

ISSUE 04

*Myth*



# QUESTION

ESSAYS & ART FROM THE HUMANITIES

QUESTION

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# Myth

## Q

Since Antiquity, myths have helped us deal with ourselves and the world we live in. They explore the unknown in our lives, the ‘terra incognita’ as it is described in Cristina Navazo-Eguia Newton’s poem ‘Wak-Wak’: that grey, obscure and fragile zone that divides good from evil, life from death, love from hate. Myths survive through the ages because they are transformable. Mythology, and also ancient deities, have not only survived through technological changes, but they have easily surfed across the most disparate literary genres. In this issue of *Question*, Claire Williamson’s poems speak of familiar persons and familiar places through the lens of myth and mythological figures such as the half-man half-bull Minotaur, while Bar Leshem shows how the Greco-Roman god Hermes has become a surprising source of inspiration for modern-day comics.

Myths continue to speak to us in changed forms because they pose actual questions that lie at the core of the issue of being human. Cassandra Passarelli’s short story fully harnesses the transformative possibilities of Greek mythology, showing how the classical myth of Narcissus, the young boy who fell in love with his image reflected in a pond, can be successfully re-written to suit a contemporary – technologically revolutionised – world. What happens when an app projects our own living image in front of us? The encounter with ourselves is fraught with danger. It poses – together with our true reflection – a question which we cannot escape and that might transform us forever: ‘Why be?’.

Like the relationship with ourselves, our relationship with Nature is equally ambivalent. Nature is a generous mother as well as a cruel goddess: a foundational myth on this topic, explored in the Bible as well as in ancient epics (including Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*), is that of the flooding of the earth. In her article, Charlotte Lancaster shows how George Eliot drew on the biblical account of the Flood to consider and problematise the relationship of our society with Nature.

Another issue that has tormented humankind since its origins is the plague of war. The author Javier Cortés Ortuño, focusing on the late nineteenth-century civil war in Peru, shows how myth can help us find a language to describe the folly and violence that grows between brothers and sisters. Huimin Wang’s translation of the Chinese novella *Du Linian’s Resurrection* (c. 1488–1550), meanwhile, brings to the fore another essential question, this time concerning the power of love and the limits of our mortal life. According to the translator, the theme of this novella has been re-written and explored through the ages in China, in parallel to the formation of Chinese civilisation.

The way we address pivotal themes such as love and death passes (through the arts) from one generation to the other and works on collective memory



creating a sense of community. William Carroll's 'Common Nostalgia & Collective Memory' highlights the importance played by myths in creating a community, addressing Thornton Wilder and Norman Rockwell's representations of the small American village as a place made of material reference points and immaterial values to which an exclusive American community (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) turns as its mythological foundational place. Like Carroll, Sam Hawkins investigates myth and identity. Hawkins sheds light on the myths embedded in the narrative of the Great Jewish Migration (1881–1914). Although economic misery was the main factor behind the Great Migration from the East to the West, the first generations of Jewish migrants who settled in Britain stressed antisemitic violence and military conscription as the primary causes for their departure from their homelands.

As we have said, myths define a community of people; but what happens when a myth falls apart? Emily Peirson-Webber's article follows the rise and fall of the myth of the heroic British miner. The legend of the British miner as a mysterious and powerful figure was fostered by miners and mine owners, but declined in the nineteenth century, before a gradual demonisation of the figure of the miner. Myth-creation processes can unveil important truths about how our society works. In her article, Kate Brooks studies how the nineteenth-century philanthropist George Müller described the everyday stories of his orphanage in terms of miracles. This supernatural narration of events allowed Müller to portray his actions as a testament to God's providence.

By definition, a myth can be described as a widely held but false idea or belief. The last article in this issue of *Question* explores this aspect of myth. Chris Evans dives into the contemporary world scene and contends that the combination of political and media irresponsibility has led to the spread of false beliefs that have had a detrimental effect on the international standing and repute of national states. The articles are sewn together by Sara Anstis' artworks, in which the artist waves together and narrates the relationship between myth and the female body and its sexuality, through powerful and telling representations. By closing *Question* with a look at the contemporary scene, this issue raises awareness of the continuing vitality of myths in our society, hopefully serving as a reminder of the importance of a patient exploration of the legends and beliefs that nourish our civilisation.

Marta Balzi and Andrea Romanzi



*Slow Motion*, soft pastel on paper, 152 x 110 cm, 2019

## From God to Superhero: The Reception of Mercury in Comics

Bar Leshem, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

The Greco-Roman god Hermes, or Mercury, performs a variety of roles in ancient mythology; he is the messenger of the gods, the leader of souls to the underworld and the god of travel. He is known from many ancient literary and artistic sources and has developed as a figure throughout the ages.<sup>1</sup>

The focus of this study is Mercury's reception through the medium of modern-day comics, such as *Mercury in the 20th Century* (Red Raven Comics) and *Earth 2* (DC Comics). In addition to comics featuring the god himself, there are more subtle representations of Mercury in the form of a character that he inspired: the DC superhero, The Flash and specifically the Golden-Age Flash. By examining these representations, I demonstrate how a mythological figure was translated to a modern medium, conveying ideas and reflecting societal values of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

### From Hermes to Mercury: The Development of the God

Before broaching the god's modern-day reception, it is instructive to discuss his development in ancient times. Hermes is one of the most ancient gods in the Greek pantheon. The earliest known physical evidence originates from three sites dating from the late Bronze Age, where the god appears as the recipient of offerings in inscribed tablets.<sup>2</sup> His precise origin is unknown, although modern scholars consider it likely that the Greeks adopted an ancient god into their pantheon.<sup>3</sup> In Greek mythology and society, Hermes was particularly known for the traits of wisdom, cunning, speed, stealth and creativity.<sup>4</sup> He was worshipped as the god of trade, heraldry and travel. He was also known as the messenger of the gods, specifically of Zeus and the leader of souls to the underworld.

After the Bronze-Age tablets, we find Hermes in many written sources, the oldest of which are by Homer and Hesiod.<sup>5</sup> Hermes is mentioned on six occasions in Homer's *Iliad*, appearing as an active character in two passages.<sup>6</sup> He also appears on three occasions in Hesiod's *Theogony and Works and Days* and he inspired a dedicated Homeric Hymn.<sup>7</sup> Another type of source significant to the argument of this article is the visual representation of the god. In the earliest depictions in vase paintings, Hermes appears as a mature man with a black beard, often accompanied by a group of followers. By the late sixth century BC,

he appears as a younger man with a specific set of physical attributes: a winged traveler's hat, a staff and winged sandals.<sup>8</sup> This latter depiction reoccurs in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

In Roman times, the gods from the Greek pantheon were reinterpreted and assigned Latin names; thus Hermes became Mercury. Although retaining most of his roles and abilities, seen for example in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, he also underwent some subtle changes.<sup>9</sup> The god took on a novel role when Augustus adopted the image of Mercury as a symbol for his reign. Arlene Allan suggests that the Emperor associated himself with Mercury as the divine emissary of Jupiter (Zeus's Roman name) to the Roman people.<sup>10</sup> A new aspect of Mercury seems to have arisen from this association: he is regarded as the bringer of peace, a role that he later fulfils in *Mercury in the 20th Century*.<sup>11</sup> Before further discussing the god's reception in modern time, I will introduce the conceptual framework that underpins this study – reception theory – with a particular focus on classical reception in modern comics.

### Classical Reception and Modern Comics

Charles Martindale defines the concept of "reception" as "The active participation of readers [...] in a two-way process, backward as well as forward, in which the present and past are in dialogue with each other."<sup>12</sup> Martindale emphasizes the importance of using language that captures the whole essence of translating or transferring a myth, work of art, or literary composition. He argues that terms such as *tradition*, *inheritance*, *influence* and *survival* suggest that the past influences the present, and that works are passive compared to the earlier works pieces to which they are connected. Martindale maintains that the contemporary work, although it derives its inspiration from an older piece, is in fact equally as active. This framework can aid understanding of modern interpretations of classical mythology.

Representations of Mercury have been depicted through a variety of different media types within different historical contexts. In the Italian Renaissance and Baroque periods, for example, his character appeared in many works of art and literary sources. This was likely to be largely due to the influence and popularity of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* among Renaissance humanists.<sup>13</sup> Mercury's popularity continued into later centuries and he is known to this day through pop-culture media.<sup>14</sup>

We now turn our attention to classical reception in the specific medium of comic books. Elements from the classical world can be seen in a variety of comic-book genres, and especially in the superhero genre that emerged in the late 1930s and is still being developed to this day.<sup>15</sup> Luke V. Pitcher analyses



the elements of Greco-Roman mythology that were entwined into the superhero genre of the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>16</sup> In his examination of DC's Captain Marvel, he argues that many of the comic-book superheroes of the Golden Age were designed using elements from the ancient world.<sup>17</sup>

Craig Dethloff mentions several comic-book figures that seem to exhibit Greco-Roman characteristics, most notably the first popular superhero to appear in comic-book format: Superman. He argues that Superman can be compared to the Greek hero Heracles, who was characterized by super-strength and was not completely human.<sup>18</sup> Other superheroes and characters in comics have been inspired by the Greco-Roman world, a well-known example being Wonder Woman.<sup>19</sup>

Before broaching Mercury's reception in comics, I propose a novel division of the portrayal of classical themes in comics into four types. Firstly, there are comic books that are based on, or inspired by, events from Greco-Roman history.<sup>20</sup> The second type concerns specific gods who are referred to by their name and their traditional characteristics. This type can be further divided into two sub-types: (1) Comic books in which the entire narrative is based on Greco-Roman gods.<sup>21</sup> (2) Narratives in which familiar Greco-Roman gods enter the world of superheroes, but do not constitute the sole protagonists.<sup>22</sup> The third type refers to figures or storylines that are inspired by the classical world, but not by a specific god, character or event.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the fourth type refers to superheroes who are clearly inspired by specific Greco-Roman gods or other mythological figures.<sup>24</sup> Having defined these four types of classical reception, we now narrow our focus to Mercury. In each of the following two sections, I explore a comic book in which Mercury inspired the main protagonist.

