Symeon

Issue Four, 2014

This fourth issue of *Symeon* sees the editorial reins handed to a new generation as newcomers Tom Rodger and Matt Wright join continuing editor, George Stevenson. We hope to live up to the excellent standards set by our predecessors and wish to thank them for their advice and support over the course of a process which transpired to be more challenging than, perhaps, it first appeared. Their success over previous years was made apparent by the large number of submissions we received from across the department. Necessity required us to reject some very interesting pieces, which we were grateful to receive, and hope that their authors will offer contributions in the future.

Symeon is a window into a world that has been left but not forgotten. We hope that the articles by staff will provoke fond reminders of lectures and seminars, of understanding something you had struggled with, and of long discussions, sometimes into the early hours. Moreover, we hope that *Symeon* will serve as a reminder that, while relatively few of us continue to study history formally beyond undergraduate level, and even fewer still become professional historians, in a number of small and important ways, historians we will always remain.

Through our engagement with the past, we are forever endowed with empathy for its actors, and a critical and intellectually curious disposition, traits which are apparent in all of the contributions to this year's magazine. However, such traits will also be apparent outside academia: empathy, critical thought and intellectual curiosity are the tools with which we make better lives for ourselves and others, and a better world for all. As alumni of a prestigious and respected department of a globally-recognised university, you are likely to be at the forefront of these changes.

In a time when the solicitation of alumni donations can seem relentless – and as graduates of various institutions ourselves, we are certainly not sheltered from this – we do not ask for money, but we would like to make a request of a different nature. Over the last four years this magazine has covered the exciting and wide-ranging research that goes on in the department. We hope that the next edition of *Symeon* will also feature alumni contributions. The department, your fellow alumni, and, of course, current students, are very interested in what former Durham historians are doing now and how their time at the university has helped to shape their lives and passions. On the last page of this edition you will find contact details; we would love to hear from anyone who would like to have their contribution included next year. Please get in touch and, moreover, please enjoy reading.

Tom Rodger, George Stevenson and Matt Wright

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Cover Images

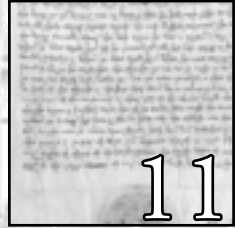Front: Professor Stephen Taylor's office (design: George Stevenson); inside front: Sir Roy Yorke Calne; John Bellany by John Bellany. © National Portrait Gallery; inside rear: Frederick Barbarossa (1122-1190) as portrayed on the Kyffhaeuser Monument (Len Scales); rear: BA Summer Graduation reception in St Chad's College, 2013 (Lindsay Varner).

Waking Barbarossa

Dr Len Scales studies the political culture of late medieval Europe. Most recently he has explored the history of medieval ideas about ethnicity and common identity in his book, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245-1414*. In this article, he considers the power of medieval myth to impact on modern German history.

When did the Middle Ages end? In July 1943, as General Patton's Seventh Army advanced across Sicily, strange matters were troubling the minds of the German high command in the Mediterranean. Hitler's naval chief had received an unexpected order: to arrange for the immediate evacuation from Palermo Cathedral of the sarcophagus of the thirteenth century emperor and Sicilian king Frederick II (1194–1250), in preparation for its dispatch to Germany. The order (amid the confusion of events, never implemented) had originated with Reichsmarshall Herman Göring himself. It was not the first time that the Nazi regime had aspired to get its hands on the mortal remains of one of medieval Europe's most myth-laden monarchs. Already in the 1930s, Hitler's architect, Albert Speer, had hoped that Mussolini might be persuaded to hand over the emperor's splendid porphyry tomb for relocation to 'Germania': Berlin as re-imagined by Speer and his master, as a vast stage-set celebrating Teutonic triumphalism down the ages.

The attractiveness of Frederick, who had spent few of his fifty-six years on German soil, to the ideologues of the Third Reich, lay in his membership of the house of Hohenstaufen: the line of emperors and kings with its ancestral roots in Swabia, in the German south-west. Theirs were names to conjure with. Frederick's paternal grandfather, Frederick Barbarossa, unwittingly became the code-word unleashing Hitler's panzers on the Soviet Union in 1941. But to suppose that the impulse to turn back to the Middle Ages for affirmation was merely an atavistic quirk of the Nazis would be quite wrong. Germans had been looking back to the Middle Ages long before 1933. Indeed, the Middle Ages, with their bright picture-gallery of kings and emperors, princes and popes, larger-than-life heroes and villains, had never really gone away.

The summer of 1875 found two distinguished German medievalists, Johann Nepomuk Sepp and Dr Hans Prutz, sweating beneath the Syrian sun as they scoured the ruined cathedral at Tyre for Barbarossa's bones, reputedly interred there following

the emperor's death on the Third Crusade (1190). Sepp was no stranger to German politics, having sat in the Frankfurt National Assembly during the revolutionary year of 1848. It was German national politics that now impelled his emperor-hunting. The aim was to repatriate Barbarossa to Germany, where his remains were to be enshrined in Cologne Cathedral – an unfinished jewel of medieval gothic, whose impending completion in the 1870s seemed to announce the fruition of a nation-making long delayed. The mission to Tyre had the support of the newly-founded German state itself and the backing of Chancellor Bismarck. But despite an encouraging send-off from minister-of-state Delbrück ('go – you're bound to find *something*'), Barbarossa's would-be rescuers came home empty handed. Not for the first – or last – time, the Hohenstaufen proved frustratingly elusive to their German admirers.

Figure 1: Frederick Barbarossa as portrayed on the Kyffhaeuser Monument. Len Scales.

Strange landscapes for a medievalist to stray into; but they will seem less strange to a medievalist acquainted with the long history of the medieval Empire – or, as it was already coming to be known under the Hohenstaufen, the Holy Roman Empire. Rooted in the ancient past, the Empire was believed by its learned ideologues (and, at times, by broader social groups) to have a destiny coterminous with human history itself. When, at some point in the near or more remote future, the Last Emperor finally surrendered his crown, as a crusader at Jerusalem, the terrifying prophecies of the last days of mankind would start to take effect. That was the message repeated in literally hundreds of prophetic writings over the course of the Middle Ages. The temperature of expectation was fanned higher by the controversial careers of some emperors. Frederick II's struggles with the papacy had culminated in his excommunication and deposition, amid denunciations of the emperor as a limb of Satan himself. A figure of such cosmic menace (or, for his admirers, promise) could hardly die a mundane death: surely he

must endure in some form after vanishing from human view, in order one day to return, to complete his works for good or ill? Particularly in the Empire's German territories, emperors of past and future lived on in written report and oral tale, remembered and awaited as bringers of social justice, mighty warriors, or scourges of a wicked Church.

Figure 2: Frederick II's Tomb in Palermo Duomo, Sicily. Len Scales.

Such wild speculations had mostly long since slipped into obscurity when the Holy Roman Empire finally expired, not with an apocalyptic bang but a whimper, in 1806. Nevertheless, they had not gone away, as the events of the next 150 years were to prove. The patriotic hopes of bourgeois Germans, fired by the 'Wars of Liberation' against Napoleon, were bitterly set back in the peace settlement of 1815. By restoring a Germany of multiple dynastic states, this appeared to set a seal on the long, dismal centuries of division which the liberation movement had dedicated itself to overcoming. In this climate, the Middle Ages, at the time enjoying a literary and artistic vogue throughout Europe, attained in Germany a keen political edge. The lecture-hall patriots of Germany's Biedermeier age were pulling on their walking boots, just like their counterparts elsewhere in Romantic Europe. In Germany, the landscape itself
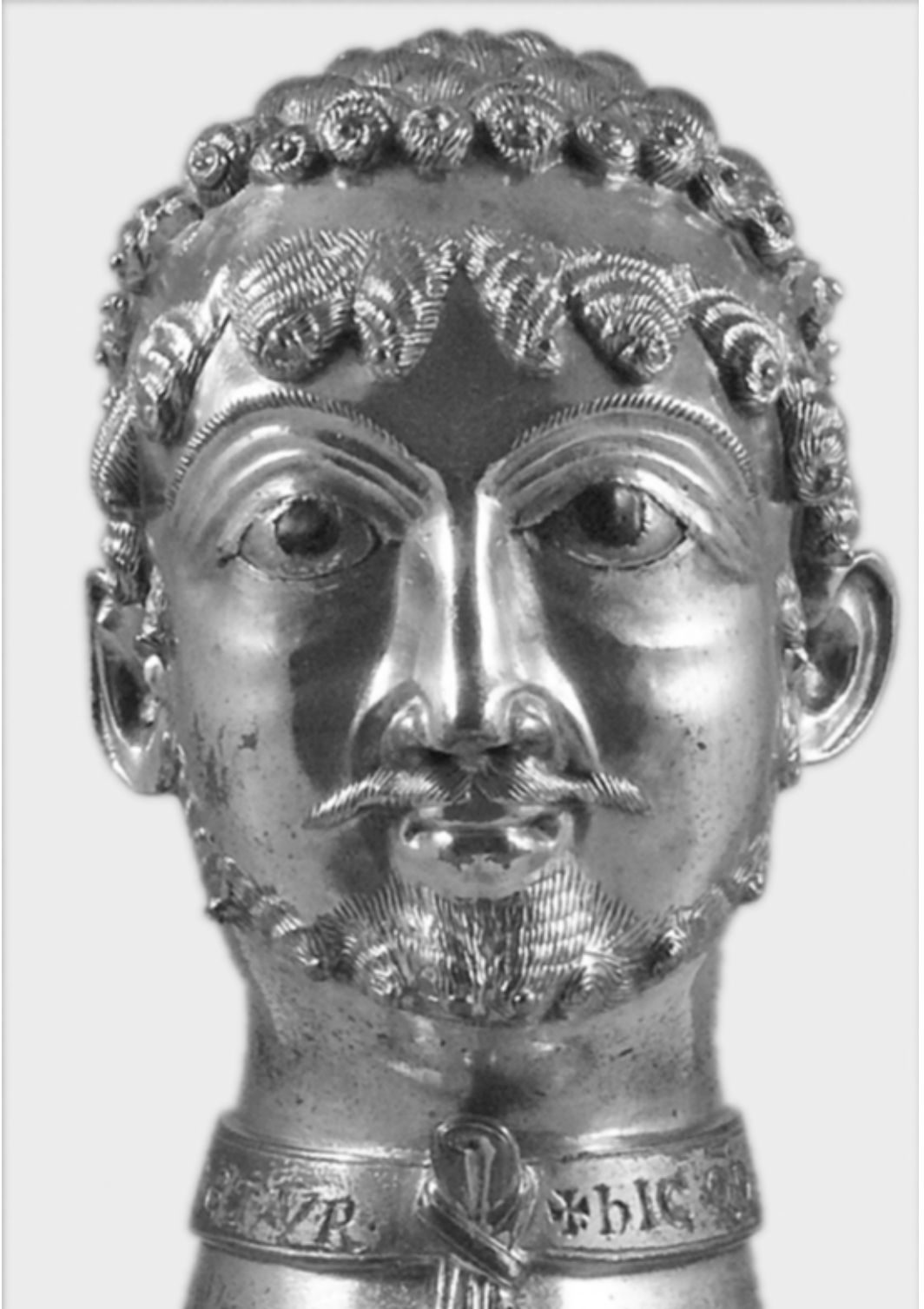
Figure 3: Frederick Barbarossa, as depicted on the contemporary 'Cappenberg Bust'. The golden bust was given to Frederick's godfather, Count Otto of Cappenberg in 1171 and was used as a reliquary in Cappenberg Abbey.

Figure 4: Frederick II from a contemporary manuscript illustration.

seemed to tell a tale of things long lost – but perhaps one day to be regained. When these bookish ramblers had scaled the modest mountain (684 m.) on which had once stood the ancestral castle of the Hohenstaufen, they could gaze out beyond the narrow borders of the duchy of Württemberg, to a Germany of memory and imagination.

The emperors of times past (and future) were now summoned to aid the present. The legend, forgotten but never altogether lost, of the great Kaiser who had not died but lived on obscurely, awaiting the hour of his people's need, was about to gain a dramatic new lease of life. Two popular literary landmarks were above all responsible for bringing

this about. In 1816 Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm published their *German Legends*. The myth of the emperor who slept beneath a mountain was of genuinely medieval origin. There had been various candidates: Frederick II, his grandfather Barbarossa, Charlemagne, and even the Habsburg Charles V. Many locations had been proposed for the Kaiser's mountain dwelling, including the Untersberg near Salzburg, a cave close to Kaiserslautern, even Mount Etna. It was the Grimms who fixed his habitation at the Kyffhäuser in Thuringia, where sightings of a revenant Kaiser wandering amid mountaintop ruins had been reported already in the fifteenth century. The widely-read *German Legends* brought the Kyffhäuser tale into focus. The subterranean monarch was identified as Barbarossa, who lay slumped, half-asleep at a great stone table, through which his long beard had grown, while high overhead the ravens circled, condemning the Kaiser to slumber on.

Barbarossa now became the symbol of a German nation which, though sunk in a sleep of centuries, might yet awaken to reclaim its long-lost glory. Popularizing this idea among a broad reading public was the achievement of a second key text, Friedrich Rückert's poem *Barbarossa* (1817), which, turning the Grimms' legend into verse, stressed also its political charge. It was not the emperor alone who was in hiding:

> *With him the chiefest treasures*
> *Of Empire hath he ta'en,*
> *Wherewith, in fitting season,*
> *He shall return again.*

Like others before and after them, the bourgeois nationalists of post-Napoleonic Germany set about excavating a common future in the deep mines of a remote, imperial past.

