into society.[12] There were concerns about how these men might go back to living their lives. The number of mutilated bodies returning from war required that a new image of the 'everyday' man be constructed, which also had an effect on all British disabled people.[13]

Physical mutilation was not the only loss suffered by men at war, as the destruction of their faces shattered their identities and questioned their manhood. T. H. Proctor, a veteran from the First World War, argued that war distilled the violent undertones of hegemonic masculinity.[14] Joanna Bourke aligns the construction of masculinity with the introduction of the 1870 Education Act, which made education to a minimum level compulsory for all.[15] The 1870 Act established

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[7] Suzannah Biernoff "A Necessary Humanity." In *War, Art and Surgery: The Work of Henry Tonks & Julia Midgley*, edited by Samuel J. M. M Alberti. London: The Royal College of Surgeons of England, 2014, 121.

[8] Ibid, 121.

[9] Andrew Bamji "Facial Surgery: The Patient's Experience." In *Facing Armageddon*, edited by Hugh Cecil and Peter H. Liddle. London: Leo Cooper, 1996, 495.

[10] Emma Chambers "Fragmented Identities: Reading Subjectivity in Henry Tonks' Surgical Portraits." *Art History* (2009): 578–607, 590.

[11] Joanna Bourke *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* London: Reaktion Books, 1999, 65-6.

[12] Chambers, *Fragmented Identities*, 590.

[13] Biernoff, *A Necessary Humanity*, 16.

[14] T. H. Proctor "The Motives of the Soldier." *International Journal of Ethics* 31 (1920): 26-50, 44.

[15] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, 13.

gender-based classes, instilling gendered associations with certain skills. Young girls were given cooking, cleaning and childcare classes, while boys were required to attend classes in manual training, which were designed to help prepare them for the workforce and equip them for male domestic duties.[16] From a young age, boys were encouraged to be strong and active with competitive sport, which was a way of unleashing and controlling aggression. Injuries were a signifier for manhood, as Bourke describes blood as the 'badge of honour'.[17] A masculinity was constructed that aligned fighting with integrity, within which there was no higher virtue than fighting for your country.

Before the war, hegemonic masculinity was encouraged and depicted in artwork through the representation of the ideal man: Christ. This was perpetuated by the embodiment of 'muscular Christianity', a term discussed by Donald E. Hall in his study on Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's School Days.*[18] Hall explains that Hughes' writing emphasises the spirituality of athleticism and the importance of conflict for displaying that good (English Christianity) will always conquer evil.[19] Muscular Christianity was also a physical model for the British male: 'the ethereal body of the ideal Christian, the corporate body of "Young England" is always simultaneously material and immaterial, flesh and ideal.'[20]

One of the most direct constructions of masculinity is found within the images of war and the military, which suggests an 'unconquerable manhood'.[21] During the early 1920s, representations of injured soldiers had strong religious connotations and often had a symbolic meaning which surpassed that of the physical broken body. They emphasised the analogy of heroic sacrifice, even overtly referring to Christ-like iconography.[22] The divine image of the heroic, wounded soldier was far removed from reality, as machine warfare ravaged the bodies of men. Tonks' pastels depicted the soldiers' mortality and humanity, rather than elevating the injured veterans to sacred symbols. Tonks, himself, was no stranger to the saintly propaganda, which sought to justify and censor the violence of the front line. In

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[16] Ibid, 13.

[17] Ibid, 37.

[18] Donald E. Hall *Muscular Christianity Embodying the Victorian Age.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 117.

[19] Ibid, 117.

[20] Ibid, 119.

[21] Gabriel Koureas *Memory, Masculinity and National Identity in British Visual Culture, 1914-1930: A Study of 'Unconquerable Manhood'.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 80.

[22] Chambers, *Wounded Soldiers and the Memory of War*, 57.

1918, the British War Memorials Committee assembled a 'Hall of Remembrance' exhibition, which included Tonks' *An Advanced Dressing Station in France*, 1918 [Figure 3.].[23] The soldier's stance recalls a wounded *Pieta*, as his chest pushes outwards and his head rolls to the side; his body seems illuminated by a mysterious source of light. This piece was made at the same time as his pastels of patients in 1917, but is an embodiment of heroism and bravery, rather than a realistic documentation.