### Mercury in the Twentieth Century

The storyline discussed in this section was initially published in the first issue of *Red Raven Comics*. The issue was published under Timely Publications, the predecessor of the well-known Marvel Comics, and debuted in August 1940. The title *Mercury in the 20th Century* appears in the third chapter of the issue.<sup>25</sup> The narrative presents Jupiter sending Mercury, also known as 'The Fleet' to deal with a problem caused by Pluto.<sup>26</sup> The latter has ascended to earth to rule as the dictator of Prussland, under the name Rudolf Handler, and to cause chaos on Earth by invading several countries. After approaching Pluto with no luck, Mercury decides to make peace between the countries, and, in so doing, he disrupts Pluto's plans to plunge the world into chaos. Eventually Mercury succeeds, and all is good in the world. Here, Mercury's representation as a bringer of peace may be connected to the development during Augustus's reign, mentioned above.



Fig. 1: Everett E. Hibbard, *The Flash*, cover of *Flash Comics* #10, 1940. ©DC Comics



The representations of both Mercury and Pluto are revealing. Mercury is featured with his usual attributes; the winged helmet and sandals. He lacks his caduceus but nonetheless his figure is easy to identify from his usual iconography.<sup>27</sup> Pluto is presented in two forms; as a human figure, which is how he is perceived by humankind, and as his true form, which is only visible to Mercury and the other gods. His human name and appearance imply that this figure was based on Adolf Hitler. Pluto's divine appearance resembles that of the Christian devil. He wears red robes and has horns protruding from his forehead.<sup>28</sup>

Although this narrative is not related directly to the superhero genre, it has many of the same characteristics – in particular, a hero who is sent to save humankind from a supervillain. Thus, the Greco-Roman gods have effectively been translated into heroes and villains of the modern world through the popular medium of comics. It is known that comic books and storylines in the superhero genre commonly refer to real-life events, often of a political nature. As Marc di Paolo argues, many comic books have taken stands on contemporary controversial issues, and have reflected public opinion – for example, by taking a pro-war stance during wartime.<sup>29</sup> Di Paolo presents the example of a *Captain America* issue published in 1941, which provoked a public debate by depicting Hitler as a comic-book “supervillain” before the U.S. had entered the war. Cord Scott also states that in 1939, as the threat of war in Europe turned into reality, comic books, especially in the superhero genre, incorporated real-life enemies into the storylines. So, for example the visual appearance of many comic-book villains resembled that of German soldiers.<sup>30</sup> Thus, *Mercury in the 20th Century*, fits within a broader pattern whereby comic books were engaging with public opinion.

This comic-book storyline belongs to the first sub-type of the second type of classical reception described above. The entire story revolves around the Greco-Roman gods, who have been adapted to modern times. Although Mercury is not explicitly identified as a superhero, the narrative depicts many characteristics of the superhero genre, with Mercury acting as the superhero and Pluto as the cunning supervillain. Moreover, the underlying political message was highly relevant to the 1940s audience.

### Mercury and The Flash

If, in the previous section, we have seen Mercury merely take on the role of a superhero, in the following portrayals, he makes a definitive, explicit entrance into the superhero genre through the world of DC Comics. The first portrayal concerns the Golden-Age Flash and his subsequent character development. Most scholars divide the superhero genre into three ages: The Golden Age,

the Silver Age, and the Bronze Age (or, equivalently, the Modern, the Postmodern and the Third Ages).<sup>31</sup> The Golden Age starts with the first issue of Superman in 1938, and is usually considered to end in the 1950s.<sup>32</sup> The Silver Age is commonly thought to begin at the end of the 1950s or in the early 1960s.<sup>33</sup> The Third Age is ongoing, having begun in the 1980s.<sup>34</sup>

Jay Garrick's first appearance is in January 1940.<sup>35</sup> He was conceived by writer Gardner Fox and enjoyed stardom until 1949.<sup>36</sup> The Flash is known for his super-speed abilities. His costume and appearance are the first connection to our messenger of the gods. The Golden-Age Flash wears a red shirt, imprinted with a yellow bolt, and blue pants. His winged boots and winged helmet match the known iconography of Mercury throughout the ages (Fig. 1). In addition to these visual similarities, the Greco-Roman god, who is often characterized by his immense speed, seems to be the inspiration for the speedster superhero. This representation of Mercury in the comic-book medium belongs to the fourth type of classical reception in which superheroes are modeled on specific gods.

In the Silver Age, Barry Allen replaces Garrick as The Flash and his character is not shaped in the image of the god, as his winged helmet and boots disappear. However, Mercury continues to appear in the DC universe, including a later re-association with The Flash. The most recent portrayal of Mercury in comic books is in the second issue of the first volume of *Earth 2*, published in 2012–2013.<sup>37</sup> In this storyline we enter a world of chaos. Wonder Woman, Batman and Superman are all killed in a war, as they try to defend humankind. Mercury appears, trying to help Wonder Woman. He tells her that he is the last remaining god; he mentions the deceased gods Apollo, Neptune and Vesta. Mercury is depicted in a golden glow, which differentiates him from the humans and superheroes. He is portrayed naked, with his winged cap, his winged, snake-embellished caduceus, and wings emerging from his legs (Fig. 2).<sup>38</sup> Thus we witness another modern portrayal of the Roman god matching with the second type in our categorization.

Subsequently, the story jumps to five years after the war in which the three superheroes were killed. The storyline focuses on Jay Garrick, who is described as an ordinary boy. One evening he sees something that looks like a shooting star, but it is actually Mercury, who recently escaped from a dark place where he had been incarcerated since his capture five years earlier. Mercury introduces himself as the messenger of the gods, and the last surviving god from the pantheon. While informing Garrick that he is dying, Mercury grants him the power of speed. Garrick turns into The Flash, wearing a modern winged helmet, winged boots, red shirt with a lightning bolt, and blue pants (Fig. 3).<sup>39</sup> In this narrative, the second and the fourth categories intertwine.





Fig. 2: Nicola Scott, Trevor Scott, *Mercury*, *Earth 2*, 2012. ©DC Comics

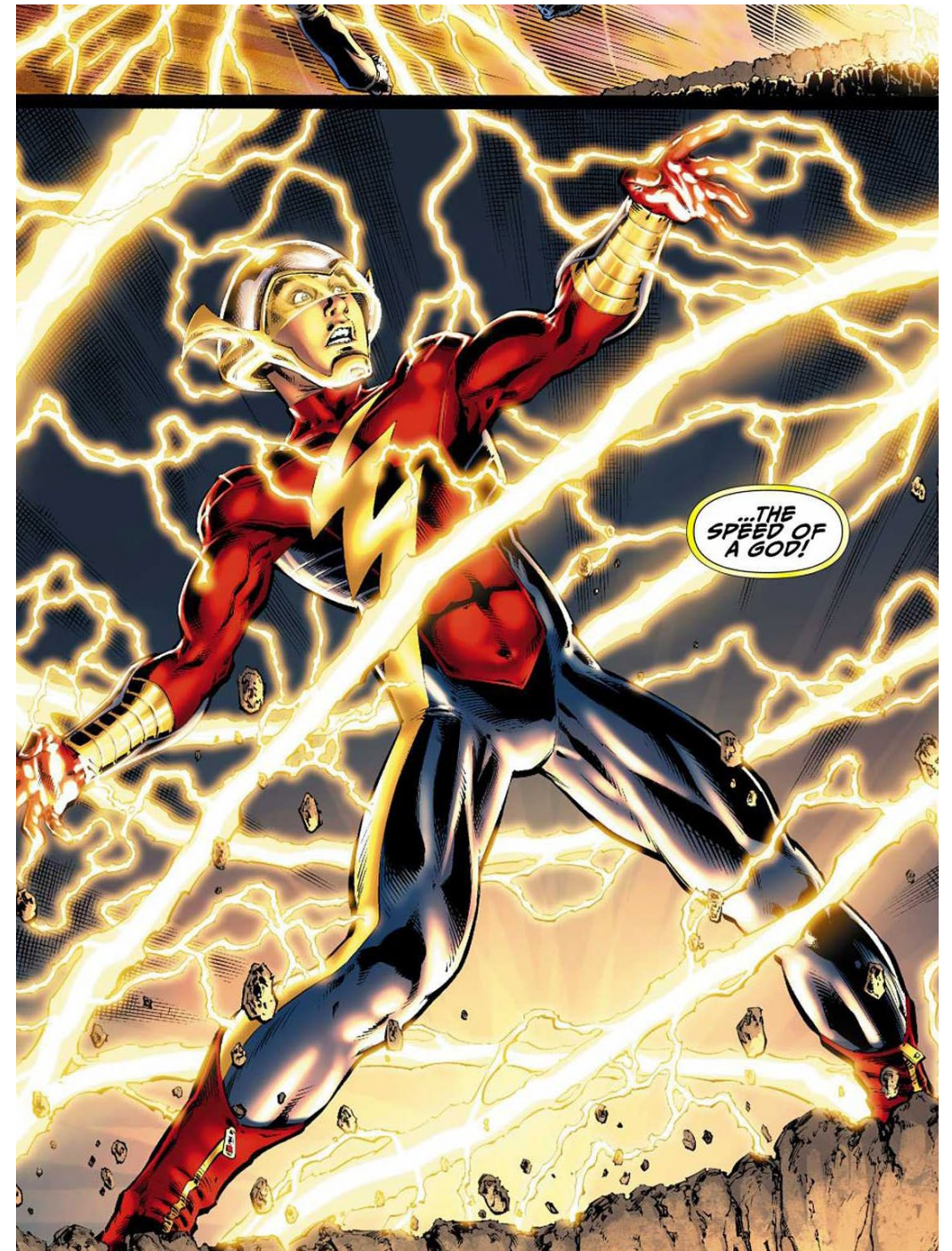


Fig. 3: Nicola Scott, Trevor Scott, *Jay Garrick Turns into the Flash*, *Earth 2*, 2012. ©DC Comics



On the one hand, we see Mercury himself, or a modern adaptation of him, and on the other hand, a superhero who has the characteristics and attributes of a Greco-Roman god.