Not all of those who supported the ideal of a united Germany were ready to bow down before the emperor under the mountain. One who refused to do so was the socialist Heinrich Heine. In his verse travelogue *Germany, a Winter's Tale* (1844), Heine imagined himself, in a dream, coming face-to-face with old Redbeard in his underground lair, and telling the emperor some democratic home-truths:

> *Just stay at home in your mountain here –*
> *I think that this would be wiser.*
> *When I come to think about it now,*
> *We don't need any Kaiser.*

Some remained unwilling to pin their hopes on long-dead emperors. Was it not those very emperors, with their wars and their ambitions in distant lands, who had done most to keep Germany divided for so long? For the Prussian liberal Gustav Freytag (1816–95), the sacred regalia of the medieval *Reich*, in which his contemporaries hoped to dress the rulers of a united Germany, were just a 'spooky heap of dusty old junk'.

But the sceptics were fighting a losing battle. With Prussia's victories over France in 1870, the sleeping Barbarossa had, it seemed, been vindicated. In wall-paintings in the great hall of the medieval imperial palace at Goslar, Barbarossa was now shown emerging from his mountain at the coming of Barbablanca ('Whitebeard'), the victorious King Wilhelm I, while a Prussian eagle banished the ravens of division. The high-medieval past now supplied the mood music for a new imperial triumphalism. Municipal office-blocks and railway-station booking halls throughout Germany acquired the round arches, heavy mouldings and leering grotesques of the 'Hohenstaufen' style. Meanwhile, on the windy heights of the Kyffhäuser, work was afoot. Inaugurated on 16 June 1896 (the anniversary of that great Prussian victory, Waterloo), a massive stone tower, topped by a grotesque imperial crown, disclosed Barbarossa beneath a triumphant, equestrian Wilhelm I. Its construction had involved levelling much of the twelfth century Hohenstaufen castle which occupied the site.

Such fatal enchantments were to lead only to a terrible disenchantment. As the post-war West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt reportedly remarked, anyone having visions ought to consult a doctor. When did the Middle Ages end? So far as this strange medieval byway is concerned, the answer seems clear: in 1945.

Figure 5: An American GI trying on the 10th-century imperial crown, discovered along with other art treasures in a mine at Siegen, Germany. It's the same crown that Barbarossa is shown wearing on the Kyffhaeuser monument.

# Seditious Words: the value of seditious speech cases as historical sources

Caitlin Phillips is a first year PhD candidate researching how seditious speech was perceived and regulated during the sixteenth century. In this piece, she examines the value of early modern State Papers in offering insights into state censorship and political and religious change.

Sedition was inextricably tied to the sixty-eight statutes passed between 1485 and 1603 which comprised the Tudor laws of treason. In his book on the political and ideological change in treason during the Civil Wars, Alan Orr described treason as not 'simply a crime against the king's natural person or a breach of allegiance but [it] had increasingly become the unlawful seizure of sovereign or state power.' At the root of this definition was the increasing preoccupation of the authorities with seditious speech and libel.

During the twentieth century, academic understanding of Tudor censorship was greatly influenced by the publication of Fredrick Siebert's *Freedom of the Press* (1952). Siebert asserted that Tudor England had been characterised by a ruthless system of restrictive censorship, designed to eradicate any literature that challenged or opposed the Tudor monarchs and their governments. However, unlike the false reports and defamations spread in printed libel, seditious speech by its very nature had no tangible form of public distribution, and only came to the attention of authorities at the discretion of individuals. The potential for danger contained within such 'hidden' conversations is illustrated in a letter sent by the Privy Council to several Justices of the Peace in Devon, which noted how public 'disorders are more easily helped at the beginning and may grow to further inconvenience', if the concerns behind the 'persuasion of seditious persons' were not placated.

The core material of my thesis is taken from the State Papers, consulted through *State Papers Online*, and is approached in two distinct ways. First, by systematically examining the calendars between the years 1509 and 1603, it has been possible to start charting the different types of tensions felt domestically, both within the central governments and in the localities, during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. This is important when considering the growth of speech crimes in common law, as

it may be possible to demonstrate whether the regulation of these crimes reflected the national concerns of the period or circumstances specific to individual localities. Second, the State Papers offer access to specific documents, mainly letters, reports and depositions written by provincial administrators to the Privy Councils of the respective Tudor monarchs, making it possible to examine the political, social, economic and religious concerns with speech throughout the sixteenth century. In approaching the State Papers from these two perspectives, contemporaries' underlying concerns with speech, especially in relation to sedition, and their understanding of the seriousness of words pertaining to plots, riots and large-scale rebellion, are revealed.
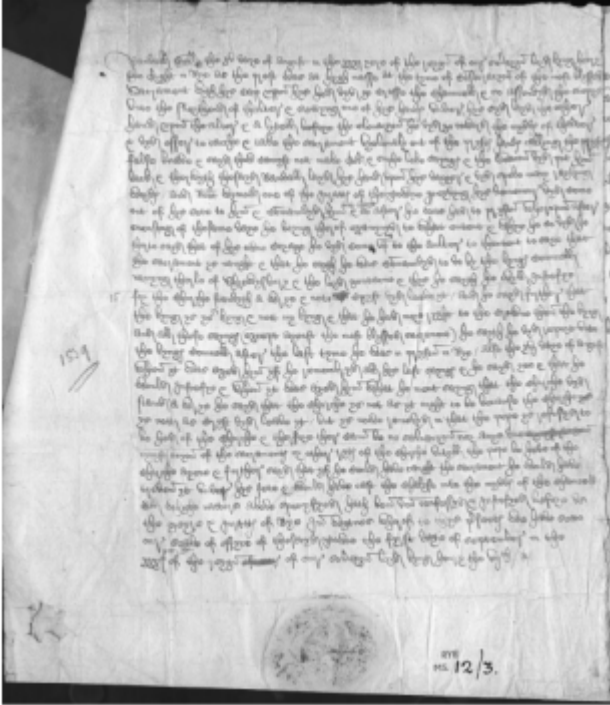
Figure 1: This deposition is a summary of all the accusations brought against Randall Bell, including the commotion he caused during high mass; the seditious words that had previously brought him to the attention of the Privy Council; and his subsequent criticism of the state of the Church of England: 'Deposition under seal of the Mayoralty from the Papers concerning the trial of Randall Bell for Treason' (1 Sept. 1539), East Sussex Record office, ESRO RYE/1/12/3.

The value of the State Papers is evident in the existing academic literature on the communication channels that enabled local magistrates and noblemen to report offences, second-hand, from the testimonies of those who had actually heard the seditious speech. Building on this work my doctoral research also utilises a range of other sources, such as the borough court of Norwich, in order to analyse what specific seditious speech cases can reveal about the maintenance of peace within communities, as well as their wider connection to the security of the realm. Correspondence drawn from the State Papers reveals patterns of both top-down and bottom-up instigations behind investigations into sedition. Although G.R. Elton has argued that these types of denouncements should not be taken as demonstration of a centrally-organised Tudor 'spy-network', evidence can be found in the sources to suggest that many communities implemented a system of communal self-regulation. For example, in 1557, the Justices of the Peace in Surrey were informed by an order from Queen Mary, that 'Every parish should have an honest man "secretly instructed" to report on the inhabitants' behaviour'. The evidence that I have identified so far through secondary sources and in the State Papers, suggests that the nature of local authority involved a degree of autonomy that was supplemented by the direction of royal statute

and proclamations. This is most clearly demonstrated in the list of responsibilities presented to the Earl of Shrewsbury when he became the President of the Council of the North. 'Offences or seditious words against the President and Council [were] to be punished by pillory, cutting off ears, wearing of papers, imprisonment, &c.' Furthermore, it was left to the discretion of the Council to 'assess fines on rioters, unless important enough to be punished by Privy Council'.

This raises interesting questions as to how seditious speech might tie into other forms of speech crime, such as sexual slander and defamation. These were subject to the peculiarities of each particular community's social, economic and political environments, and were fundamentally about the breach of social values. Depositions from ecclesiastical court proceedings not only reveal many interesting similarities in the way in which these speech crimes were conceptualised, regulated and punished, but they also highlight the need to consider the role of social, economic and political relations within communities in the denunciation of seditious speech. By uniting the literature of speech crimes and of sedition, the obscurities of language have become a central theme in the early stages of my research. By further exploring the borough court records of Norwich, I hope to demonstrate exactly how the language of everyday speech was conceptualised as scandalous, malicious or seditious when it touched upon political and religious issues, the reputation or safety of the monarch, or the threat of foreign invasion.

Depositions resulting from seditious speech denunciations can also provide interesting insights into the implementation of political and religious change in the localities during the mid-Tudor period. The argument that the pursuit of knowledge of people's activities, actions and existence served as the mechanism by which power was both extended and advanced in the Tudor period, is pertinent to this thesis. Seditious speech is clearly a complex area of study, with many different perspectives to consider, ranging from broader issues of national security, to the maintenance of peace within the localities.

Funeral Planning: British involvement in the funeral of President Kenyatta

Poppy Cullen is a third year PhD candidate researching British policy towards Kenya during the final years of decolonisation and into the post-colonial period, particularly in terms of how this relationship manifested itself in terms of both personal connections and practical assistance, both of which are key themes in her exploration of Jomo Kenyatta's funeral below.

On 31 August 1978, President Jomo Kenyatta's state funeral was held in Nairobi, Kenya. Kenyatta had been Kenya's first President and had ruled the country since its independence from Britain on 12 December 1963. An elaborate ceremony attended by international statesmen, the funeral was a celebration of Kenyatta, of the new incoming leadership, and of Kenya. It was also the culmination of a decade of earlier planning which had occurred in Kenya and in Britain.

Planning for Kenyatta's funeral began in June 1968. Already an old man, his exact age uncertain, his death at any moment was anticipated and preparations were laid accordingly. This was not just the preserve of leading Kenyan politicians, however, as the British government was consulted and assisted the Kenyan government in laying plans. The British High Commission in Nairobi was secretly approached by a leading white European politician in Kenya, Bruce McKenzie, who asked for help in planning the funeral.[1] Together, they produced a list of specific details, including the timing and location of the funeral, the coffin to be used, transportation to be used, lying-in-state, the guests to be invited, and the burial.[1] One reason for 'McKenzie's anxiety was partly that adequate preparations should be made for a first class state funeral which the world would expect on Kenyatta's death. If carried out efficiently and with dignity it will contribute to Kenya's prestige abroad and to political stability at home'.[2] British

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1 'Contingency Plan for Arrangements in the Event of the President's Serious Illness or Death'. Annex A: 'Problems Connected with the State Funeral in the Event of the Death of HE The President of Kenya', The National Archives (TNA) Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) 31/213/1.
2 Bruce Greatbatch to Michael Scott, 19 June 1968, TNA FCO 31/213/1.

policymakers shared these goals. Three of Kenya's other leading politicians, excluding the President, were involved in planning with the British, and the funeral was planned for St. Andrew's Presbyterian Kirk on the sixth day after Kenyatta's death.[3]

British policymakers also suggested in 1968 that a coffin be prepared in Britain, to be flown out with a team of morticians after Kenyatta's death.[4] They suggested the firm of JH Kenyon for the coffin and embalmer, a firm which had been involved in many British royal funerals and had embalmed King George VI and Churchill.[5] Colonel Anderson, a British serviceman on secondment as Kenya's Chief of Defence Staff, gave the specifics for the coffin: 'The Casket is to be made of Meru Oak – of the ASTON design and should have silver oxydised handles and embellishments and be zinc lined'.[6] The coffin was to be prepared immediately and remain waiting in Britain until needed. A British embalmer from Kenyons was requested to 'hold himself in readiness to fly to Kenya on the first available plane', with a list of flights departing each day from capitals around Europe attached so that the team would be ready at any time.[7]

In fact, and rather unexpectedly, Kenyatta lived for another ten years. During this decade there was limited Anglo-Kenyan funeral planning, although the British government did debate and agree upon royal representation at the funeral. It was argued that 'British interests in Kenya would suffer a severe blow if British representation … is not at an appropriate level'.[8] With the increase of what Geoff Berridge has termed 'working funerals' being used as international summits, who attended was of particular significance.[9] Despite some reluctance from the Palace about sending such a prominent figure, Prince Charles or Prince Philip was to be the Queen's representative.[10] The British government also prepared and occasionally revised condolence letters to be sent upon Kenyatta's death.[11]

When Kenyatta died in August 1978, however, these carefully laid plans from a decade earlier were not followed. Events after the funeral saw a degree of muddle and improvisation which suggests that the earlier funeral plans were not widely known within the Kenyan government and hints at the endemic fractiousness of the Kenyan state as well as a certain lack of coordination in London. Yet despite forgetting previous plans, Kenyan policymakers turned once again to the British government for help with the funeral, reconfirming their close relationship.