Wounded men were romanticised, as tales of women falling in love with the injured soldier they nursed to health became popular in film and media.[24] Propaganda sought to elevate the position of the wounded soldier as 'not less but more of a man' to encourage others to go to war.[25] Wartime imagery painted a patriotic and idealised scene of the fallen soldier, which clashed with the real and haunting illustrations made by Tonks. Suzannah Biernoff explains that the wounded face was a taboo, and any images of disfigurement were scarcely included in documents from the First World War.[26] This did not reflect the number of injuries from the war, with around 60,500 suffering from facial wounds, compared to the 41,000 who had to undergo amputation. The press tended to omit those with facial injuries, and instead focused on amputees, whose prosthetic limbs fascinated readers.[27]

There was a clear distinction between soldiers who had suffered from the loss of a limb and those who had significant facial injuries. Losing a limb in battle was seen as courageous, and depictions of amputees with 'angelic faces' flooded the public arena.[28] Their bravery heightened their status as men, as the sacrifice they made was unavoidable from the public eye. While this was also true for facial disfigurement, the reaction was a clear contrast. Biernoff attributes this to the de-masculinisation of facial deformity, as combatants' identity was stripped away. She compares the cosmetic process of fixing facial disfigurement, with the mechanical process of fitting a prosthetic limb.[29] The former is considered feminine as it

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[23] Sue Malvern *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War*. New Haven and London Yale University Press, 2004, 76-89.

[24] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, 56.

[25] Unknown. "The Disabled Soldier." *Liverpool Chronicle*, June 1917.

[26] Biernoff, *Flesh Poems: Henry Tonks and the Art of Surgery*, 28.

[27] Ibid, 28.

[28] Suzannah Biernoff "Shame, Disgust and the Historiography of War." In *Shame and Sexuality: Psycho-Analysis and Visual Culture*, edited by Claire Pajaczkowska and Ivan Ward. London: Routledge, 2008, 218.

[29] Suzannah Biernoff "The Rhetoric of Disfigurement in First World War Britain." *Social History of Medicine* 24 (2011): 666-85, 677.

focuses on aesthetics, while the latter is centred on movement and action, and so holds masculine connotations.

Despite the deep, personal sacrifice these men made, stigmatisation of the disabled soldier remained, as he contradicted the image of the 'strong and self-dependent man'.[30] Douglas McMurtie argued that the recovery process reduced men to infantile states in the minds of the public.[31] This sentiment can be found in R. Tait MacKenzie's text, who claimed that a man 'became nothing but a living gargoyle'. Plastic surgery was in its infancy, so regardless of the innovative procedures, injured men would never regain their original faces.[32] A local newspaper described their injuries as the 'worst loss of all' as the wounds were 'visible proof' of the loss of a man's identity.[33]

The fear of hurting the patient psychologically caused the authorities to remove all mirrors from the ward.[34] Ana Carden-Coyne, Director of the Centre for the Cultural History of War, believes that Tonks' decision to keep his pastels away from public display was manifested by the social anxiety around the inability of these soldiers to integrate back into society.[35] This stemmed from the fear that, not just these men, but society in its entirety, would be unable to recover from the aftermath of war. The disabled veterans not only represented the destruction caused by modern artillery, but were also a constant source of public guilt at the insurmountable loss in conflict.

The negative reception of wounded bodies in art went beyond Tonks' pastels. In 1919 John Middleton Murry wrote a review of John Singer Sargent's *Gassed* of 1919, from the exhibition titled *The Nation's War Painting*, exclaiming: 'a man with half his face shot away' is 'just such another piece of melodrama?'[36] The contrast between Tonks' pastel portraits and the large genre paintings of the First World War is heightened by the reduction of drama in Tonks' images. However, they are just as poignant and emotional in terms of conveying the destruction of war. While

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[30] Douglas Crawford McMurtie *The Disabled Soldier.* Michigan: University of Michigan, 1919, 47.

[31] Ibid, 47.

[32] Koureas, *Memory, Masculinity and National Identity in British Visual Culture*, 138.

[33] Unknown. "The Queen's Hospital, Sidcup.": London Metropolitan Archives, 1918. H02/QM/Y01/05.

[34] Biernoff, *A Necessary Humanity*, 116.

[35] Ana Carden-Coyne "Ungrateful Bodies: Rehabilitation, Resistance and Disabled American Veterans of the First World War." *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 14 (2007): 543-65, 544.