In contrast to *Mercury in the 20th Century*, in the case of The Flash, there is no obvious political message or ideology. Nevertheless, in this portrayal, we witness the reception of Mercury on several levels. Firstly, we observe the creation of a modern character, in a new genre, who is inspired by the ancient god. The first Flash is one of the first superheroes in the superhero genre, and the choice to portray him in a classical manner suggests that the classical world was known and popular in the first half of the twentieth century. This is a classical reception of the most straightforward kind: a superhero, with the superpower of speed, is designed in the image of a Greco-Roman god with the same characteristic. Moreover, this classical portrayal reappears in *Earth 2*, when Jay Garrick receives his powers from Mercury and assumes the visual attributes of the god. Thus, several decades later, the classical representation of Mercury is still recognizable, at least to aficionados of the comic-book genre. Secondly, as was also the case for *Mercury in the 20th Century*, the god is used not only as an inspiration for a character, but also as a means of driving the storyline. In *Earth 2*, Mercury assists Wonder Woman in combat and then transforms Garrick into The Flash.

In an interview with CBR News, *Earth 2* writer James Robinson explains that this parallel universe has a 'slightly metaphysical feel to it.'<sup>40</sup> He further states that he wanted to expound upon the 'vague' origins of Jay Garrick,<sup>41</sup> and imbue him with the powers of a dying god. Furthermore, as noted by the interviewer, the appearance of Mercury reinforces the association with Greek mythology provided by Wonder Woman. Thus, the god's appearance strengthens the connection between Wonder Woman and the Greco-Roman pantheon and enriches the representation of a parallel universe in which supernatural elements exist. The Greco-Roman gods are therefore significant to the themes of *Earth 2*, contributing to the representation of the superheroes as a supernatural force for good that acts as a counterpart to the Parademon Army.

## Conclusions

This study aimed to explore the way in which an ancient myth has inspired storylines and characters in the modern medium of comic books. The paper focused on the figure of Mercury, the Greco-Roman god, and the way in which he enters the medium, both as a modern adaptation of the god himself and as an inspiration for other figures.

In the first portrayal, we saw how the figure of Mercury was used as political propaganda, much like many other comic-book superheroes in the 1940s.<sup>42</sup> In *Mercury in the 20th Century*, Pluto represents Hitler, while Mercury is the benevolent god who saves the day. This storyline intertwines contemporary events in the real world and classical mythology, thus addressing current issues but in a fantastical realm. In the second portrayal, Mercury is directly embedded into the superhero genre. In the Golden Age, he influences the design of The Flash, while more recently, the god himself makes an appearance, before passing his powers to Jay Garrick. Therefore, the classical world emerges as influential to the comic-book medium, inspiring storylines and enriching dimensions within the superhero genre. This overview enables us to understand and observe the influence of Greco-Roman mythology on the modern world, specifically the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It elucidates how classical culture influences contemporary media, inspiring pop-culture figures and contributing to the development of political or ideological messages.

## The Great Jewish Migration of 1881–1914: History, Memory and Myth

Sam Hawkins, University of Southampton

Immigration has long been a contentious subject, particularly when it involves refugees. Despite promoting a history favouring tolerance and liberty, British attitudes towards migrants and refugees have often been ambivalent.<sup>1</sup> Today for instance, British opinions are divided towards Syrian and Middle Eastern refugees. Some believe Britain has resettled too many, whilst others feel not enough has been done.<sup>2</sup> Notably, the history of how migrants and refugees have been portrayed reveals an entanglement of memory and myth. In Britain this is particularly true regarding the great Jewish migration of 1880 to 1914.

During this period, thousands of Jews migrated west from Russia and Eastern Europe. The majority headed towards the United States, but many settled in Britain. The impact of this migration was significant. Highly visible concentrated settlements of migrant Jews, particularly within London's East End, were scapegoated as causing overcrowding, unemployment and other public issues.<sup>3</sup> Following these concerns, Britain's long-standing liberal tradition of free movement was challenged, prompting the discussion of immigration restriction. Hyperbolic language entered the debate, with those who ardently opposed immigration condemning migrants in terms such as a 'horde of undesirable foreigners' and the 'criminal and waste population from abroad'.<sup>4</sup> In this emotionally and politically charged atmosphere the 1905 Aliens Act was passed, introducing permanent immigration control for the first time.

In the debate leading up to the passage of the Act, the motives behind Jewish immigration were greatly scrutinised. Whilst those who sought immigration control were eager to depict Jewish migrants as paupers who would likely require state relief and charitable support, those sympathetic towards them highlighted the poor living conditions for Jews under the Russian Empire. Most Jews were confined to residence in the Pale of Settlement, a region consisting of the former territories of the Polish commonwealth, including Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania, and home to over six million Jews.<sup>5</sup> Within the Pale civil liberties were restricted, with Jews denied access to higher education and white-collar professions, and prohibited from living in the larger cities or working off the land.<sup>6</sup>

Economic hardship was not the only source of poverty for Eastern European

Jewry. In this volatile region, they further faced the risk of antisemitic attacks and pogroms, which spread across the Pale from 1882–1889 before intensifying between 1902–1906.<sup>7</sup> The term "pogrom" refers to all forms of collective violence against Jews, and has been retrospectively applied to historic incidents of anti-Jewish violence.<sup>8</sup>

When the first generation of Jewish migrants described the cause of their migration, a defensive narrative was created: that it was forced migration, and *all* Jews who migrated during the period were either fleeing pogroms, tsarist military conscription or religious persecution.<sup>9</sup> This oft-repeated narrative has been adopted by the Anglo-Jewish community, retold and passed down from one generation to the next. Such incidences are not limited to British Jewry. Studies by Kathy Burrell and Wendy Ugolini demonstrate that similar patterns are found within Scottish-Italian and Polish émigré communities in Britain.<sup>10</sup> At its core, the popular history of British Jewry is entwined with myth. Self-realising myths which are deeply rooted in the community's understanding of their past and identity.

### Pogroms

Historical research and the popular memory created by community history projects, working-class autobiography and nostalgic documentaries, offer contrasting depictions on the nature of this Jewish migration. This is because the notion of Eastern European Jews fleeing from pogroms has been embedded in the very identity of the community. In academic circles, this was first challenged by the American scholar, Lloyd Gartner in *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870–1914* (1960). This influential study critically analysed Anglo-Jewish migration and confronted established myths. Most notably, the success and prosperity on hand for Jews was challenged, in addition to their very *identity* as refugees.

Gartner asserted that the perception of all of immigrant Jewry being refugees from pogroms and persecution was a gross distortion. Whilst many would have been refugees from violence, such as the 1903 Kishniev pogrom or the wave of pogroms following the 1905 Russian Revolution, most migrants in the intervening years were not. Rather they were economic migrants, seeking to leave behind the economic deprivation imposed by life in the Pale, and build a new life in the West. Most intended to journey to the United States, with Britain being the second choice as a cheaper destination. Moreover, many Jews settled in Britain as transmigrants, proposedly on a temporary basis with Britain regarded as a waystation en route to the United States.<sup>11</sup> Gartner's findings sparked new evaluations of the myths surrounding Anglo-Jewish migration.<sup>12</sup>



To separate myth and memory proves a daunting task. Whilst some narratives show clear separation, in others the line cannot be easily drawn. Instances of the pogrom narrative are frequently found in family and personal history. Entertainer and comedian Bud Flanagan, in his 1961 memoir *My Crazy Life*, described how his parents were forced to flee from their hometown of Radom in Poland on their wedding day, as news of a pogrom reached the ceremony.<sup>13</sup> A full and vibrant story unfolds, providing a vividly detailed account of their daring escape. Significant is the added information that his parents intended to travel to New York, only to be swindled by ticket touts and instead sold tickets for London. Similar tales are found in many accounts of Jewish migration to London, which are often repeated and follow an almost precise structure.