3 Telegram no. 2478, Nairobi to Commonwealth Office, 15 July 1968, TNA FCO 31/213/3.
4 Ibid.
5 Brian Parsons, *J H Kenyon: The First 125 Years* (Worthing, 2005), p. 322–3.
6 Colonel J.R. Anderson to Messers. J. and H. Kenyon, Oct. 1968, TNA FCO 31/213/25.
7 Ibid.
8 E. G. Le Tocq to Smedley and Sir J. Johnston, 17 Feb. 1971, TNA FCO 31/850/6.
9 G. R. Berridge, 'Diplomacy after Death: The Rise of the Working Funeral', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 4:2 (July, 1993), pp. 222–7.
10 Sir Martin Charteris to Roger du Boulay, 16 Apr. 1977, TNA FCO 31/2315/6.
11 Condolence Letters, TNA FCO 31/850/1; FCO 31/600/6; FCO 31/1496/12.
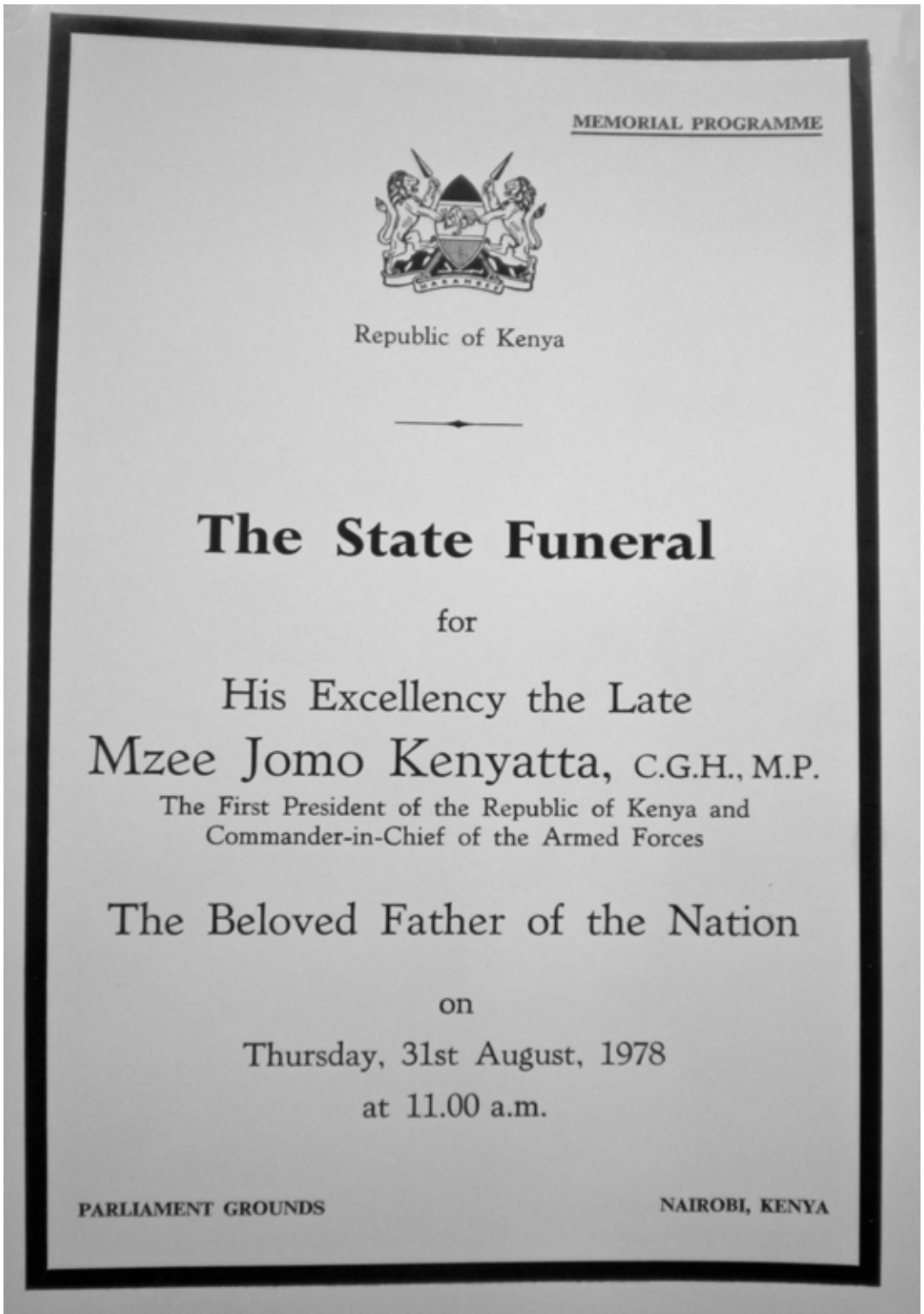
Figure 1: 'Memorial Programme, The State Funeral for His Excellency the Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, C.G.H., M.P. The Beloved Father of the Nation on Thursday, 31st August 1978 at 11.00 a.m.', The National Archives, Kew, FCO 31/2318193.

Instead of the British contacting and sending out representatives from J. H. Kenyon, which had been asked in 1968 to prepare a coffin and send an embalmer, a new arrangement was made. Rather than going through the planned and official channels, this highlighted the importance of informal personal connections. The man approached was Frank Clayton. He had been 'superintendent of eight cemeteries in Nairobi for 20 years' until 1968 and was thus known by the mortuary keeper in Nairobi who contacted him.[12] Clayton was not himself an embalmer, so he turned to a colleague, Allan Sinclair, to assist. As Sinclair recalled, 'When I was first contacted I didn't even have a passport.'[13] Sinclair, unaware of any previous plans, arranged for a coffin to be made and transported from Britain.[14] His manager reported in the press that 'At first I thought it was a joke.'[15] Sinclair embalmed Kenyatta for the ten days of his lying in state, and was made an honorary member of the Kenyan Army.[16] British morticians embalmed Kenyatta's body, which was buried in a British-made coffin, as had been planned in 1968. However, rather than the implementation of a master plan, this was the result of a frantic process of improvisation and innovation.

The British fascination with ceremonial and ritual has a long history,[17] but it is clear that leading Kenyans were also concerned to provide a requisite level of pomp and ceremony. A striking example of Kenyan funeral-planners choosing to copy, almost to the letter, a British example, came from the opening address of the funeral, which showed striking similarities to that of Winston Churchill, the programme for whose funeral had been provided to the Kenyans (figures 2 and 3). The text works surprisingly well for both men. The British government was also asked for additional tangible assistance, providing details of the ceremonial for lying in state, as well as a gun carriage to transport Kenyatta's body, with the rumour circulating in the UK press that this had been used in the state funeral of Winston Churchill.[18] The British military loaned a team of men to advise on using the gun carriage, and provided blank ammunition with instructions for use in a twenty-one gun salute.[19] All of the items requested were provided quickly and without question by the British government. The British presence in the funeral preparations makes clear the continuing ties between the British and Kenyan governments, long after the end of formal colonial rule.

12 'Reading Undertaker takes charge at Kenyatta's funeral', *Reading Chronicle*, 25 Aug. 1978, Kenya National Archives, Nairobi (KNA) MSS/29/122; Interview with Allan Sinclair, 31 Oct. 2012.
13 Interview with Allan Sinclair, 31 Oct. 2012.
14 Ibid.
15 'Embalmer on urgent mission to Kenya', *Surrey Comet*, (Kingston-on-Thames), 26 Aug. 1978, KNA MSS/29/122.
16 Interview with Allan Sinclair, 31 Oct. 2012.
17 See David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London, 2001).
18 Charles Harrison, 'Kenyatta mourners throng into Nairobi', *The Times* (London), 30 Aug. 1978.
19 Telegram no. 462, FCO to Nairobi, 22 Aug. 1978, TNA FCO 31/2315/14; B. H. Cousins to PS/Minister of State, 'Gun Carriage for President Kenyatta's Funeral', 25 Aug. 1978, TNA FCO 31/2318/173; Telegram COMMCEN HSP TO MODUK ARMY, 24 Aug. 1978 TNA FCO 31/2316/64.

¶ *Then follows a BIDDING to PRAYER read by the Dean.*

BRETHREN, we are assembled here, as representing the people of this land and of the British Commonwealth, to join in prayer on the occasion of the burial of a great man who has rendered memorable service to his country and to the cause of freedom. We shall think of him with thanksgiving that he was raised up in our days of desperate need to be a leader and inspirer of the nation, for his dauntless resolution and untiring vigilance and for his example of courage and endurance. We shall commit his soul into the hands of God, the merciful Judge of all men and the giver of eternal life, praying that the memory of his virtues and his achievements may remain as a part of our national heritage, inspiring generations to come to emulate his magnanimity and patriotic devotion. And, since all men are subject to temptation and error, we pray that we, together with him, may be numbered among those whose sins are forgiven and have a place in the Kingdom of Heaven, to which may God by his grace bring us all.

Then shall all kneel, and SILENCE be kept for a space.

Figure 2: 'The Order of Service for the Funeral of The Right Honourable Sir Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill, 30 January 1965', The National Archives, Kew, LCO 2/6945. See the similarities to Kenyatta's service below.

CALL TO WORSHIP

Rev. John G. Gatu:

Brethren, we are assembled here, as representatives of the people of this land, the African Continent and other Continents to join in prayer on the occasion of the burial of great son of Africa who has rendered memorable service to his country and the Continent of Africa in the struggle for freedom and human dignity. We shall think of him with thanksgiving, that he was raised up in our days of desperate need, to be a leader and inspirer of the nation. For his dauntless resolution and untiring vigilance, and for his example of courage, endurance and forgiveness, we give thanks to God. We shall commit his soul into the hands of God, the merciful Judge of all men and giver of eternal life, praying that the memories of his virtues and his achievements, may remain as a part of our national heritage, inspiring generations to come to emulate his magnanimity and partriotic devotion. And since all men are subject to temptation and error, we pray that we together with him, may be numbered among those whose sins are forgiven and have a place in the Kingdom of Heaven, to which may God by His Grace bring us all.

Figure 3: 'Memorial Programme, The State Funeral for His Excellency the Late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, C.G.H., M.P. The Beloved Father of the Nation on Thursday, 31st August, 1978 at 11.00 a.m.', The National Archives, Kew, FCO 31/2318/193.

Special Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgiving in the British Isles, 1533 to the Present

Special prayers, fasts and thanksgivings', funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) is one of the largest collaborative research projects in the Department, and its latest publication, National prayers. Special worship since the Reformation. Volume 1: special prayers, fasts and thanksgivings in the British Isles, 1533-1688, is, at 936 pages long, among the longest books ever published by historians in Durham. One of its co-Investigators, Dr Natalie Mears, explains what the project is about and discusses the experience of working collaboratively.

The contributors outside the Beinecke Library, Yale, New Haven, US after giving a lecture in November 2009. From left: Philip Williamson, Natalie Mears and Stephen Taylor. Natalie Mears.

On 5 June 2012, a national thanksgiving service was held in St Paul's Cathedral marking the culmination of celebrations of the Queen Elizabeth II's diamond jubilee. It is less well known that similar services were held in parish churches across the United Kingdom. This was the most recent occasion since the Reformation when events of national significance have been marked by religious services throughout the nation. Since the 1530s, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the British Isles have called on the whole nation some 860 times either to petition God for intervention in earthly affairs, or to offer thanks for his intervention, in the belief that calamities such as bad weather, famine, plague and

war were providential warnings against sin, and that military success, good harvests, royal births and deliverance from plague were signs of divine favour. Even after belief in divine providence declined from the mid-nineteenth century, and when the power of prayer came to be challenged, national prayers and religious services have retained a powerful grip on the nation's psyche. Indeed, probably the most famous occasion of special worship, still within living memory, is the 'national day of prayer' requested by King George VI with the support of Winston Churchill in May 1940, in response to the German onslaught against the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in Belgium and France. The successful evacuation of Dunkirk five days later was quickly defined, by both laymen and clergy, as a 'deliverance' or 'miracle' effected by divine providence and as God's answer to the day of prayer.

This 'special' or 'national worship' has been the subject of the AHRC-funded project, 'State prayers, fasts and thanksgivings', led by Professor Philip Williamson with Professor Stephen Taylor (formerly of the University of Reading, now at Durham) and with me, Dr Natalie Mears, with help from a research assistant, Dr Alasdair Raffe (now at the University of Edinburgh) and a doctoral student, Lucy Bates. Though a few particular occasions of special worship have previously attracted scholarly attention, there has been no attempt to investigate such worship and its significance over the *longue durée*. At the heart of the project is the first comprehensive list and analysis of all occasions of special worship from 1533 to the present day, together with publication of transcriptions of the orders for these occasions and the texts of the services, prayers or addresses read out in every parish church, all to appear in a three-volume edition. This edition also provides a historical commentary, with full citations, for each occasion, explaining the context, the decision to order the special worship, the authority for the order, the authorship of the liturgical texts (where known), and any unusual details about the printing and distribution of documents and about the observance itself. The third volume will include a similar analysis of the nine annual commemorations established variously in England and Wales, or Ireland, or Scotland from the sixteenth century: for the monarch's accession, the failure of the Gowrie plot in 1600, the discovery of the Gunpowder plot in 1605, the failure of the Irish uprising in 1641 the execution of Charles I in 1649, the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the Great Fire of London, the monarch's birthday, and Remembrance Sunday. In addition, there are extensive scholarly introductions, a number of appendices, and illustrations of the changing (or, at times, unchanging) appearance of orders and forms of prayer. Various other publications associated with the project have appeared and are planned, including articles in leading academic journals and a feature in the *BBC History Magazine*. We also hosted an international conference at Durham looking at these occasions in Britain alongside similar events in Europe, North America and Africa.