[36] John Middleton Murry "Review." London: The Nation, 1919, 419-420.

Sargent's *Gassed* tells of the devastating impact on groups of men, Tonks' work portrays the individual.

Sander Gilman explains that the aim of these wounded men was to be able to 'pass as normal'.[37] However, Biernoff states that 'passing' and being invisible are very different. Gilman defines passing as 'becoming differently visible – being seen as a member of a group with which one wants or needs to identify'.[38] He concludes that there is no distinct line between cosmetic and reconstructive surgery, as, throughout time, our perception of 'normal' changes.[39] An ongoing and prevalent belief has also maintained that a person's outward appearance reflects their personality, which perpetuated an aesthetic standard in order to 'fit-in' to society. The period after First World War, saw a resurgent interest throughout Western Europe in physiognomy. The concept was popularised by Johann Caspar Lavater who reintroduced the Aristotelian theories of the relationship between appearance and character.[40] Returning to the pairing of 'before' and 'after' pieces by Tonks (Figures 4. and 5.), they also recall photographs produced to depict the success of cosmetic surgery.[41] Emma Chambers discusses Gilman's observations on how the 'before' and 'after' images show not only the success of the operation, but also the transformation of the personality.[42] This metamorphosis is apparent in the 'after' images by Tonks, which often includes clothing, combed hair and a cheerful expression lacking in their 'before' counterparts.

A primary function of Tonks' pastels was to aid their healing process by promoting a new identity. His clinical eye allowed him to gaze at the men, and capture their recovery without succumbing to voyeuristic, or melodramatic tendencies. Significantly altering facial features would be expected in someway to affect their mental state. Didier Anzieu, a French psychoanalyst, in his book *The Skin Ego*, discusses the importance of skin, as he develops Sigmund Freud's *The Ego and the Id*, arguing that tactile sensations are primary to the formation of the ego.[43] He describes the skin as 'a protective envelope' which contains and preserves the

[37] Sander L Gilman *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, xxi.

[38] Ibid, xxi.

[39] Ibid, xxi

[40] Johann Caspar Lavater *Essays on Physiognomy: For the Promotion of the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind.* edited by Thomas Holcroft London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1789.

[41] Chambers, *Fragmented Identities*, 598.

[42] Gilman, *Making the Body Beautiful*, 36-40.

[43] Didier Anzieu "The Skin Ego." New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989, 85 and Sigmund Freud "The Ego and the Id." In *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, edited by James Strachey. London: Hogarth, 1961.

psyche.[44] Tonks' torn flesh reminds the viewer that humans are all the same beneath the surface, and the revealing of what lies underneath is quite terrifying as it reminds viewers of their mortality. Skin forms a thin, easily damaged veil, which hides the uncomfortable reality of the fragility of the human species. These injuries expose what should not be exposed, and the viewer is confronted by the temporality of existence. Gillies' surgeries attempt to rebuild the mask of this reality.

Furthermore, a person's psychical identity is formed through tactile sensory imprints and the marks left from those experiences.[45] Chambers references Anzieu's work, and explains that this would suggest any damage on the real skin would also be felt by the ego.[46] She further argues that this disruption of boundaries makes the images hard to read as portraiture, as they occupy the uncharted territory of medical records and portraits. The puncturing of flesh makes it difficult to see past the violence and interpret the characteristics and identity of the sitter.[47] The anxiety felt when looking at these images can also be related to the projection of the self by the ego, and the viewers' acute awareness of how easily it can be dismantled.[48]

Tonks' pastels depict not just the destructive effects of modern artillery but also the pioneering efforts of modern medicine: 'if servicemen were severely injured by the technologies of modern war, they could be made whole again through technologies of modern medicine.'[49] Overall, the archival value of these images surpasses their role as medical documents, as they depict the physical reconstruction of wounded soldiers, and show the rebuilding of each man's identity. Gillies' surgeries allowed these men to reintegrate into society, and helped them to 'pass' for 'normal'. The physical reconstruction had a social and economic impact on these men, but it also restored their manhood. Disability, facial disfigurement, in particular, was widely stigmatised before and after the First World War, due to superstition, fear and public guilt. These pastels may represent a stage in the rebuilding of these men's lives after their traumatic and life changing ordeals.