However, other sources show the rift between myth and memory more readily. Israel Sieff was a successful businessman and Zionist. His *Memoirs* (1970) is a rich source for the historian seeking to examine these myths, with Sieff detailing not only his father's migration, but also that of Michael Marks, the famous Jewish immigrant who co-founded Marks & Spencer, and father of Sieff's good friend Simon. For both his father and Marks, Sieff described how they rose from 'rags to riches' in England, with their story beginning with both men fleeing from pogroms and violence in Eastern Europe, arriving in England as penniless refugees.<sup>14</sup>

However, there are inconsistencies within both narratives which either reveal inaccurate information or include the pogrom narrative, as seen in the latter example. As pointed out by David Cesarani, the departure of Marks from Slonim in 1882 is awkward, even more so considering his brother was noted to already be in Britain. Either both men were remarkably quick to recognise the danger and flee, or the pogrom element was later added.<sup>15</sup> More strikingly, similar contradictions are found within Sieff's treatment of his own father, who is described as being haunted by the experience of pogroms, despite the fact that the Jews of Lithuania, where Sieff's father migrated from, never experienced first-hand the horror of this violence.<sup>16</sup>

Given the recurrence of the pogrom narrative, it functions as a narrative trope. Indeed, researchers have noted the doubtful authenticity of many of these stories, despite them commonly being accepted as factual.<sup>17</sup> But the challenge of separating memory from myth means that in the many vague accounts where the author has noted they do not know the full story, distinguishing fact from fiction is near impossible. In many cases, the author believes it to be true: and it becomes so. The cause of the inaccuracies behind accounts such as Sieff's are difficult to decipher. Perhaps he misinterpreted fear of pogroms for actual experience, or maybe he was the recipient of an inaccurate history. What is certain is the

entanglement of memory and myth, with Sieff confidently narrating a family history with a sense of authority as if it has been personally experienced.

### Tsarist Military Conscription

Whilst pogroms are usually cited as the primary cause of Jewish migration, in most narratives a further cause can be found: the threat of tsarist military conscription. A typical example of this treatment can be found in the pages of Louis Teeman's 768-page memoir, *Footprints in the Sand* (1976):

What made my parents leave Russia? Well, my father's history was much like that of others, the pogroms, to find a better life, survival, and not least, to avoid military service in the army of the Czar, which for Jewish youths was made so unendurable that a term in a Siberian prison would almost have seemed like a holiday. My mother came for the first two reasons.<sup>18</sup>

Teeman's memoir is unlike those previously mentioned. A self-published book, it was written in response to the fading Jewishness of his family. His son married a Christian Englishwoman, with their children brought up following the Christian faith. *Footprints in the Sand* accordingly was an educational tool, created to help Teeman's grandchildren recognise their position in world Jewish history.<sup>19</sup> The inclusion of both pogroms and military conscription as key reasons for his father's migration is notable, and reflects a trend in much memory material relating to Jewry under the tsars.

Overwhelmingly, the recollections and depictions of Jewish military experience are negative. Tales of suffering and misery are commonplace, making it no wonder that so many Jews frantically sought to escape conscription, with familiar stories of twenty-five years of harsh service detailed. However, research has shown that whilst the fear of military conscription was very real, statistically, Jews were unlikely to be called upon. The Russian army was overall, poorly organised, and little concentrated effort was made for recruitment outside of key periods, like the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Moreover, official reports have shown the difficulties the army faced when conscripting Jews. Around a fifth of Jews of age were selected by lottery, and the majority reported for service. Cases of draft evasion were usually the result of bureaucratic error. With Jews registered under multiple names – Russian, Hebrew and Yiddish – it was not uncommon for the same man to be drafted more than once.<sup>20</sup>

Such instances are not reflected in popular memory. Whilst the Russian army has been characterised as possessing an inefficient bureaucracy, it was not solely a repressive machine towards Jewry. Studies have shown that under Nicholas I,

reforms were made to utilise the army as an enlightening tool which would “Russify” its Jewish conscripts, making them Russian and helping to absorb them into society. This process was blocked by the counter-reforms of the 1880s, launched by the reactionary Alexander III.<sup>21</sup> However, in the grand history of the Eastern European Jewish experience under the tsars, the portrayal of military service has instead been likened to Jewish Egyptian bondage, with those conscripted essentially being written off for dead by their families.

Recent detailed historical research has revealed that these narratives are based in myth. For Jewish migrants in Britain these myths have a powerful foundation. Stories of Jewish suffering and persecution in the military were so prevalent that life imitated the literature. Those penning Jewish histories and memoirs accepted these myths at face value and in many cases incorporated them into their own accounts, detailing what they had read, rather than what they had experienced.<sup>22</sup> Ultimately a self-perpetuating cycle of mythmaking was forged, feeding into the great Jewish migration myth of Jewish refugees.

### Religious Persecution

The final element of the migration myth is linked to the previous two, whilst remaining distinctive. As reflected in the extract from Teeman’s memoirs, overall an image was created of Jews enduring religious persecution in Eastern Europe. In the interest of piety and remaining true to their faith, it was proposed that Jews needed to leave the confines of the Russian empire. If they remained their faith was threatened, either by forced conversion through military service, or worse through the violence of pogroms.

Such sentiments can particularly be found within the early memoirs created by famous individuals. Selig Brodetsky’s life has often been described as an Anglo-Jewish success story, showing the successful assimilation and career of the children of Jewish immigrants. Not only was he a leading figure in communal British Jewry, becoming the president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, he was also a successful mathematician and lecturer. Whilst his *Memoirs: From Ghetto to Israel* (1960) do not directly attribute his family’s migration to the pogroms or military conscription, he does stress that it was the desire for liberty and safety which prompted them to flee to England.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, there were many debates surrounding the spiritual health of immigrant Jewry, with concerns raised over those who opted to journey to the United States. London was seen to be a more conducive, tolerant environment, where an observant Jew could continue to practice their faith with little handicap.<sup>24</sup>

The depiction of Eastern Europe as an archaic, dangerous land where Jews were at risk due to their faith is curious. Much nostalgia can be found in many

treatments of the Jewish past, particularly within the popular culture of the time, which saw a longing for the culture and tradition of *der heim* (homeland).<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the image of late Imperial Russia as an overarching, repressive state confining Jewry to the Pale is inaccurate. Whilst Jews were restricted, one solution in official circles to the question of how to handle the “Jewish problem” demonstrated a degree of leniency. It was, simply, to let them leave. From 1882, the Russian government unofficially permitted the departure of millions who quietly crossed the border. The challenge was rather the western communities who urged prospective migrants not to come, warning them of unemployment and potential poverty.<sup>26</sup> Such facets have been omitted from the grand narrative. But *why*?

### Myths: The Building Blocks of Identity?

When discussing the formation of myths, the surrounding context of their origin must be considered. As noted, in Britain there was rising hostility towards migrants, Jewish or otherwise. In this landscape, immigrant Jewry found it beneficial to be recognised as refugees, rather than economic migrants. This advantage was formalised by the Aliens Act, with a clause inserted which automatically permitted asylum to those fleeing from religious or political persecution.<sup>27</sup> Even without this clause the application of border control was haphazardly applied by a liberal government indifferent to its implementation, meaning the Act served more as a psychological barrier and deterrent for migrants than a hard border.<sup>28</sup>

Jewish migrants accordingly portrayed themselves as refugees. As proposed by Gartner, the great migration of 1880 to 1914 should be recognised as the consequence of economic forces. With Russian Jewry prevented from entering Russia’s economic centre and confined to the petty, unbalanced and declining trades, economic concerns were the primary push factor for the majority.<sup>29</sup> Despite their prominence in memory and myth, pogroms, military conscription and religious intolerance were secondary factors, barring during specific flashpoints such as the 1903 Kishinev pogrom.

The development of the myth of immigrant Jewry all being refugees can be attributed to the simplification of memory. When one remembers, a process begins which often forms a streamlined, simple narrative. Ambiguity and nuance are often lost over time.<sup>30</sup> This is significant in respect to memories of Jewish migration. For example, the Jewish Women in London Group carried out an important series of oral interviews between 1984 and 1989, seeking to recover the lost voices of women during the process of migration. The interviewed women were all either immigrants or the daughters of immigrants, with the age of the interviewees ranging from 43 to 98.<sup>31</sup> This study observed that

some parents had refused to talk about their past. The Group posited that these mothers had chosen to do so in order to shelter their children away from the pain and trauma they had endured in Eastern Europe.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, it could also be proposed that this was to avoid contradicting the often-repeated story of Jewish migration and its cause. A typical example of how this impacted the children and grandchildren of immigrants can be found within the pages of Charles Poulsen's 1988 memoir:

Nobody ever asked why. We knew very well the long, frightening stories of our parents, of what they had suffered in this cause under the Tsar before they came to England and freedom. And these tales of murder, pogrom, harassment, and cruelty stoutly borne, made us proud of them – glad to be British, the loyal subjects of King George the Fifth, and part of what our elders were beginning to call 'Anglo-Jewry'.<sup>33</sup>

From this extract, it is evident that Poulsen and his contemporaries, the children of immigrant Jewry, strongly believed they were the children of refugees. In a study titled 'The Myth of Origins', Cesarani described these beliefs and myths to be part of the social fabric of the community. Whether or not these facets of family history were true was not important. What mattered was their *meaning*, and how they allowed the community to *define* itself.<sup>34</sup>

The act of sharing and retelling these stories was essential to the formation of group identity. This identity was formed around the basis of British liberty and tolerance which allowed refugees to settle and build new lives. As noted, those who migrated during the period of great migration had already positioned themselves as refugees. They repeated these stories so often that these myths came to be accepted as the truth by those who created them.<sup>35</sup> The great Jewish migration myth is accordingly the product of its context, with a story so frequently retold that it was both actively and passively passed down to the next generation. The children of these migrants, as illuminated in the shared extracts from Sieff, Teeman and Poulsen, accepted these myths to be true.