Though the edition provides the first comprehensive treatment of special worship in the British Isles, its significance is not simply to 'fill a gap' in our historical knowledge. Special worship has been a recurrent feature of national life since at least the sixteenth century (its origins go back to at least the tenth century), and it is significant for what it can tell us about the past. Special worship is a register of what contemporaries considered to be important
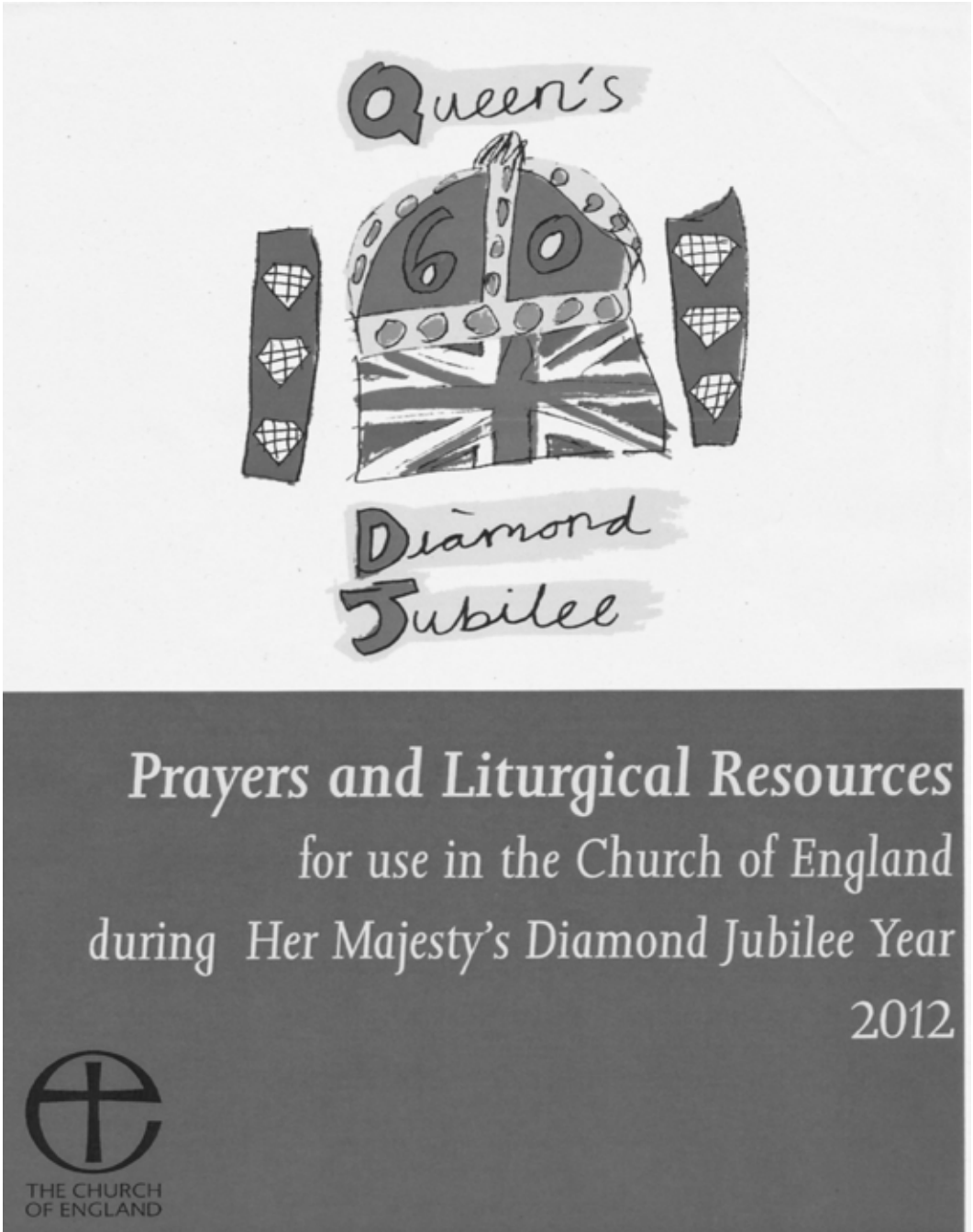
Figure 1: A copy of the form of the prayer for 2012.

for the kingdom or the national community in ways which are not always clear from later historical studies, still less from the 'national memory'. The ordering of special worship reveals much about church-state relations: the exercise of the royal supremacy over the established, episcopal churches in England and Wales and in Ireland, and the crown's relationship with the presbyterian Church of Scotland; the involvement of government ministers in decisions

on religious matters; the roles of the higher clergy or, in Scotland, the general assembly in public life. During periods of intense conflict over church-state relations and over forms of church government, worship and doctrine, the decisions to appoint special worship were integral to the political and constitutional contentions between royal government and parliamentary groups or the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, and between political and religious factions within parliament and the churches. The importance of these occasions for government and church leaders is manifest in the extraordinary efforts taken to communicate their orders and to print and distribute the materials for use in church services to all parishes, however distant and scattered, usually within a short time. Indeed, we have learned much about the history of publication from the project: the rapid organization of texts, paper, ink, type, printing presses, skilled compositors, unskilled labourers, and carriers in order to dispatch documents to every parish, numbering some 10,000 in England and Wales. By the end of the nineteenth century, a million copies of the forms of prayers were being produced for some of these occasions, in particular royal events such as jubilees and coronations.

Special worship communicated news to local communities and, through the church services and associated penances or celebrations, it elicited officially-sanctioned popular participation in public issues. Orders and forms of prayer used in special worship expressed official interpretations and religious beliefs about particular secular events and natural occurrences. They offer prime evidence on the changing meanings of prayer and worship – of the presumed relationship of the community and the individual towards God – providing, in the words of one historian, 'a window into the nation's soul'. More especially, they show the force and persistence of an acknowledgment of divine superintendence over the English and Welsh, and the Scottish and Irish kingdoms, and later the British nation and empire, continuing even into the twentieth century, and of belief in special providential interventions that could be assuaged or prompted by the united prayers of the whole people. The liturgies for these occasions provided the clergy with the biblical texts for the fast and thanksgiving sermons which, as historians have long appreciated, are a leading source for understanding public debate about religious and political ideas during periods of acute national crisis. Special worship also had an important part in liturgical change during both the sixteenth- and the twentieth-centuries, and in the controversies over the appropriate types of worship during the seventeenth century, because they offered opportunities for experimentation and provide evidence of changing practice. Special worship was central in shaping ideas of national identity in terms of protestantism, godliness and divine providence, and it helped to consolidate the idea of a British state. It also provides much material for understanding shifts in religious belief and in relations between the 'spiritual' and the 'secular', and for assessing the timing and character of 'secularization'.

A project of this size and complexity could never be completed by one person, certainly not in today's academic climate when, for purposes of national 'research assessment', scholars have to publish a minimum of four books, articles or essays of national or international significance every six to eight years, and where the archives we needed to consult were,

literally, stretched across the globe from Durham to New Zealand. It has necessitated not only numerous hands but also a range of expertise: me in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Stephen Taylor in the seventeenth and eighteenth, Philip Williamson in the nineteenth and twentieth, and Alasdair Raffe on Scotland. We have also been ably assisted by an advisory board of academics in other universities, who have not only been sources of information but also provided invaluable advice, as readers, about the structure and content of the edition (even though their advice turned a proposed one-volume edition, containing just extracts of orders and prayers, into a leviathanic three-volume monster!).

Working collaboratively has become much more common in the discipline of history over the past two decades, partly as a result of the expansion of external funding bodies, such as the AHRC, which enable (and encourage) large, collaborative research projects. Working with others does, however, have its challenges. Though we are all historians, because we work on different periods we each had different ways of conducting research, partly because of the different types and amounts of evidence with which we are used to dealing. Little things, such as different conventions when transcribing documents, present unexpected difficulties when working together. At times, we interpreted the significance of events differently; we think differently and write differently – the style of the introduction to the edition is different from the way that any of us writes individually. Compromises are essential. But, any disadvantages are, I think, outweighed by the advantages. Collaborative research allows scholars to research projects that they simply could not do on their own; they are able to share expertise as well as the burden of work; they can bounce ideas off each other; and research is a more collegial activity. The project gave me personally, as the junior investigator of the three, the opportunity to work with much more senior and experienced colleagues; my own research interests and expertise were stretched into new areas and periods; I learned to 'stand back' from my work and think more conceptually; I have learned much about preparing a (complex) scholarly edition for publication. I have also got to know two great colleagues much better than I would have been able to otherwise! All of this feeds back into my own research and professional development.

'Collaborative research' remains something of a buzzword in History and, though it has been with us for some time, still often generates mixed feelings. While (I hope) the importance of historians working on their own and producing monographs will remain in the profession,collaborative research can allow us to accomplish more than a 'lone scholar' approach will ever do.

Natalie Mears, Alasdair Raffe, Stephen Taylor and Philip Williamson (eds), National Prayers: Special Worship since the Reformation, volume 1: Special Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgivings in the British Isles, 1533–1688, *(Woodbridge, 2013) is available from the publishers, Boydell & Brewer, or at reduced price through membership of the Church of England Record Society (www.coers.org).*
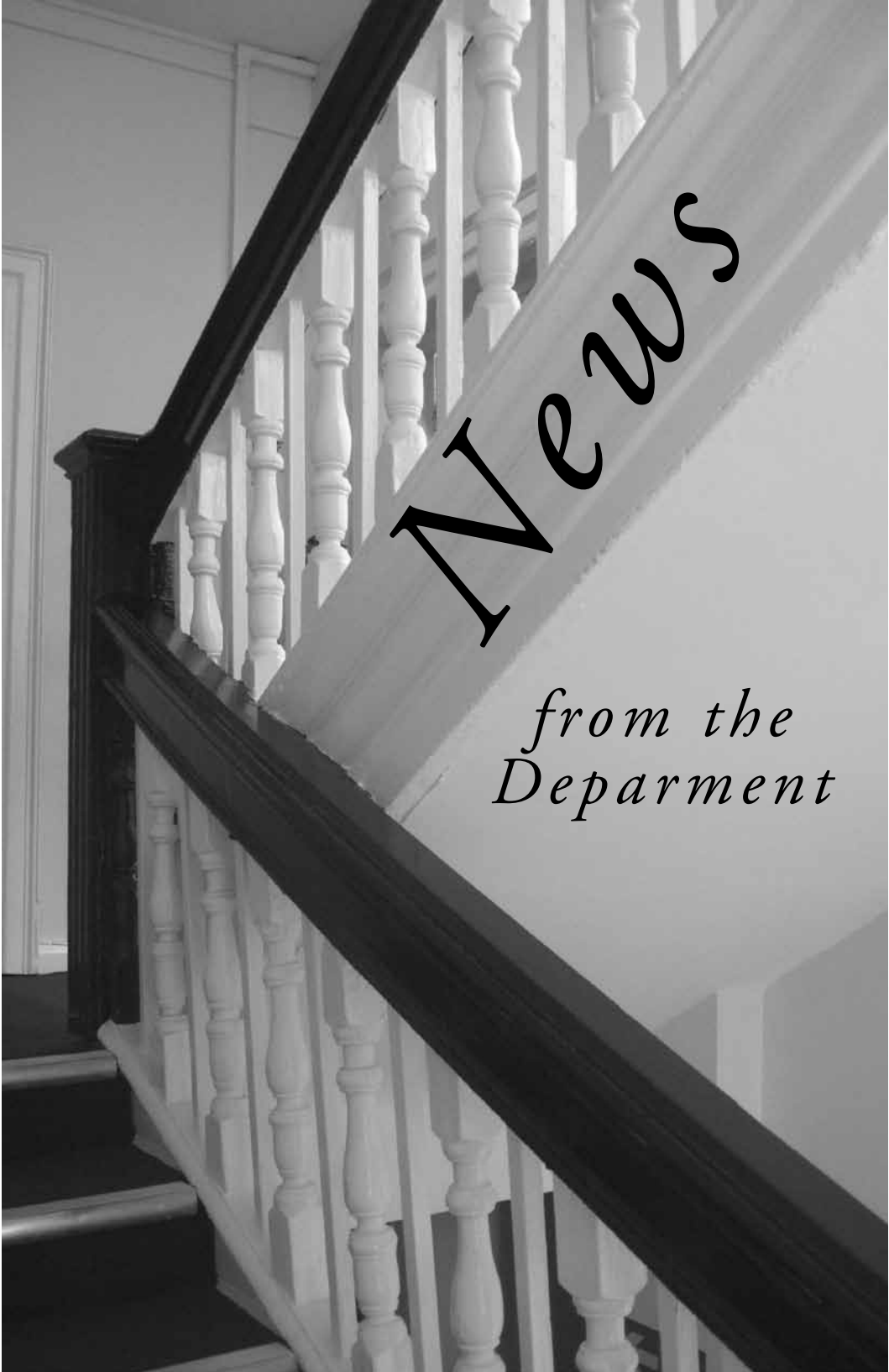
News

from the Deparment

Dear Alumni,

The Higher Education sector is continuing to change at a bewildering pace. In October we shall feel the full impact of the new fee regime for undergraduates, as the third cohort of students paying £9,000 per annum enters the University. The Admissions process is changing, largely as a result of pressure 'from below', as more and more students take advantage of the process of adjustment (which in certain circumstances allows applicants to apply to different universities after they have received their results in August). Meanwhile, the reforms of A-level, GCSE and the National Curriculum promise to have significant effects not only on the Admissions process, but also on the character and knowledge of students coming into the department. Much of this you will be aware of through reports in the press. Less well-known outside academia is the debate about 'open access', which has the potential to revolutionise academic publishing, with unpredictable consequences both for colleagues, as they seek to publish the outcomes of their research in books and articles, and also for those who read that research, including our students. Through all this, it is reassuring to be able to report that the reputation of the department is being sustained. League table results have been consistently excellent this year: first in the *Times/Sunday Times Good University Guide* for 2014, first in the *Complete University Guide* for 2015, and second in the *Guardian University Guide* for 2015. We are very conscious that our reputation for teaching rests at least as much on the outstanding quality of our students as on the efforts of our staff, so it was even more satisfying that the most recent National Student Survey reported, for the fourth year in succession, a 98 per cent satisfaction rating among our final-year undergraduates.