The First World War caused a rift in gender roles, and rocked the fragile conception of class, status and masculinity. Men had been built into machines to

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[44] Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, 98-101.
[45] Ibid, 98-101.
[46] Chambers, *Fragmented Identities*, 596.
[47] Ibid, 596.
[48] Ibid, 596.
[49] Helmers, *Iconic Images of Wounded Soldiers by Henry Tonks*, 184.

fight for war, but once peace was settled, they were owed the return of their personhood and a readmission to society. The heroic idealised male adorned stoic genre paintings. In reality, the disfigured veteran was the strongest signifier of the destruction and devastation of war. The image of the mutilated soldier caused crippling public anxiety, as it reminded them of their mortality and the violence of modern warfare. Tonks' pastels show the healing process, not just of the wounded men, but of the British national identity.

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Illustrations

Figure 1. Henry Tonks, *Charles Deeks Before Surgery*, 1916. London. Pastel on Paper. 27 x 20 cm. Source: Royal College of Surgeons of England, reference number: RCSSC/P 569.1.
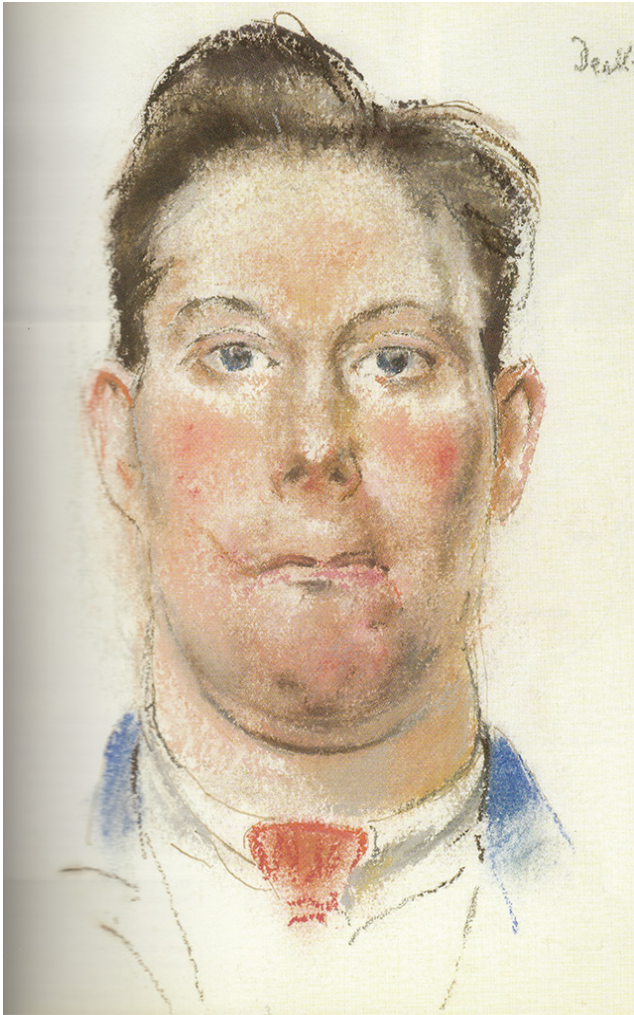
Figure 2. Henry Tonks, *Charles Deeks After Surgery*, 1916. London. Pastel on Paper. 28 x 21 cm. Source: Royal College of Surgeons of England, reference number: RCSSC/P 569.2.

Figure 3. Henry Tonks, *An Advanced Dressing Station in France*, 1918. London. Oil on Canvas. 182.8 x 218.4 cm. Source: Imperial War Museum Collections.