## Conclusions

This brief survey has highlighted the myths which are embedded in the history of the great Jewish migration of 1880 to 1914. The progenitors of these myths are not easily identified. The community itself can seemingly be recognised as responsible for the creation and cultivation of the myth, but the continued dissemination is challenging to unfold. In many cases, the repetition of myths is the product of a vagueness of family history and memory. Using pogroms

as an example, a fear or recognition of the danger these events posed, and their influence in shaping a family's decision to migrate may have found itself simplified in family memory to the point of being actual experience.

For both the community and Britain the acceptance of these myths was beneficial. Economic migrants are often treated with suspicion, unlike refugees. Meanwhile, Britain could congratulate herself on a liberal tradition of supporting those in need. As observed, it is this curious balance which has permitted Britain's continued ambivalence towards refugees, with this trend continuing today.



## Chinese Myth of Resurrection: Translation of *Du Liniang's Resurrection*

Huimin Wang, University of Southampton

*Amor vincit omnia* ('Love conquers all')<sup>1</sup>

Do you believe in resurrection? Our heroine, Du Liniang (杜丽娘), dies of a broken heart for a scholar she encounters only in her dream; lying dead for three years, she is reborn in order to finally unite with the lover of her dream. In this introduction, I will explain the storyline and outline the current scholarship before exploring this myth of resurrection in China. I will argue that the all-encompassing power of *qing* (情, the emotion of love) is the mechanism behind the myth; meanwhile, social theatricality, especially in the context of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), helps to explain the popularity of this novella. Furthermore, the working of consciousness helps this myth continue to influence Chinese cultural memory even in the present day.

*Du Liniang's Resurrection* (Du Liniang Mu-se Huan-hun Ji, 杜丽娘慕色还魂记) is an anonymous *hua-ben* (story-teller's script, 话本) circulated during the early Ming dynasty (c. 1488–1550), although its exact date of composition is unknown. This Ming novella depicts the noble lady Du Liniang (杜丽娘) and nobleman Liu Mengmei's (柳梦梅) love story, which transcends life and death. Liniang is the daughter of Prefect Du. One spring day she takes a stroll in the garden and sadly realises that her beauty, just like the splendour of spring, will fade with time. Returning to her boudoir, she dreams of a young scholar and they begin an intimate romance. Later Liniang returns to the garden, but she fails to encounter the handsome scholar again. Heartbroken, she draws a self-portrait to capture the essence of her beauty before dying from grief. Her family later settle in a new place and their old residence is taken by the new Prefect, Liu En (柳恩). His only son, Liu Mengmei, finds Liniang's self-portrait in his study. That night Liniang's ghost visits Liu's chamber where they share the same pillow once more. She urgently wishes to reveal her true identity and pleads with Liu, the scholar of her dream, to bring her back to life. With the help of Liu's parents, Liniang is finally resurrected, and she marries Scholar Liu with the blessings of both families.

This story demonstrates the impact of cultural memory and has become

a classic example of Chinese literature. It is also acknowledged as the source story for the acclaimed play, *Peony Pavilion* (牡丹亭) written by Tang Xianzu (汤显祖, 1550–1616). So far, there has not been an English translation of this novella, let alone translations in other foreign languages. Previous scholarship instead mostly approaches this novella as the source of *Peony Pavilion* while neglecting this novella's own literary and cultural significance. I will translate an excerpt of the novella instead of the whole text, as indicated by the usage of [...] in the original text. I do not use [...] in the translation, however, because of the difference between English and Chinese syntax.

A fascination with resurrection looms large in Chinese cultural memory under the influence of Buddhism, especially the belief of reincarnation, karma and the afterlife. Buddhists believe that humans will negate and then transcend their ordinary humanity by crossing the boundaries between life and death.<sup>2</sup> In the Ming dynasty, the rate of mortality was relatively high. People wholeheartedly believed that there was another life beyond the present incarnation. 'Is life worth living?' Nietzsche's answer is, 'No, *but* in a tragic culture one can learn to tolerate the knowledge that it is not'.<sup>3</sup> In light of Nietzsche's tragic view, the Buddhist belief of the afterlife lessens the unfathomable sorrow caused by the bereavement of family members and friends. The possibility of resurrection gives the underprivileged something to hope for in a bleak world.

This novella echoes with previous popular myths of resurrection, both in China and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Ancient stories are 'deep matter' which embody bygone myths and generate literary fantasy.<sup>5</sup> The Chinese historian, Gan Bao (干宝, 282–351), for example, records miraculous accounts of resurrection in *Anecdotes About Spirits and Immortals* (Sou Shen Ji, 搜神记), particularly in the story of 'The Wife of Wang Daoping' (王道平妻), 'The Youngest Daughter of Emperor Wu' (吴王少女), and 'The Girl from County Hejian' (河间女).<sup>6</sup> The three stories share a strikingly similar plot in which the heroines are resurrected after their lovers return from an Odysseus-like journey.

The similarities among past anecdotes and *Du Liniang's Resurrection* reveal a common pattern, and I will argue that the Chinese myths of resurrection centre around the mysteries of *qing*, or love. Like the experiences of the above-mentioned heroines, Liniang passes away because her love toward Scholar Liu is unfulfilled. By the power of love, she manages to transcend the boundary between life and death, namely, she endures the tortures in the underworld, and risks her reputation in secretly meeting Scholar Liu in the form of a ghost. In the Chinese context, 'the living may die of *qing*, by its power the dead live again'.<sup>7</sup> In the myths, 'amor vincit omnia' – love has the all-encompassing power to transcend life and death. Thus, the myth of resurrection is also a myth of *qing*.

During the Ming dynasty especially, the miraculous plot of resurrection in this novella was well-received due to the theatricality that characterised society during that time. The readers willingly suspend their judgment of reason in the make-believe world where the distinction between reality and illusion is blurred. The presumption of the illusory nature of the world gives rise to supernatural power and other mysteries. The liminal space between life and death, between reality and illusion, between human being and ghost is where the magic, myths, and literary fascination originate from. The story of *Du Liniang's Resurrection* transgresses the liminalities – her pre-marriage sex with Scholar Liu, her mysterious early death, and her ghost making love to her dream lover flout contemporary conventions, etiquettes, and moralities. Works such as this therefore have a wide readership as they satisfy people's quest and curiosity toward the unknown.

The ancient myths, including *Du Liniang's Resurrection*, throw light on the origin and growth of civilization.<sup>8</sup> It is our shared past that determines who we are through the working of collective memories and consciousness. As Jeanette Rodriguez and Ted Fortier show, 'How we remember past events has a profound impact on what we do and how we will live'.<sup>9</sup> Our memories of myths have the capacity to create and rewrite our past, and the cultural mnemonics pass from one generation to the next. Through the power of memory, once a myth enters the realm of consciousness, it stabilises and stays. Stories have been retold throughout history and myths have become an integral part of Chinese folk culture and art. For example, in the seventeenth century, on the basis of the resurrection myth, Pu Songling (蒲松龄, 1640–1715) composes the story of Nie Xiaoqian (聂小倩) who earns her humanity back because of her love towards Ning Caichen (宁采臣). The working of memory and consciousness therefore enables these myths to continue to haunt the modern readers.

To conclude, through *Du Liniang's Resurrection*, we get a glimpse of the Chinese myths of life and death. These myths were shaped by Buddhist beliefs of the afterlife, and the liminalities of reality and illusion in a theatrical society. The Chinese myth of resurrection is distinctively featured with the omnipotent *qing* and proves that 'love conquers all'. The myths are established in cultural memory and will continue to influence contemporary life.

Bye for now, until the next life!



Du Liniang and Scholar Liu, Jiangsu Province Performing Arts Group Kunju Theatre (江苏省演艺集团昆剧院)

Liniang fell asleep at the table when a young and handsome scholar appeared in her dream. He broke a branch from the willow tree in the garden and, smiling, said to her, 'Miss, since you are so well versed in literature and history, could you compose a poem to honour this willow?' Pleasantly surprised, Liniang was about to reply, but she refrained, thinking, 'I have never met this young man before; how could he enter my garden?' While she was still pondering, the scholar suddenly took her in an embrace to the side of the Peony Pavilion where they had sexual intercourse.<sup>10</sup> All of a sudden, Liniang was roused by her mother. Awakening in a cold sweat, she realised that the scholar was simply a figment of her imagination. The next morning, Liniang was dressing herself in front of the mirror when she realised she had become thinner and emaciated. She asked her maid, Chunxiang (春香), to fetch the four treasures of the study and began to paint a self-portrait.<sup>11</sup> The lovelorn Liniang sat idly in her boudoir until dusk. Her heart was burning, while her body felt nothing. Her longings for sexual love were irrepressible and continued to torture her for many days and nights. Knowing her body could endure it no longer,

才方合眼，忽见一书生，年方弱冠，丰姿俊秀，于园内折杨柳一枝，笑谓小姐曰：‘姐姐既能通书史，可作诗以赏之乎？’小姐欲答，又惊又喜，不敢轻言，心中自忖，素昧平生，不知姓名，何敢辄入于此。正如此思间，只见那书生向前将小姐搂抱去牡丹亭畔，芍药栏边，共成云雨之欢娱，两情和合，忽值母亲至房中唤醒，一身冷汗，乃是南柯一梦。[...] 次早，小姐临镜梳妆，自觉容颜清减，命春香取文房四宝至镜台边，自画一小影。[...] 自此丽娘暮色之甚，静坐香房 [...] 春情难遏，朝暮思之，执迷一性，恹恹成病 [...] 小姐自料不久，令春香请母亲至床前，含泪痛哭曰：‘不孝逆女，不能奉父母养育之恩，今忽夭亡，为天之数也。如我死后，