The department is also continuing to change rapidly. Following the departure of two long-serving members of staff last year, we shall be bidding farewell to two more this autumn. **Ranald Michie** will be retiring after forty years' service at Durham; he was appointed to a lectureship in the then Department of Economic History in 1974. A distinguished historian with an international reputation as an expert on stock markets and financial centres, he has also been a loyal servant of the department. His courses continued to be immensely popular among students, even during a period when the discipline of economic history appeared to be in eclipse elsewhere, and he has uncomplainingly carried a major administrative load, including spells as Head of Department and, most recently, Admissions Tutor. He is currently involved in a major, interdisciplinary project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, on 'tipping points', research which he will be continuing to pursue in retirement. **Chris Brooks** joined the department in 1980 from a research fellowship at Brasenose College, Oxford. During his time at Durham he has established himself as one of the preeminent historians of early modern England; his two monographs published by Cambridge University Press, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth* and *Law and Politics and Society in Early Modern England*, are defining works on the social history of the law. He played an important part in developing the University's Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies, which has now been incorporated into the Institute for Medieval and Early Modern Studies. Recently, Chris has been the recipient of a Leverhulme Trust senior fellowship to enable him to work on the 1625–89 volume of the *Oxford History of the Laws of England*. **Chris Vaughan** is also leaving the department. He was appointed to a lectureship in African history in 2011, but, as one of our former graduate students, he had established deep roots in the department and will be sorely missed both for the quality of his research and for his outstanding teaching.

This autumn we shall be welcoming a group of young historians. **Sare Aricanli** will be joining us as a lecturer in the history of China. She is currently completing her PhD dissertation on the Imperial Academy of Medicine in the eighteenth century and has wider interests in medicine during the Ming

and Qing dynasties. The arrival of two new Africanists means that the department will become home to an impressive group of four historians of Africa. **Jacob Wiebel** specialises in Ethopia; his Oxford DPhil dissertation is on the 'Red Terror' of 1976–8. **Rachel Johnson** will be moving to Durham from a research associateship at the University of Manchester; she is an historian of South Africa, with a particular interest in youth politics, the rise of human rights discourse and the transition to democracy. **Erik Niblaeus**, currently a postdoctoral research fellow in Cambridge, has been appointed to a lectureship in high medieval history. The main focus of his research is the church in Germany in the period between c.1000 and c.1250. The arrival of this group of young and talented historians will mean that the department will have thirty-eight permanent academic staff. In addition, two new postdoctoral fellows will be joining us. **Barbara Gribling**, who works on chivalry and English culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has won a Durham International Fellowship, and **Jamie Page** has been awarded a Leverhulme Research Fellowship to pursue a project on honour, law and everyday life in Zurich between 1400 and 1500. These fellowships are valuable in part because they play a crucial role in sustaining the profession by supporting the development of early career scholars, but they also help to ensure that both colleagues and our students are exposed to more of the very latest research.

The excellence of our students has once again been shown very clearly by the examination results. Particular congratulations are due to **Partha Moman**, who won both the Thompson Prize for the best performance in the final examination and the History Dissertation prize. **Anne-Marie Foster** has been awarded the Gibson Prize for the best dissertation on local history, and the Alumni Prize in History, for the best overall performance in the second year examinations, has been won by **Lawrence Holmes**. I wish all our finalists the very best for the future. My colleagues and I are all aware that it has been a great privilege to teach such a talented and able group, who have an enormous amount to offer to the world. We hope that they will take with them not only the skills of critical enquiry, research and argument that they have developed in the course of the last three years, but also an abiding love of history.

I write this sitting in my office at Ushaw College, looking out over the glorious countryside of County Durham bathed in bright afternoon sunlight. Our experience 'in exile' at this former Roman Catholic seminary a few miles from the City is almost as different from that on the Bailey as the view. Despite the differences, however, it is an environment as immersed in history as our home just a stone's throw from the castle and cathedral. Ushaw College was founded during the French revolution by seminarians fleeing Douai, just as their ancestors had fled from protestant persecution in England during the reign of Elizabeth I. The College has a remarkable library and some remarkable buildings, including a stunning Pugin chapel. Our exile here, however, is only temporary; we are scheduled to return to the Bailey in mid-September in time for the start of the new academic year. On return we shall have a new central heating system, which, we hope, will keep *everyone* warm through the winter, and the buildings will be freshly decorated. It will be a pleasure to welcome any of our alumni who are passing through.

Stephen Taylor, Head of Department

Facing page: Staff and students mingle during the BA graduation celebrations at St Chad's College in June 2013. Philippa Haughton and Lindsay Varner.

Trojan Ancestors in Politics: Urban history writing in late medieval North West Europe

Jenine de Vries is a first year PhD student studying history writing in late medieval towns. As a Dutch citizen living in England, she is particularly interested in bringing an international perspective to her work which contrasts the urban chronicles of both England and the Low Countries. In this piece she discusses the usefulness of considering the differences between urban and regional history writing.

The first city in Holland is called Vlaerdinck, where the Slavs erected a large castle, which they called Slavenburch. These Slavs from Saxony were the first in the country which is now called Frisia, where they cruelly destroyed with the edge of their sword many giants, who were driven out of Britannia, which is now called Anglia, by Brutus. This Brutus was born from a Trojan descent in the time of King David.

So begins a short anonymous Chronicle of Holland written around 1480. It shows how history writing in the Middle Ages took very different forms than history writing today. In this piece, I will briefly discuss some of the characteristics of history writing in the Middle Ages before concentrating on how these relate to my research.

Generally speaking, monasteries were the focal point of the discipline of history in Europe in the early Middle Ages. Most annals and chronicles were written by monks and they usually contained universal histories, that is to say, the history of all of Europe from creation until contemporary times. They would include national, regional, local and even international information; the lives and deaths of popes and emperors, wars, national disasters and local events were all combined into a single, linear story of God's plan of salvation. From roughly the thirteenth century, the nature of historical study changed. More and more, it was written at royal or ducal courts and in cities. By the fifteenth century, the majority of historical works were being produced by clerks, nobles and urban elites. This also meant that chronicles
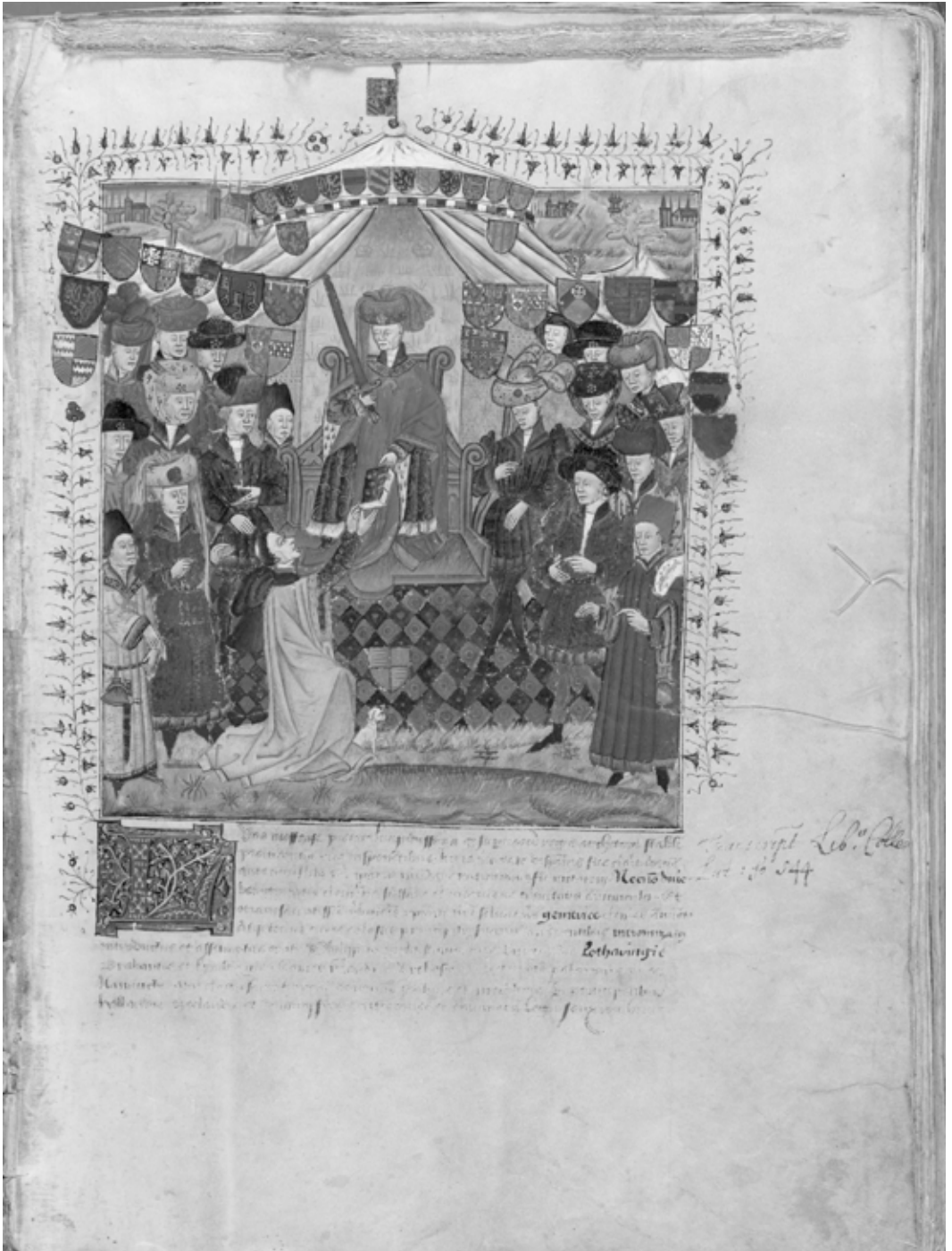
Figure 1: Philip the Good receives the Remissorium Philippi, a register of the archive of the counts of Holland.

gradually got shorter and more local. For my PhD research I am interested in the urban and regional chronicles of North West Europe, focussing on England and the Low Countries in and around the fifteenth century.

It used to be that historians asserted these regions never produced urban chronicles. However, recent studies on the southern Low Countries, and even on some English towns, have shown that town chronicles were definitely present, though they sometimes took a slightly different form from the well-known Italian and German examples. When the focus is shifted away from the precise form, such as the yearly listings of mayors and council members, and we simply look at the geographical focus and origin of the text, regional and urban chronicles can be recognised in many medieval cities in England and the Low Countries. This realisation grants us a fresh perspective on both historical writing and urban society in this time.

The construction of a historical past and a political present were, and are, two closely related tasks. Many regional and local chronicles were written with a particular political goal in mind, for the history of places and people determined the situation, status and privileges of the present. This is partly why my study will include a comparative view of different regions, because these countries all experienced a very different political situation in the late Middle Ages. Whereas England was a strict monarchy which afforded very little autonomy to its cities, their continental counterparts possessed much greater power. In Flanders, the autonomous cities were the main power-structure, while in the northern Low Countries, despite high rates of urbanisation, the provincial structure was the major political body. It will be particularly interesting to see how these differences in political context influenced the presence and content of urban and regional history writing.

An intriguing part of urban and regional history writing in this respect was the attempt to construct a 'prehistory' of the locality. Many medieval chronicles open with a description of the founding and most ancient past of the town or region they concern. These prologues are often set in a distant past which is given structure and credibility through links drawn to biblical or ancient events and names, connecting the locality to familiar historical narratives. Thus, the reference to Brutus' Trojan descent and King David in the citation at the start of this article.

In the first instance, origin myths provided status to the people or places to whom they referred. Very common elements in these origin legends are attempts to claim Trojan or Roman ancestors, providing the place or people with a long past and at the same time connecting them to illustrious ancestors. Descent through these ancestors could gift a city and its inhabitants antiquity and, through that, status. These origin stories could therefore confer legitimacy onto contemporary political settlements. The founding father of the county of Brabant, Brabon, for example, is introduced in a genealogy that traces the lineage of Adam, the first man, to Priamus, the Trojan king, and then to his son Brabon. Then, via well-known names such as Hector, Romulus and Remus, a 'Brabon junior' is identified in the time of Julius Caesar. This Brabon is said to have accompanied Caesar in his battles, married Caesar's sister Swana and given Brabant its name. Brabon's son Charles is ascribed sovereignty over a large area, with

the Merovingian dynasty descending from him. In this version of the past, Brabant is portrayed as older than the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties and therefore dismisses any power that contemporary rulers (who descend from the Carolingian dynasties) might claim over the region.

However, origin myths are not only about the city or region in and of itself. They also sought to establish or legitimise external relationships. The hierarchy in foundation legends was always a vital point as the age of a city and the nobility of its founder established its own status against that of others. We can see examples of this in the late fifteenth century Chronicles of Holland. The Chronicles offer assurance that towns of the County of Holland were built before Rome was founded, and further suggests the order in which cities of the region were said to have been founded. The order was not accidental, holding major clues as to the status and legitimacy that cities attempted to obtain through constructing a legend. Additionally, origin legends could also be used to explain contemporary rivalries or friendships with other towns and regions through the construction a common historical narrative.