Figure 4. Photograph of Charles Deeks before Surgery, 3 July 1916. London. Source: Royal College of Surgeons of England, reference number: MS0513/1/1/553.
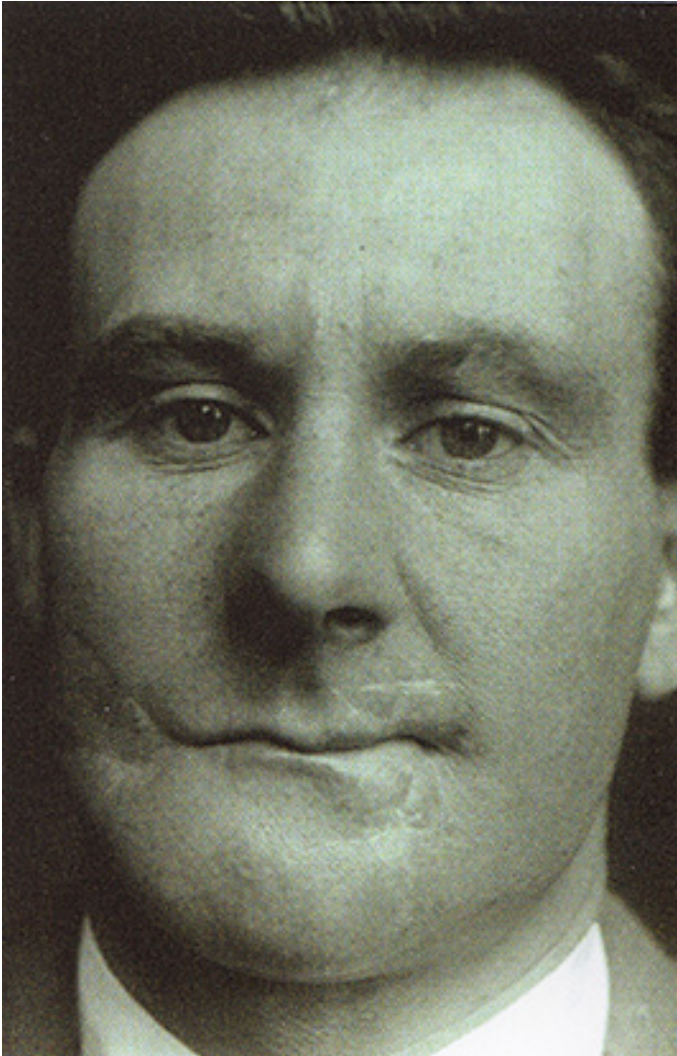
Figure 5. Photograph of Charles Deeks after Surgery, 18 August 1922. London. Source: Royal College of Surgeons of England, reference number: MS0513/1/1/553. Appendix

Proportion Corresponding to Degree of Disablement

Specific Injury	Proportion of Pension
1. Loss of two or more limbs, loss of an arm and an eye, loss of a leg and an eye, loss of both hands or all fingers and thumbs, loss of both feet, loss of a hand or a foot, total loss of sight, total paralysis, lunacy, wounds or disease resulting in a man being permanently bedridden, wounds to internal organs or head involving total permanent disability, very severe facial disfigurement	100%
2. Amputation of right arm at shoulder joint	90%
3. Amputation of leg at hip or left arm at shoulder joint, severe facial disfigurement, total loss of speech	80%
4. Short thigh amputation of leg or of right arm above or through elbow, total deafness	70%
5. Amputation of leg above knee (other than 4) and through knee or of left arm above or through elbow, or of right arm below elbow	60%
6. Amputation of leg below knee or the left arm below elbow, loss of vision of one eye	50%
7. Loss of thumb or of four fingers of right hand	40%
8. Loss of thumb or four fingers of left hand, or of three fingers of right hand	30%
9. Loss of two fingers of either hand	20%

(Source: Ministry of Pensions leaflet, c.1920).

Appendix 1. Ministry of Pensions Leaflet, Table: War Pensions for Physical Injury, c.1920. Source: Bourke, Joanna. *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* London: Reaktion Books, 1999.

Glasgow University Dialectic Society
Founded c.1451   Reinstituted 1861

Glasgow University Dialectic Society is a student debating organisation at the University of Glasgow. It was formally re-instituted in 1861, although the earliest known records date to 1770, and there are claims that it has existed in some form since 1451. Whilst we are an ancient society, our goal of promoting and fostering debate within the University has remained constant. *Groundings* was founded in 2007, and seeks to further this objective.

The Dialectic also organises a variety of events throughout term-time: these range from formal social events such as the New Members Dinner, to grand showcase debates, such as the Founders of the Union Debate, in addition to lectures and panels such as the Dialectic Question Time event. We also promote involvement in debate through more informal events, such as a weekly speaker training and a plethora of social events. In 2013, the Dialectic Society and seven other student societies spearheaded the first student referendum on Scottish independence, alongside a discussion series.

For more information about the Society, visit www.gudialectic.co.uk