Liniang asked Chunxiang to invite her mother to her sickbed. She cried in tears, 'I am unable to return the love from my mother and father. How unfilial I am! It is my destiny to die a premature death. Now all I ask is to be buried under my favourite plum tree in the rear garden.' Having said this, Liniang died of a broken heart; the day was the Mid-Autumn Festival.<sup>12</sup>

Three years later, Scholar Liu Mengmei came across a scroll painting in a clump of grass while tidying up his study. Upon unrolling it, he found within the portrait of a beautiful woman comparable to the Moon Goddess.<sup>13</sup> It was getting late and Liu Mengmei longed to meet the woman in the portrait. Suddenly someone came knocking at the door, and he saw a young woman. Over the moon, he asked, 'Who are you that visits me at this hour of the night?' The woman replied, 'I am your neighbour's daughter. I came here to find you, attracted by your demeanour and knowledge; how I wish to be your wife!'<sup>14</sup> Mengmei undressed the woman and blew out the candle; they spent the night together as if they were husband and wife, filled with feelings of true love.

One night, the woman said in tears, 'Don't panic, my love. My name is Du Liniang, daughter of the former Prefect Du. At the age of eighteen, I had not yet been married. Overcome with emotion, I passed away from unbearable resentment. My body was buried under my favourite plum tree in the rear garden. Because of our predestined love from a previous life, I plead with you to inform your parents of my deeds. Ask them to come to the rear garden and open the coffin. Only in this way may I come back to life.'

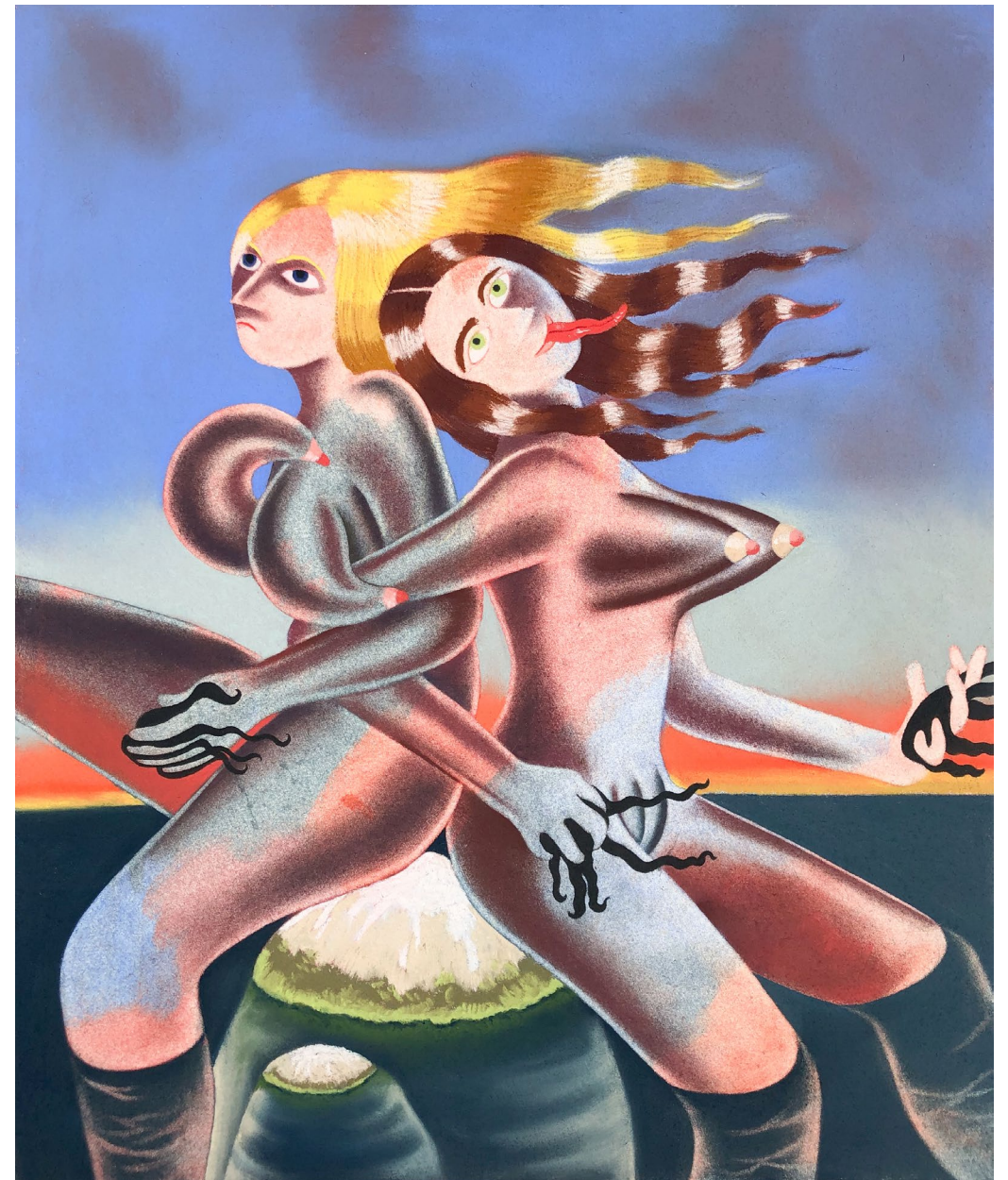
Mengmei reported the matter to his parents. His father was surprised and ordered his servants to dig up the coffin. Opening up the coffin, everyone was astonished to see Du Liniang looking as if she was still alive. Madam Liu said to her husband, 'Today, this young lady has been blessed with resurrection. She shall marry our son on a suitable date.'

Ten days later, the golden peacock fanned out its tail in gorgeous colours, and the peony blossomed on the embroidered bedsheet. After the grand banquet, Liniang and Scholar Liu shared the marital bed with bliss.

望母亲埋葬于后园梅树之下，平生愿足矣。’嘱罢，哽咽而卒，时八月十五也。

[三年后，] 这柳衙内因收拾书房，于草茅杂沓之中，获得一幅小画，展开看时，却是一幅美人图，画得十分容貌，宛如嫦娥。[...] 却好天晚，这柳衙内因想画上女子，心中不乐，[...] 忽闻门外有人扣门，[...] 见一女子。[...] 衙内惊喜相半，答礼曰：‘妆前谁氏，原来夤夜至此。’那女子 [...] 答曰：‘妾乃府西邻家女也，因慕衙内之丰采，故奔至此，愿与衙内成秦晋之欢 [...]’ 这衙内[...] 遂与女子解衣灭烛，归于帐内，效夫妇之礼，尽鱼水之欢。[...] 一夜，女子[...] 含泪而言曰：‘衙内勿惊，妾乃前任杜知府之女杜丽娘也。年十八岁，未曾适人，因慕情色，怀恨而逝，妾在日常所爱者后园梅树，临终遗嘱于母，令葬妾于树下 [...] 因与郎君有宿世姻缘未绝，[...] 君若不弃幻体，可将妾之衷情，告禀二位椿萱，来日可到后园梅树下，发棺视之，妾必还魂。’ [...] 柳知府听罢惊异，急唤人夫同去后园梅树下掘开，果见棺木，揭开盖棺板，众人视之，面颜俨然如活一般。[...] 夫人对相公曰：‘今小姐天赐还魂，可择日与孩子成亲。’

[...] 过了旬日，[...] 正是屏开金孔雀褥隐绣芙蓉。大排筵宴，杜小姐与柳衙内同归罗帐，并枕同衾，受尽人间之乐。<sup>15</sup>



*Sitting and Waiting* (from the series *By the Sea*), soft pastel on paper, 31.5 x 38 cm, 2019



## Backscatter

Cassandra Passarelli, University of Exeter

“This loveliest of nymphs gave birth at full term to a child whom, even then, one could fall in love with. Being consulted as to whether the child would live to a ripe old age, Teiresias replied ‘If he does not discover himself.’”

*Ovid’s Metamorphoses, Book III*

I could have left the lab early or joined my astrophysics colleagues for drinks. Quite frankly, it would be fine if I didn’t show up for work at all. I could have cycled on Dartmoor or gone for a dip in Exmouth. But I usually head to the farm around eight. That way, when I get home the kids will be in bed and YB will be waiting. I worried about the effects of Metamorphosis Gold on family life, but it’s so commonplace amongst fellow researchers, not joining would have been making a statement. So Jez mutates into YB each night, which she enunciates softly, ‘Why Be?’ and which I pronounce as it’s meant, ‘Your Bitch’. Since Jez and I got together five years ago things have been pretty stable. She’s back working as a beauty therapist after having the kids, because she enjoys it, not because she has to.

Jez stuck the schedule to the fridge door with a magnet, above our toddlers’ eyeline; it helps her get into the role. I get a frisson glancing at it over morning coffee, knowing that Jez will blossom into something else when I get home. Anna, my first wife, spoiled by the #MeToo shenanigans had hooked up to Your Beast, the girlie version. YB hasn’t yet come up with a simultaneous solution (the permutations being rather complex, like infinite probability theory). Anyway, a fresh start with Jez was fine by me. She’s a good girl; YB takes care of the rest.