Origin legends were often used to legitimise claims to rule over particular cities or regions. By providing a common ancestry of the people, or previous ruler, with the new claimant, hereditary rights could be asserted. Continuity was vital to ensure the smooth transition of power. The perception of a common history with, and the high-status of, a new ruler could only help this process. Similarly, a region or city could argue for its independence and continuation of privileges through foundation legends. In the first decades of the fifteenth century most lands of the Low Countries were incorporated into the Burgundian realm. This caused a debate in many regions and towns about the legitimacy of the new ruler and about the power the Burgundian dukes could execute in their lands. There was, accordingly, a growth of regional chronicles in Holland, Brabant, Flanders, and other regions which magnified the unity of the region through its long history. The history writing developed the history of the region and its inhabitants, as opposed to the history of the dynasty, which used to be the main structure of chronicles. The quotation at the start of this article is a clear example of this process. The anonymous author began his Chronicle of Holland by mentioning the origin of the people and the first towns of Holland. It is several pages into the chronicle before the counts of Holland finally come into the picture.

The difference between urban and regional chronicles, if there even is a clear distinction, and the implications for the legitimacy of political settlements, need a lot more attention. Urban and regional chronicles, written by lay people in the late Middle Ages, provide a remarkable view into the political situations and discussions of the time. During my studies in Durham over the next few years I hope to come across many more curious, implausible and perhaps funny stories. I want to understand why they were invented, by whom they were written down, and what they believed of them.

Margaret Thatcher and Domestic Rhetoric

Jessica Prestidge is a first year PhD student exploring the cultural and ideological significance of Margaret Thatcher's domestic image. Having studied modern literature as a Masters student at UCL, she is keen to pursue an interdisciplinary project. Here she considers both rhetorical and visual constructions of Thatcher's public persona, arguing that domesticity functioned as a strategy for stabilising vulnerable and unprecedented female power.

Thatcher's political discourse harnessed the ideological potential of gendered language, working to negotiate tension between the need for political and cultural conformity and the promise of change political leaders are expected to offer. Whilst aggressively confrontational language recalled Edwardian notions of politics as a combative, masculine space, self-projection in conventionally feminised terms worked to minimise the cultural threat posed by female power.[1] Johnathan Charteris-Black argues for 'politics as conflict' as the conceptual metaphor most frequently underlying her speeches, a point recognised by journalists who substituted the traditionally used 'cabinet reshuffle' for 'cabinet carve-up' in press coverage during 1983. Asking an Australian audience in 1981'What great cause would have been fought and won under the banner "I stand for consensus"?' Thatcher demonstrated her commitment to a combative stance as the manifestation of moral purpose, and a prerequisite for effective action.[2] Elsewhere she spoke of the 'conquest of inflation' and the 'new battle for Britain' underway in schools.[3] She recalled 'the battle in Parliament' that Conservatives had to 'fight' in order to extend home ownership, whilst Britain's 'fight against terrorism and drugs' is highlighted as a key contribution to the European Community.[4]

Rhetorical evocation of militarised conflict enabled Thatcher to present Thatcherism as an embattled response to the economic and social 'ills' that had befallen Britain in the

1 David Jarvis, 'The Conservative Party and the Politics of Gender', *The Conservatives and British Society*, ed. Martin Francis & Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (Cardiff, 1996), p. 186.
2 Margaret Thatcher, Speech at Monash University, 1981, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104712
3 Margaret Thacher in J. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 91, 95.
4 Ibid., pp. 92, 94.

Figure 1: This cartoon, illustrated by Gerald Scarfe, appeared in The Sunday Times *on 5 June 1983, four days before the General Election, which the Conservatives won by a landslide.*

post-war period. Thatcher's 'war' was a moral crusade which fed on nostalgia for past greatness, and in so doing self-consciously courted affiliation with Churchill. In *The Downing Street Years*, Thatcher recalled decorating her new home with 'a powerful portrait of Churchill from [her] room at the House of Commons', suggesting the importance of his image to the one she hoped to craft for herself.[5] Ferdinand Mount, in a note from February 1982 proposing themes for upcoming speeches, advised that 'Foreign Affairs and a Strategy for Britain' should be handled with a 'Churchillian sweep', whilst in a speech to the Mid-Bedfordshire Conservatives the same year Thatcher was keen to demonstrate ideological continuity, having 'sat in the same Parliament as Winston Churchill'.[6] The comparison struck a chord with journalists and Thatcher was reframed as 'Churchill in Carmen rollers' throughout the Conservative branches of the tabloid press, an intensified association shaping coverage in the wake of the Falklands crisis.[7] Less predictably, Thatcher's much publicised dislike of her 1984 Moynihan portrait invited widespread comparison with Churchill's contempt for his Sutherland portrait. The ease with which this parallel was drawn suggests the comparison had, by 1984, become a recognised facet of Thatcher's political identity.[8]

A focus on combative language, however, can obscure the nuanced ways in which Thatcher managed her gendered image. If the language of conviction politics was a way of distancing herself from contemporary political orthodoxy in the male terms of the

5 Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (London, 1993), p. 23.
6 Ferdinand Mount, 'Conservative Party: Mount minute to MT', 1 Feb. 1982: www.margaretthatcher.org/document/131171; Margaret Thatcher, 'Speech to Mid-Bedfordshire Conservatives', 20 Apr. 1982: www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104929.
7 *Daily Express* (1983), in Wendy Webster, *Not a Man to Match Her: Feminist view of Britain's first woman Prime Minister* (London, 1990), p. 77.
8 See press clipping held at The National Portrait Gallery Archive, box 5728.

establishment, her 'common sense' domestic language made use of her status as an outsider. The 1979 'shopping basket election' was, as Wendy Webster has persuasively argued, an attempt to remedy Thatcher's prior reputation as 'a Tory lady in a hat' concerned only to represent the interests of what was assumed to be *her own class*. Whilst to those within the establishment accusations of a 'privet hedge' personality reflected upper and upper-middle class contempt for the presumed narrow-mindedness of a socially aspirational suburbanite, the popular campaign against her regarded the same suburban qualities as evidence of privilege, with Derek Marks of the *Daily Express* condemning her as totally out of touch with everyone bar 'middle class, middle aged ladies'.[9] Once recognisable amongst caricatures for her headwear, she was instructed never to be filmed wearing a hat again with the result that she 'discarded the hat in favour of an apron'.[10]

A Conservative Party survey conducted in the run up to the 1979 general election revealed a clear separation in the mind of the electorate between 'politics' and 'life', whilst MORI research conducted on behalf of the Labour Party disclosed a widespread sense of powerless and scepticism about politics in general.[11] By making sound political practice analogous with domestic responsibility, Thatcherite rhetoric worked to reduce this politics/life gap by presenting complex political issues in a tangible, manageable way. Reinvigorating early twentieth-century Conservative campaign tactics designed to appeal to the recently enfranchised housewife, inflation became 'prices' and the budget became what every housewife knew. In giving material reality to abstract issues Thatcher projected a sense of control, whilst simultaneously promoting her unique ability to cope in an historically male role. Rallying the faithful at a 1983 Party Conference speech, Thatcher urged that 'someone has to add up the figures' just as 'every housewife has to.'[12] Cecil Parkinson has suggested that 'as a woman', Thatcher found it easier to 'bridge the gap' between the day-to-day and the complex, indicating the feminine practicality that the housewife image traded on.[13] An emphasis on practical femininity enabled her to capitalise on an 'outsider status' enforced by class and gender, promoting distance between herself and the establishment as an opportunity for change.

Further to providing a strategy for neat simplification, however, domestic example propagated a reductive model of feminine responsibility. There was an undeniably prescriptive edge to her valorisation of a housewife role, demonstrating a marked contrast to her position as stated in a 1952 article emphatically titled 'Wake Up Women', which supported the right of mothers to seek paid employment. In a 'tribute' speech to Dame

9 For a discussion of Thatcher's perceived affection, see J. J. Auer, 'The Image of the Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher', *Central States Speech Journal*, 30 (1979); D. Marks in W. Webster, *Not a Man to Match Her: Feminist view of Britain's first woman Prime Minister* (London, 1990), p. 48.
10 Webster, *Not a Man*, p. 49
11 Beatrix Campbell, *Iron Ladies: Why do women vote Tory?* (London, 1987), p. 111.
12 Margaret Thatcher, 'Speech to Conservative Party Conference', 14 Oct. 1988, www.margaretthatcher.org/document/105454.
13 Hugo Young and Anne Sloman (eds), *The Thatcher Phenomenon* (London, 1986), p. 39.

Margery Ashby, Thatcher argued for women's domestic experience as evidence of their value to the public sphere, whilst at the 1990 Pankhurst Lecture to the 300 Group she was at pains to make it known that Emmeline Pankhurst was 'no revolutionary in her views on marriage'.[14] Even politically active and radically feminist women could only be understood in terms of their domestic roles.

Described by Webster as a 'metaphor for the ordinary', Thatcher's housewife image was designed to engage 'ordinary' women traditionally disinclined to vote Tory, exploiting entrenched gendering of the mundane, cyclical patterns of the everyday as feminine.[15] It is widely recognised, however, that having married a millionaire businessman, Thatcher was no 'ordinary' housewife. With her full-time job and 'English-nanny' she can have known little of the coping strategies employed by the working class 'mums' with whom she sought identification. Indeed, the superficiality of this identification is underlined by the extent to which Thatcher rejected professional attainment as desirable for other women. The housewife image functioned as a strategy for legitimating the unprecedented degree of female power Thatcher wielded. In this light, it might be seen as less of an attempt to elevate the role of women, than to justify and 'make acceptable' the role of one woman. Thatcher's success, far from being used as an example, was an isolated exception produced by exceptional talent and drive. Hers was not a trajectory that others should follow, as, beneath the apron, she was *not* like other women at all.

14 Margaret Thatcher in Beatrix Campbell (ed.), *Iron Ladies: Why do women vote Tory?* (London, 1987), p. 235; Margaret Thatcher, 'Pankhurst Lecture to the 300 Group', 18 July 1990, www.margaretthatcher.org/document/108156.
15 Webster, *Not a Man*, p. 49.

The Dutch State and Capitalism on Java, 1830-1870

Jelle Bruinsma is a MA student in Social and Economic History, working on the historical analysis of relations between states and capitalists. The current article is based on his BA dissertation research. In the coming years he will be based in Florence, Italy, doing his PhD at the European University Institute, under the provisional title 'Great Power rivalry and imperialist finance in Egypt, 1870 – 1914'.

In 1830 the Dutch government initiated a Cultivation System for the production of export crops on Java, forcing the population to cultivate, deliver, and process crops such as coffee, sugar, and indigo. The profit from this colonial exploitation was considered in the nineteenth century as the 'cork on which the Netherlands floated', and yielded the Dutch Treasury 700 to 930 million guilders between 1830 and 1870.[1] This money paid for many infrastructural works and other domestic policies in the Netherlands. However, despite its profitability, a movement to liberalize this state-driven system gained in strength from the 1850s onwards and eventually succeeded.

The reason why the policy was liberalized has been the topic of a major debate in Dutch historiography. The dominant thesis is that the guilty conscience of an upcoming liberal class was the driving motor behind this 'liberalisation'.[2] Liberals critiqued the treatment of indigenous peoples under the Cultivation System on moral grounds, arguing for 'free labour'. I argue here that there are more compelling reasons to be found in the underlying changing interests of Dutch capitalists.

When the Dutch received Java back from the English in 1816, the Dutch economy lagged behind other European nations. The new Dutch king William I opted for state intervention

1 Henriette Roland Holst, *Kapitaal en Arbeid in Nederland* (Nijmegen, 1977), p. 66 (citing Willem de Clercq); Cees Fasseur, *Kultuurstelsel en Koloniale Baten. De Nederlandse Exploitatie van Java 1840–1860* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 42, 118; Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel, *Nederland, 1780–1914. Staat, Instituties en Economische Ontwikkeling* (Meppel 2000), p. 223.
2 Cees Fasseur, 'Purse or Principal: Dutch Colonial Policy in the 1860s and the Decline of the Cultivation System', *Modern Asian Studies,* 25 (1991), pp. 33–35; Janny de Jong, *Van Batig Slot naar Ereschuld. De Discussie over de Financiële Verhouding tussen Nederland en Indië en de Hervorming van de Nederlandse Koloniale Politiek 1860–1900* (Groningen, 1989).

and initiatives to 'catch up'. The most well-known and influential of these initiatives was the *Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* in 1824 (Dutch Trading Company; hereafter NHM). The NHM was to help develop domestic industries and expand trade with the Dutch colonies.[3] Of particular importance, the king needed and received the support of a significant group of capitalists for these projects. He needed their support in order to raise enough capital

Figure 1: Nederandsche Handel-Maatschappij, now ABN-AMRO building. Jelle Bruinsma, 2013.

and received their support because they could not face the competition on the international market alone. The Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce in 1817 'successfully petitioned the government for protection of Dutch shipping and trade to the Indies.'[4]

The initially limited measures of support were not enough to compete successfully on Java, and combined with the Dutch and the Dutch Indies' rising public debt this led to decisions to increase state involvement. In the Netherlands a textile industry was developed, and on Java the Cultivation System was set up. Under this system, parts of the community grounds were assigned by the state for the production of export crops. The native population was forced to work on these lands (justified as a form of taxation), and had to transport the crops to processing factories that were owned privately by European entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs signed contracts with the Dutch government in which the former were obligated to build a factory, process the crop, and supply the crop to the government for a fixed price, and the latter was obliged to force the local population to plant, harvest, and supply the necessary crops.[5] As

3 After several fusions, the NHM today is known as ABN AMRO, one of the Netherlands' largest private banks.

4 Joyce M. Mastboom, 'Agriculture, Technology, and Industrialization. The Rural Textile Sector in the Netherlands, 1830–1860', *Rural History,* 5 (1994), p. 45.