I was also concerned about its side-effects. The corporation insists that the hormonal, physical and psychological effects are temporary, though it’s hard to understand how that can be. But scepticism is frowned on; for the sake of progress some things have to be sacrificed. Jez hinted she might try Your Beast but, men being so complex, I’m holding out. I’m in good enough shape, despite love handles and slackening jaw. Sometimes when I look in the mirror I feel a pang of nostalgia but with YB I don’t have to make concessions.

The creased print-out reads:

### MONDAY

#### Julia

Nurse

Blonde, Nordic and Fit

She’ll take your temperature, tuck you up, bring you something warm, fuss over you, and give you a blow job when you’re good and ready.

### TUESDAY

#### Nancy

Matron

Dark, Mediterranean, and Voluptuous

She scolds frequently, knows what she wants, and will tie you up if you’re naughty.

### WEDNESDAY

#### Pensri

Cleaner

Asian and Petite

She’ll have everything spanking clean before you get home. A bit chunky... but so? With three kids and a mother to support in Udon Thani, your word is her command.

### THURSDAY

#### Vladlena

Professional Sex Worker

Bleached, Slavic, Neurotic

Vladlena knows her trade and enjoys what she does. She’s skinny, made-up, wears underwired bras, and lacey G-strings.

### FRIDAY

#### Lucy

Schoolgirl

Fresh-faced

Lucy has eleven GCSEs and is doing her A-levels. Set to study medicine, she’s reducing her student loan by donating her body to you (instead of science).

## SATURDAY

**Amber**

Trans Dominatrix

More woman than any you've ever met

Amber knows what you need, because Amber was you. Perfect tits, a great ass, flawless features, and strong arms to wield that whip.

## SUNDAY

**Surprise!**

Sunday's child could be a super-model, an underage boy, your best friend's wife, your wife's best friend, conjoined twins, or the girl next door. She might be your secretary, but you've probably already had her. Or your sister, but without the comeback. A once-in-a-lifetime experience. No repeats. Never on Sunday.

The secret of the app's success, is that it's an implant in one single woman. And delivers what it promises: its super sensitive algorithms calibrate her responses with the right scents, the perfect quantity of lube and sweat, appropriate language and noises to give you 'a more sensual experience than your wet-dreams ever delivered'. She does, indeed, take your breath away. And because YB is implanted in your one and only, you never feel compromised. YB is one hundred percent discreet. You have sole rights to the YB chip – not even the carrier can access it. You're free to drop it into the nearest incinerator at any time and start over. Or preserve your preferences for posterity, giving them as a special gift to a friend, son or colleague.

The week in question, I'd struggled through the rostrum. A deep, unshakeable flatness permeated my waking and sleeping hours. Everything was at a remove, as though a syrupy fog of tedium had come between me and the world. Nothing my bevy of YBs could do, try as they did, bucked me up. I slept poorly, woke tense and found it hard to focus. A colleague suggested stopping at the Enhancer Centre, but I was so low I couldn't motivate myself. Friday night, turns out my boy has fever and Jez spends most of the night in his room. So I just turn in early.

The rest of the weekend, I mooch. Send out for a massage while Jez takes the kids to the park, smoke too much uber-weed, order in pizza. When Jez mentions I haven't touched YB since Thursday, I feel guilty. So I open the app;

## SUNDAY'S LUCKY STAR

This is for all of you risk-takers out there who want something different. A mind-blowing exercise in chance, YB bins your preferences and comes up with the unexpected; a shot in the dark, a random play. Even your server can't predict the results. This one separates the men from the boys. There is just one rule, though; whoever shows up, you're committed to. If you're feeling brave, take a deep breath and click 'Go!'

I do. Jez starts to vibrate and shudder. I step into the shower. In less than ten minutes she calls me in a husky, over-familiar voice. I walk into the bedroom, skin still damp, the towel around my hips and there, in front of me, is the last person in the world I expect. I stare, numbed by pins and needles, feels like I'm going to pass out. I think about grabbing the controls to change the option, but it's too late.

The person sitting on my bed, in my underwear and meeting my eyes with a disconcertingly steady gaze is... Me. Myself. Down to every last detail. George truly in a three-dimensional mirror. Except I/he has a separate life of his own. More Brocken spectre than specular or alpenglow, he's an optical illusion; a hologram in my boxer shorts, on the edge of my bed, like he's always been there. Like he owns the place. He doesn't smile or say anything, just looks at me, long and hard. And he yawns; a long, sad, disinterested yawn.

Until now I'd only thought about how YB looked, not what she was looking at. George wasn't a pretty sight. Once, when I was a student, I lived in a grotty flat for a few months. Opposite was a charming Victorian cottage. I told my mates that I was the lucky one, since my neighbour's view was of my new-build. I'd felt the same about YB. Work lunches, artificial lab light, lazy weekends; fifty years have misshapen George's decent body. I notice his skin is flushed, his lips drawn, and his shoulders stoop over a thickening trunk. George, in the meantime, is sizing me up; a look of disgust replacing the one of boredom, making him even less attractive. I feel trapped, while my nemesis looks distinctly uneasy.

'Well, I wasn't expecting you!' I hear myself saying, hoarsely.

'Likewise,' he replies, fixing me with a baleful look.

'Who are you?'

'I could well ask you,' he caroms back.

'Yes, but it's not the same, is it?' I venture.

'Isn't it?'

‘Well, obviously...’ nothing was obvious at all.

‘I bet if you call Jez in she wouldn’t be able to tell us apart,’ he yawns and drums his fingers on the mattress, duplicating a habit of mine.

‘But you *are* Jez,’ I don’t sound as confident as I’d hoped.

‘Really?’ he laughs in an unfriendly way. Standing up, he examines his reflection in the mirror: ‘Do I look like Jez?’

‘No, but you’re not supposed to, seeing as you’re YB.’

‘Now, who would that be?’ he asks without a trace of irony. Well, of course he wouldn’t know... any more than Pensri, Lucy or Amber did. Or did they? I’d never thought to inquire. I hadn’t even asked Jez what it felt like to be them. Had she Julia’s Scandinavian on the tip of her tongue, Lucy’s academic facility, or Amber’s history as a man? I hadn’t been the slightest bit curious about any aspect of her, other than her ability to satisfy me. But right now, faced with George, my fear was that he expected something. This was a disturbing new question that boiled down to meeting another’s desire.

‘Why be?’ He repeated, ‘Hmmm, that’s a good one. Not something we’ve troubled ourselves much over, is it George, my love?’ He cocks his hip off to one side and minces towards me, his head thrown back a little, his gaze fixed on me.

‘Georgie, Porgie, pudding and pie, kissed the girls...’

He’s cheek by jowl with me. So close I can smell him, my odour from his armpits and his breath the echo of mine; breath freshener and fustiness. The pores of his flushed skin, the brittle grey hair that curls on his chest, and the gelled dishevelment of his hair. Between his parted lips are the straight, white teeth my dentist has worked hard on. But it’s his sullen stare that puts the fear of God in me.

‘... and made them cry. But when the boys came out to play...’

I know the look, have seen it in my own eyes. But only now, embodied in another, did I understand its nihilism. Not an incomplete soul, like Plato’s emblematic half-man searching for completion, but a vortex sucking up everything in its path. He, Me, It, Whatever, is up against me now. George’s skin, the same temperature, touches mine. His arms reach around my neck. His glistening wet lips pucker over mine, still mouthing:

‘Georgie Porgie ran...’

I take a step back and putting both my palms on his chest, push hard. George falls, grabbing the light stand. As I turn heel on the landing I hear it crash. I stagger down the stairs and out the front door. I’m without a jacket or phone, just a bathroom towel about my waist. It’s a bleak, late-winter night. The streets are almost empty; the odd driver must see me but no one pulls over.

I feel only my heartbeat, my bare feet striking the pavement, the compulsion to escape. From what exactly... myself? Absurd. Yet I’m fleeing. When I reach

the Quays my thoughts are still broken. Music and laughter drift from the Samuel Jones. A few wasted girls cross the footbridge but I want to be alone; I turn south with the Exe, past the clutch of converted warehouses towards Duckes Meadow. The flow is strong and steady, a shopping trolley has wedged itself amongst the flotsam at the fall. I keep walking.

The sun is setting. I stand on Riverside Valley bank and watch the swans as I catch my breath. Amongst the sun’s reflected flame I make out my own faint image in the water, quite unlike the nemesis from which I’d escaped. From this angle, in the smooth flow of the river, a different reflection is thrown back. A different me is possible. Through a hard shell of reason and habit a possibility pulses. It seizes me so strongly that I sink to my knees and gaze on my reincarnating other like a starving man. A supple strength emanates from my miraculously elongating form. I want to be nowhere else, with no one else, but this marvellous new awareness. My breath slows until it stills. All I need slips through my pores effortlessly; pure oxygen and sugar syrup. My lower limbs are tender radicles pushing delicate monocot strings into the soil, the upper body and arms simplifying into meristems, growing, multiplying, thriving, fresh and tender. Numb with cold as night closes in, but I feel nothing but pleasure in my transformation.

Tomorrow something else will awake. Without eyes to size up, or skin to shudder, no organs to inhale another’s scent, taste skin, or hear seductions. What absolution. A tall keel and lengthy leaves stretch toward dawn, breaking across the Exe. In the pear-yellow corona and ivory chiffon halo, opening to the new day is the deepest, purest rapture.