5 Fasseur, *Kultuurstelsel*, pp. 17, 63–76; Roger G. Knight, 'Descrying the Bourgeoisie. Sugar, Capital and State in the Netherlands Indies, circa 1840–1884', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (BKI)* 163 (2007).

Cees Fassuer has argued, 'In this way, the Dutch government took over the management of the Javanese export production after private entrepreneurs failed to do so before 1830.'[6] The Cultivation System soon succeeded in turning Java into a profitable possession. In 1831 Governor General Van den Bosch was able for the first time to produce a surplus on the state budget, and sent 200,000 guilders back to the Netherlands.[7]

Of more importance was the way this system facilitated various industries and empowered their owners in the Netherlands. Already in the original plans of Van den Bosch, 'the rehabilitation of Java was only one aspect ... and one of *minor importance*; he had three objectives: to put Java in a condition to pay its debts; to stimulate shipping and commerce in the Netherlands; and to provide an opening for home capital and industry.'[8] Indeed, 'the pattern of industrial growth' in the 1830s, according to Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel, was 'a process of industrial development that was dominated by the industries that were connected to the trade on Java', such as the textile, metal-working and ship-building industries.[9]

Figure 2: a drawing of forced labour on a sugar plantation under the Cultivation System on Java.

6 Cees Fasseur, 'The Cultivation System and its Impact on the Dutch Colonial Economy and the Indigenous Society in Nineteenth-Century Java', *Two Colonial Empires. Comparative Essays on the History of India and Indonesia in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. C. A. Bayly & D. H. A. Kolff (Dordrecht, 1986), p. 137.
7 De Jong, *Van Batig Slot*, p. 23.
8 J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India. A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge, 1944), p. 144.
9 Van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780–1914*, p. 170.

The system that was instrumental in connecting the Cultivation System to the domestic Dutch industries was known as the Consignation System, under which the products that were produced under the Cultivation System were 'given in consignation' to the NHM. The NHM was responsible for the transfer of the products to the Netherlands. It could only charter Dutch ships for this, thereby also giving an important impulse to various shipping-related industries. Once in Amsterdam, the NHM organized auctions for the products. This process restored Amsterdam to the staple market role it had occupied before.[10]

Despite these successes, however, criticism against the system started mounting. Between 1850 and 1870 the Cultivation System was dismantled, and the wider economic system in the Netherlands was also liberalised. The standard explanation for this is that the rise of the liberals inside and outside parliament brought with it so much principled criticism of the Cultivation System and its treatment of the natives that the government eventually decided to dismantle the system.

This criticism by the liberals focused on the forced labour that was at the core of the Cultivation System. But their conservative opponents claimed to have the interests of the natives at heart as well. Whereas the liberals claimed that state-forced labour was oppressive, the conservatives defended that system by pointing at the oppressive nature of private capitalist enterprise.[11] Both supported the principle of exploiting the natives. In J. S. Furnivall's words: 'The Liberals, no less than Van den Bosch, regarded the colony as a *bedrijf*, a business concern, and in this matter they differed from him merely in admitting more shareholders.'[12]

Each and every Member of Parliament, even the most radical liberals, wanted to keep the *batig slot*, the profit from the Indies.[13] If the projects, previously funded by the Indies profites, had to be funded by tax rises, it would surely upset wealthy citizens who had been enfranchised in 1848.[14] After 1854, therefore, parliament was not divided over 'the question if the Netherlands had a "right" to those profits… but the question [of] which system of exploitation would give most benefits directly and indirectly.'[15]

Thus, we can see that the liberal critique was underpinned by economic motives. These arguments did not develop in a vacuum; they reflected changing material interests of important sections of capitalists. The fact was that for the larger companies the state protective system became less and less beneficial. Much of the system was designed to spread benefits and this often helped the smaller companies. In the shipping industry,

10 Fasseur, *Kultuurstelsel*, pp. 40, 41; Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, p. 117; R. Reinsma, *Het Verval van het Cultuurstelsel* (The Hague, 1955), pp.74–80.
11 For an example of the prominent conservative Baud Fasseur, *Kultuurstelsel*, p. 95, for an example of the prominent conservative Baud making this defense.
12 Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, pp. 174, 175.
13 Ibid., pp. 154, 160; Reinsma, *Het Verval*, p. 66; de Jong, *Van Batig Slot*, pp. 45, 46.
14 Fasseur, *Kultuurstelsel*, p. 119.
15 Ibid., p. 128.

for instance, the NHM had worked for years with a system called '*beurtbevrachting*', in which companies could enter their ships on a register. Ships would then be charted in turn, spreading the orders over the different companies. Many ships of the big companies had to wait for their turn and lie idle in the meantime. They could not go on other assignments, for fear of losing out on the one chance of receiving a government order. For these reasons, 'in contrast with the past', the Chamber of Commerce of Amsterdam, representing the larger businesses of Amsterdam, when asked for advice on this issue 28 September 1866 by the government, did not oppose the plans for 'the further reductions of protection'.[16]

A similar process can be seen in the discussion between 1850 and 1872 over the abolition of differential tariffs on Java, designed to protect Dutch traders. Foreign ships docking in Java's harbours had to pay double the tariff that Dutch ships had to pay on the products they imported.[17] In 1850 a first suggestion was made by the Dutch government to abolish the differential tariffs. However, even though liberals held a majority in parliament, it was argued that the Dutch merchants were not yet able to deal with foreign competition unprotected.[18] In the decade that followed, parts of Dutch industry became 'more diverse and modern' and showed they were able to get hold of a growing number of products that came on the free market in Java when the Consignation System was scaled down in 1857. Once they had become stronger players, the competition of the market looked more attractive. In those years major Dutch merchants and manufacturers themselves started to push for the abolition of the protectionist tariffs. In 1865 there was a majority in parliament to abandon the protective tariffs for the most part, and by 1872 to abandon them completely.[19]

Overall, the proponents of abolishing the Cultivation System pleaded for gradual diminishment of state protection. The debates in society and parliament, combined with this gradual shrinking of state protection, can be seen as a reflection of an on-going process of a struggle for hegemony. In Gramsci's view the struggle for hegemony in the civil and political arena is a reflection of, and stands in dialectical relation with, the underlying socio-economic interests.[20] Thus, if liberal criticism was a direct cause of changes in policy, it was not because of humanitarian ideals. A major liberal trader from Rotterdam, Hendrik Muller, expressed this succinctly: 'And only the *Dutch interest* will gradually make the liberal colonial policy prevail, not noble convictions.'[21]

16 Th. van Tijn, *Twintig Jaren Amsterdam. De Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling van de Hoofdstad, van de Jaren '50 der Vorige Eeuw tot 1876* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 218, 219.

17 Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, p. 165.

18 Reinsma, *Het Verval*, p. 91.

19 Ibid., pp. 92, 93.

20 Peter D. Thomas, *The Gramscian Moment. Philosophy, Hegemony and Marxism* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), p. 194.

21 De Jong, *Van Batig Slot*, p. 96 (emphasis in original).

Gifts of Life, Gifts of Love

Professor Ludmilla Jordanova joined the History Department in December 2013. The shortened version of her inaugural lecture below was given on December 5th 2013 and highlights her interests in visual culture and metaphor in historical research. Works by the Scottish artist John Bellany (1942-2013) may be viewed on the websites of the National Portrait Gallery, London, Tate, and the National Galleries of Scotland. The artistic work of the surgeon Roy Calne (1930-) is most accessible in books.

John Bellany received the 'gift of life': he was given a liver transplant shortly before producing a series of self-portraits, which records his recuperation from major surgery in Addenbrooke's Hospital, Cambridge. Bellany made numerous drawings, paintings and prints, starting as soon as he was able to hold a pen. His drive to paint and draw was considered remarkable by the staff caring for him, who suggested that his artistic activity acted as an analgesic.

The phrase 'gift of life' comes up repeatedly in relation to Professor Sir Roy Calne, one of the surgeons performing liver transplants in Addenbrooke's at this time. Calne and Bellany became friends and they painted each other – Calne has been interested in art and has painted since childhood. The phrase 'gift of life' is intriguing, and I shall pursue some of its implications and complexities, weaving together visual and written evidence. Gifts figure in this lecture as a device for thinking about the Bellany-Calne case study, and then moving into the genre of portraiture, for historical practice and academic life.

Since the early 1990s, I have been working on portraits produced from the seventeenth century onwards, experimenting with what a historian interested in visual culture could do with them. In times and places where portrait-making is an embedded practice, it is central to the construction and mediation of identity. 'Identity' is not straightforward, but a useful term for gathering together the kinds of significance that people find in portraits. Furthermore, portraiture is bound up with practices of giving and receiving gifts. It is commonly understood that in giving a portrait of themselves, donors offer and recipients accept, an intangible part of the sitter, along with the likeness. Since 2009 I have worked on a medical humanities project funded by the Wellcome Trust. My contribution is called 'Case Studies of Medical Portraiture' and is designed to be wide-ranging with respect to both period and the types of portrait

considered. I have tried to put constant pressure on the very notion 'medical', and I am interested in doing *longue durée* work. I will touch lightly on these methodological points later on.

To return to the gift of life that Bellany received in Cambridge in 1988: that language is Calne's rather than Bellany's, although Bellany accepted that he had received something rather special. Bellany painted a portrait of Calne shortly after the operation:
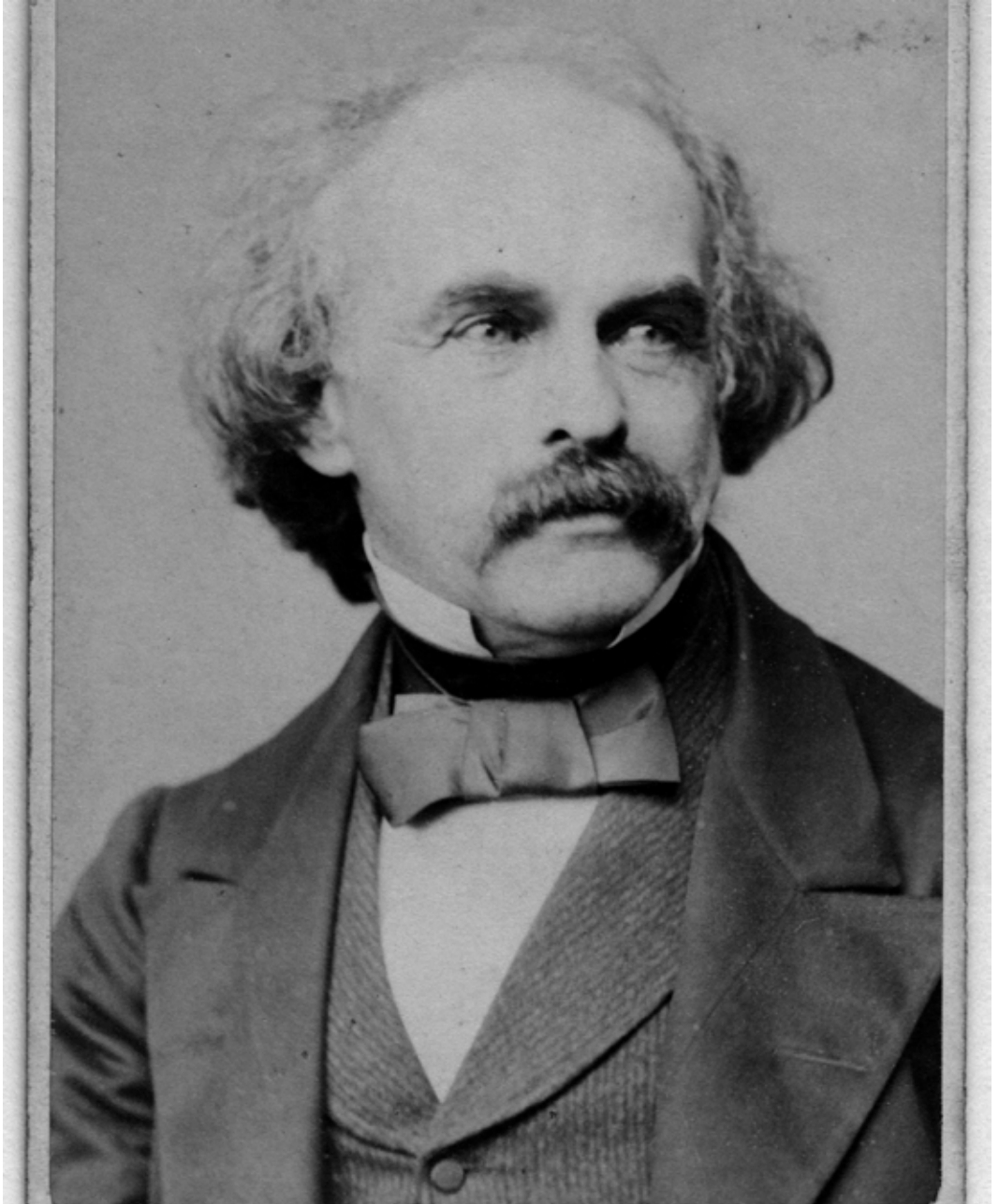
Figure 1: Nathaniel Hawthorne by John Jabez Edwin Mayall. © National Portrait Gallery.

at the top left hand side of the picture Bellany wrote 'for Professor Sir Roy Calne "the man who gave me the elixir of life"'. The notion of an elixir of life is widespread, bothchronologically and temporally, with deep roots in alchemy and medicine, and used by writers, poets, and film-makers. It is linked to speculations about human beings living forever and dreams of a fountain of youth. It is unsurprising that Bellany, with his roots in austere Scottish Calvinism, his training as a painter, and his use of symbolism and allegory, should invoke a phrase with such rich resonances.

We could say that Bellany participates, if idiosyncratically, in the broad language of gifts by referring to 'the elixir of life'. But that would be unsatisfactory since it is clear that the notion of an elixir of life is usually handled with ambivalence. One example is Nathaniel Hawthorne's short story *Dr. Heidegger's Experiment*, 1837, where drinking from the fountain of youth by the doctor's elderly and decrepit friends is shown as vacuous, vain, and childish. The quest for lost youth through effervescent water does not bring blessings, and Bellany, with his interest in myth, was surely aware of the dense history of the 'elixir of life' and of the profoundly mixed feelings associated with it. The most significant implication of Bellany's inscription is that he was made healthy by a kind of magic. Magic generally has many sides, which are darker or lighter according to one's point of view, the magician's intent, and the contexts in which it is deployed. The elixir of life is shrouded in secrecy and arcane knowledge. So however much Bellany fêted the man who did *not* personally enable him to live another twenty-five years, when apparently giving thanks for the gift of life, he had recourse to a metaphor that suggests not the skills and knowledge of medical science and surgical technique, but something esoteric that evades ordinary human comprehension.

Let me draw out a couple of implications of what I have said so far. First, the task of understanding these materials from the 1980s and 1990s cannot be anything other than profoundly historical. We need to speak about layers of references and associations, how these change colour and texture, move in and out of focus, and are put to work in fresh situations, such as organ transplantation. Ideas of elixirs and gifts, with their magical tinge and mixed emotional connotations, perform significant jobs in the contemporary world. They may help us understand the post-war as well as other worlds, and especially the dramatic changes in medicine that it witnessed, often discussed in terms of miracles. Second, these ideas are non-mechanistic, even anti-reductive. They hold the complexities of what human beings do, while acknowledging the difficulties we have in fully explaining them. In ordinary speech, when we say that a scene, an experience is magical, we grant and respect those difficulties. Talk of heroes and villains, evil, megalomania and so on, consists of just such 'holding' terms. In order to develop this thought, I return to Roy Calne.

Between 1970 and 1998, Calne published three books on the 'gift of life' while a further two were written about him. We can use such a dense cluster to consider the ways we understand gifts more generally in our work and in our lives. As the leader of

a surgical team, Calne might be said to bestow life on his patients. A picture he painted of one of his colleagues expressed visually the quality of care and compassion she gave her patients. His project was to make tenderness visible. Sometimes he painted his patients, endowing them with another kind of life, one more enduring than the transplant itself. There is a strategic fiction in the phrase 'gift of life', which veils the death of another person in order for the organ to be available, the grief of the bereaved, and the significant risks of failure. Calne sometimes operated on the same patient a number of times, while others died. The warm feeling that the phrase 'gift of life' is intended to generate should therefore be followed by reactions that are sceptical and questioning.

These thoughts lead in two directions. The first concerns the role of visual culture in relation to gifts, the second, the nature of metaphor – a subject that historians do not talk enough about. Our accounts rely heavily on metaphors, which carry their own complexities and entailments as they help to interpret deposits from the past that are themselves metaphorically dense. Metaphors matter, not just for scholarly analysis, but for our shared lives in universities and as citizens. Metaphors become especially significant when we move between visual culture and other media. These translations and transpositions are important phenomena – historians do well to pay attention to cases where such shifts can be explored. Perhaps it should not matter to which category of genre or medium a given source belongs: this matters in so far as it requires analysis that is sensitive to media and genres. Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64), for example, is an important writer for the work I do. Many of his writings address precisely the issues I am raising here – he was intensely interested in art-making, in the appearances of people, and in the potency of visual representations, such as portraits. When in the mid-nineteenth century he turned such issues into fiction, often set in earlier times, he was grappling with ways of expressing, in words, the power of gifts, the agency of pictures and scenes, the moral ambiguities of scientific and medical knowledge and intervention. The magical motifs he deployed have been strikingly persistent, including in critiques of modern science and medicine. Hawthorne provides insights into some of the layers of association mentioned earlier. Notions of an elixir of life or fountain of youth are not dead; they are alive and well and highly commodified in our own times – for example, in anti-aging products and in cosmetic procedures such as botox.

Figure 2: The Little Mermaid audio book read by Tamsin Grieg and Stephen Mangan. Ludmilla Jordanova, 2014.

Returning to gifts, their dark sides and irreducibility can be illustrated with a quite different kind of source – fairy tales. I have often listened with my

granddaughter to a recent recording of Hans Christian Anderson's *The Little Mermaid* read by Tamsin Greig and Stephen Mangan. Many versions of the story have been made since it was first published in the 1830s. In this adaptation by Anita Loughrey, who writes children's books and materials for primary schools, the little mermaid, who is smitten by the handsome human prince she saved from drowning after a shipwreck, goes to the wicked enchantress, who gives her a rainbow-coloured potion that will replace her tail with legs. In return the enchantress demands her beautiful voice. To achieve a happy resolution, the little mermaid needs to get her voice back, which her sisters manage to do. To marry the Prince, to whom she has given the gift of life, and live with him on dry land, she needs the enchantress's gift, which on this account is ultimately benign – it serves the cause of true love. This is not a form of reciprocal gift exchange. Within the logic of Loughrey's version, the rainbow liquid – an elixir – possesses palpable magical powers. In the original story Anderson calls it a bright, potent draught, bitter and fiery, which despite having blood in it is 'clear as the purest water'. In the retold version, it is multi-coloured. So however nasty the enchantress is, from the little mermaid's point of view, it is precisely a gift of life than enables her to marry the man she loves. Furthermore, the enchantress genuinely has special skills, which enable her to bring about this miraculous and irreversible change. The original is considerably more brutal – the little mermaid has to give the sea witch her tongue, finds using her legs excruciatingly painful and does not get her man.

Despite the evident differences, the comparison with Roy Calne and John Bellany is fruitful. Although I am not suggesting that Calne is quite like the enchantress, he is, imaginatively speaking, the dispenser of elixirs and gifts, which somehow gave Bellany the chance to live. Such ideas around gifts continue to do powerful work in our own times, and to have multiple resonances with visual and material culture. Furthermore, these two aspects of gifts – their magical dimensions and double-sidedness – are so widely present in stories, and depictions of stories, that they offer historians rich opportunities for thinking about many kinds of continuity and change.

I would like to conclude by drawing out some of the broader implications of my comments, which particularly concern teaching and the nature of scholarly and historical practice.

I find John Bellany's work deeply unsettling, and for that very reason good to think with. Bellany possessed a capacity to bear witness in ways that are thought-provoking for us. This is partly because images, stories, myths, experiences, practices and so on move between media and across times. Contemporary materials contain such journeys in an accessible form, offering insights into deep histories. When they take visual form, paintings, drawings, prints and photographs for example, patterns emerge in relation to the human figure, hence the attention I have paid to the genre of portraiture, which promises engagement with specific, nameable people. Both Bellany and Calne manifest a kind of embodied understanding in their work.

I have also emphasised the theme of how human beings give more or less satisfying accounts of each other, which are not mechanistic or reductive. I find this theme everywhere in my historical work. So how might the theme of gifts play out in our lives in Universities? Teaching is one place where they do so, where the capacity to nurture and be nurtured might be thought of in terms of gifts, and their dark side, the undermining of confidence and self-worth, a legacy that endures forever. These points also apply to collegial relationships. We partly turn to idioms of gifts in order to resist, and rightly so, trends that are seen as diminishing. Developing resistant languages, that refuse to instrumentalize human relationships is a vital project at this specific moment in academia and in creative teaching and scholarship there is perhaps a kind of magic.

What gifts does teaching bestow upon the taught and upon the teacher? Engaging openly with others, communicating a belief in their abilities, giving constructive, supportive feedback and instilling confidence lie at the heart of teaching and collegiality. Arguably they cannot be reduced to teaching technique or subject knowledge, which are simply the basis for doing the job.

The values I have just articulated are not universally held in Universities. A recent report suggested that British students are shortchanged because academics are preoccupied with research and neglect them as a result. This is not my experience. Yet even here, when I did my DUO [Durham University Online] training it was explained to me that I could set up the system so that students expected and received answers to their queries only once a week. This may be convenient, but such an arrangement violates a kind of tacit pact, which has not come about because students pay more, but because it helps everyone to learn, grow, and develop more effectively when academic work is not mechanized – industrialized.

This theme – anti-reductionism – has run throughout this lecture. It finds clear historiographical expression when we resist excessive reliance on self-interest as an explanatory device. I am not denying the importance of egotism, narcissism, and so on in human societies, but historical accounts that rely heavily, whether implicitly or explicitly, on such notions, will always be partial. There is an ethical principle at stake here: is it defensible to explain human beings in the past in ways we would not be willing to apply or have applied to ourselves? It is not: one of the main purposes of the humanities and social sciences is to ensure that their explanations are as rich and warmly human as possible. I have suggested some of the ways in which visual culture and the genre of portraiture contribute to this goal by bringing such issues into sharp relief in distinctively visual ways.
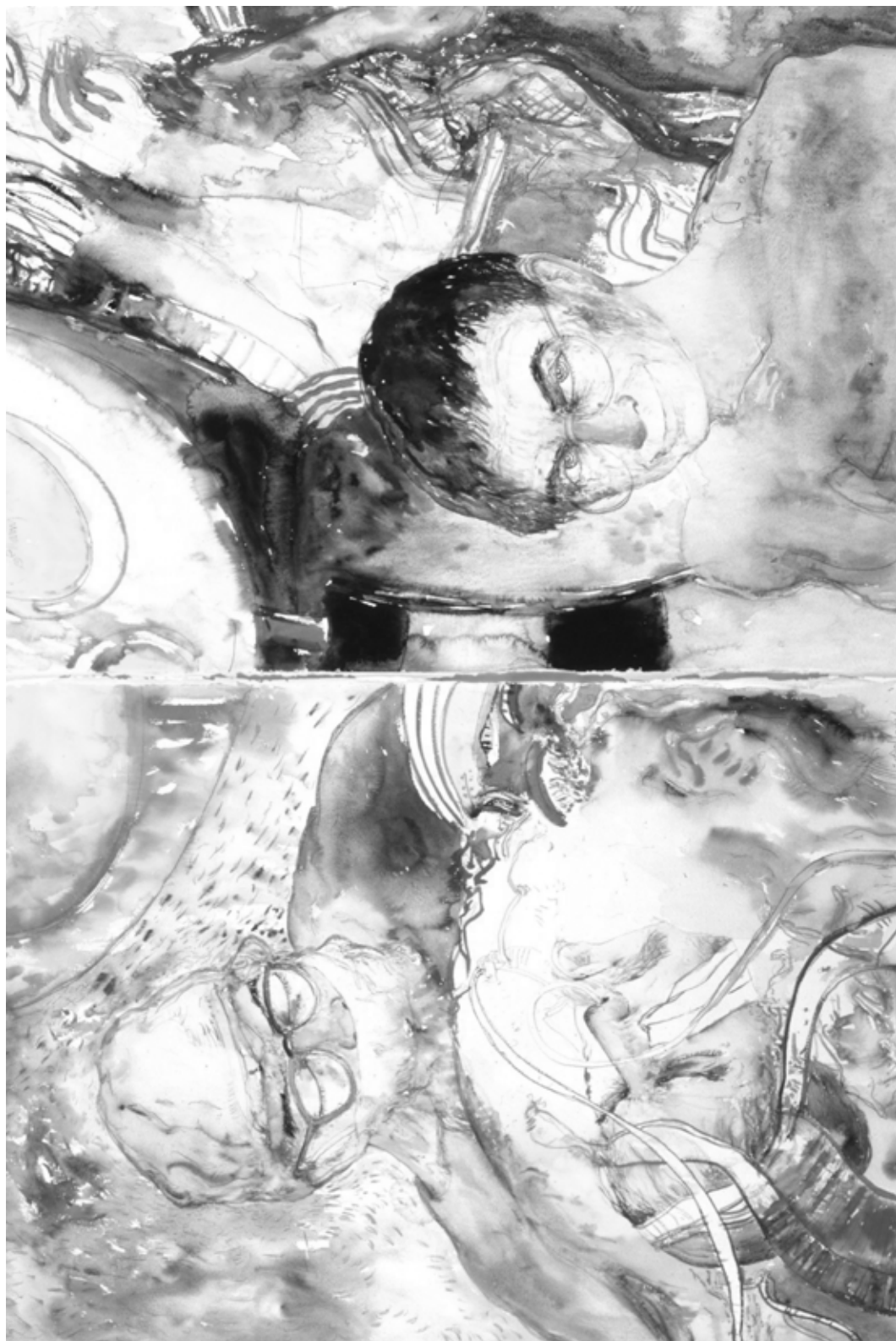
Figure 3: Sir Roy Yorke Calne; John Bellany by John Bellany. © National Portrait Gallery.

Please get in touch!

We hope you have enjoyed the fourth issue of *Symeon*. We would like to include more about you, as alumni, in subsequent issues, so please do get in touch and let us know what you are doing now. Perhaps you are in a job in which you use on a daily basis the skills you learned studying history? Perhaps you are doing something entirely different? Either way, we'd love to hear from you.

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Learning to vote: practice ballot in Omdurman, Sudan, 1953. Durham University, Sudan Archive