## A Narrative Closure of History Through Myth: Samuel Cavero's *Un Rincón Para los Muertos* and the Internal Armed Conflict in Perú

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The 1980s were a time of crisis and turmoil in Peruvian society. The Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso, or Sendero Luminoso [Shining Path], was openly waging war against the Peruvian State. Shining Path's aim was to establish a new Peruvian State under their Maoist-inspired communist ideology.<sup>1</sup> Known today as the internal armed conflict or internal war, this violent chapter of the country's history developed mainly from 1980 to 2000.<sup>2</sup> Samuel Cavero's *Un rincón para los muertos* (1987) is a novel written during the first decade of the war. While not being a widely known narrative work, it has received some critical attention for being one of the first novels to address the controversial figure of Abimael Guzmán (1934–), Shining Path's leader. The novel narrates the life of Gonzalo Pomareda, a fictional account of Guzmán, from his youth until the beginning of the war. My reading of the novel focuses on the way it appeals to myth in order to close down Peruvian history: as an apocalyptic narrative, it imagines the end of Peruvian society as it collapses under the war's violence. It is my contention that Cavero's approach enabled him to provide his readers with an early interpretation of that violence, as he fictionalizes its origin and its eventual end. However, it also accounts for the narrative shortcomings of the novel, whose depiction of the war is strongly deterministic.

*Un rincón para los muertos* is one of the numerous works about the war written by Peruvian authors, and one of the few to be written by an active member of the Peruvian armed forces: Samuel Cavero had a military career before becoming a writer.<sup>3</sup> From the 2000s onwards there has been a substantial increase in the number of narrative works about the internal war.<sup>4</sup> Some have been translated for the international market, including novels that appeal to mythic elements, like the contentious *Lituma en los Andes* (1994) by Mario Vargas Llosa, and the more recent *Abril Rojo* (2006) by Santiago Roncagliolo.<sup>5</sup> This editorial impetus has been discussed within a wider debate in Peruvian society around the public construction of memory of the internal war.<sup>6</sup> Some of the main questions raised for the literary field concern the possibility of and ways to narrate the violence of the war; the narrative interpretation of the causes of violence; and the representation of indigenous people, the main victims of the conflict.<sup>7</sup>

According to Mark Cox, these debates have become heated because the very definition of the Peruvian country – and of being a writer in it – is at stake in them.<sup>8</sup>

The internal war shook the very foundations of the Peruvian nation. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the official organism sanctioned in 2001 to provide an extensive report of the war, has deemed it the most intensive period of violence in the Republican history of Perú.<sup>9</sup> The conflict was initiated by the armed intervention of Shining Path in the Andean region of Ayacucho. The Peruvian highlands around Ayacucho, a part of the Andean Mountains that is locally known as the *sierra*, became the core region of a conflict that spread through the whole country. Its impact, however, was dramatically uneven, strongly affecting Ayacucho and the surrounding regions. People of indigenous descent, who comprised the majority of the population there, became the main victims of a conflict that claimed almost 70,000 lives; 75% of the victims spoke an indigenous language as their mother tongue.<sup>10</sup> In this sense, Cavero's aim in *Un rincón para los muertos* is to take the reader to the *sierra*, the areas first and most affected by the conflict.

The text goes back to the 1960s to understand the war. At the time the country was going through an attempt to redistribute the land through agrarian reforms.<sup>11</sup> Cavero reimagines Abimael Guzmán (whose *nom de guerre* was President Gonzalo) as Gonzalo Pomareda, the son of conservative landowners from Ayacucho. Pomareda positions himself as the leader of a revolutionary movement that pushes the indigenous peasants to rise up in arms and bring an end to the current social order in Perú. The novel ends with the destruction of his parents' *hacienda*, a state of widespread catastrophe in the region and, implicitly, in the whole country.<sup>12</sup> Lucero De Vivanco therefore mentions *Un rincón* as one of a series of novels from the mid-1980s that address the conflict from an apocalyptic perspective: texts that query not only the causes of the violence of the war, but also its present consequences and future projections.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, De Vivanco has proposed that apocalyptic imaginaries in Perú can be traced back to the time of Conquest (1492–1833) taking multiple narrative forms up until the present day, as the problematic social conditions that they address persist in the country.<sup>14</sup> In a similar vein, I propose that Cavero's novel reimagines Perú to convey the idea that the country's history has always been oriented towards its eventual destruction.

Apart from De Vivanco's study, recent analyses of *Un rincón* have not addressed the ways in which apocalyptic myth informs both its plot and structure. According to Lois Parkinson Zamora, biblical apocalypse 'embodies two parallel quests, one for an understanding of history, the other for the means to narrate that understanding. It bequeaths to contemporary fiction a wonderful

complex of images of historical processes, and also of the act of writing itself'.<sup>15</sup> Following this idea, Caverro's novel can be read as an attempt to provide a meaning for the pervading violence in Peruvian society at the time; but also, as a search for a language capable of narrating that crisis. It is my contention that the novel's interpretation of violence is articulated in three layers: first, an indigenous myth about a past catastrophe to be reiterated; secondly, Gonzalo Pomareda as the prophetic figure who conveys the message; and thirdly, the biblical apocalyptic myth that announces the end of times. In the ending of the novel the three layers coalesce and its title, roughly translated as 'a corner for the dead', is realised: Peruvian society lies in ruins.<sup>16</sup> The novel finds, therefore, a language to narrate violence through its characterisation of the war as an apocalypse foretold. However, this same gesture ends up deeming the occurrence of the war inevitable, thus obscuring the same historical background that serves as inspiration for the novel. In the following pages, I will explore this process in detail by analysing the three proposed narrative layers.

### A fatalistic indigenous myth

The first chapters of *Un rincón* outline a historical context for the subsequent emergence of Shining Path. Caverro imagines Gonzalo Pomareda as the rebellious son of landowners that rule over the indigenous communities of Pacaycasa y Ocopa in Ayacucho. Returning to the familial *hacienda*, he takes the side of the exploited indigenous peasants that work for his family. In this way, the novel connects Pomareda – and consequently, Shining Path – to the demands of the historically dispossessed indigenous people in Perú and Latin America.<sup>17</sup> This gesture was not uncommon at the time in which the novel was written. As Carlos Degregori has commented, many early interpretations of the Shining Path movement erroneously supposed that its ideology and member base showed strong identification with the indigenous world.<sup>18</sup> Further knowledge of the organisation and of the atrocities it committed against the indigenous population would in time disprove these initial theories. Caverro's novel is an example of this early approach, as can be seen in its depiction of indigenous people:

The end of the world was always very close, very close to them; they knew. So it grew in the popular imagination of the Indians and in their own Andean myths, a sort of fatal prophecy that would be revealed in Pacaycasa and Ocopa. Prophesied evil would come. Plagues, drought, the evil of hate, rancour and revenge, would come. And the apocalypse of these peoples would arrive, leaving them in rubble, like Huari.<sup>19</sup>

This constitutes the first layer of apocalyptic prophecy in the novel. When the reader reaches its last pages, everything that is summarily announced here has come to happen: the droughts, revenge, and the end of the world. The text is explicit about reimagining the catastrophe of war as nothing less than apocalypse itself. The passage works as a narrative anticipation of the following chapters of the novel and especially of its ending. It states that prophesied evil is coming, and subsequent events in the novel continuously reaffirm that prophecy until its realisation. As stated by Parkinson, this directed concordance between beginning and ending is characteristic of apocalyptic narratives.<sup>20</sup> What is distinctive here, however, is the appeal to Andean indigenous myth in fatalistic terms.

What is key here is the mention of Huari (a pre-Columbian indigenous society) because the novel in its last chapters reveals the Huari myth (the Pacaycasa and Ocopa prophecy from the quoted passage) that determines the end of the world. The myth tells the story of a failed marriage between rival indigenous groups that condemns the Ayacucho region to its periodic destruction. The purpose of this first layer is to give historical depth to the fictional Perú of the novel, as a myth from the distant past prophesies the future end of violence. However, the invented Huari indigenous myth will only come to fruition within the novel's broader apocalyptic framework. In this sense the novel is another iteration of a long line of narrative works, in Latin America and Perú, that exoticise indigenous people.<sup>21</sup> Despite the seemingly historical approach of its first chapters, the novel's depiction of indigenous people is strongly fatalistic. They appear to be ultimately doomed, belonging to the past more than to the present. Correspondingly, they are powerless to fulfil even their own apocalyptic prophecy. This is a role that Caverro allocates to his fictional Abimael Guzmán.

### Gonzalo Pomareda as a prophet of war

Caverro's fictional portrayal of Shining Path's leader is one of the most questioned elements of the novel. Historically, Guzmán was captured in 1992, during Alberto Fujimori's authoritarianism, severely weakening his movement.<sup>22</sup> But back then in the 1980s, he was an elusive individual leading a ruthless war. Julio Roldán speaks of a 'mythification' of his figure, addressing the countless interpretations about his past, his capabilities and his whereabouts that came to configure a completely different persona.<sup>23</sup> Roldán specifically mentions Caverro's novel as an attempt to deconstruct the Guzmán myth that ends up having the contrary effect. This idea is further developed by Mark Cox, who specifies that 'in reflecting press reports and popular rumours about Abimael Guzmán in the description of Gonzalo Pomareda, the novel reinforces Gonzalo (Guzmán) as a mythical

personality beyond the reach of mortals'.<sup>24</sup> Roldán and Cox employ the word myth only to designate ideas about Guzmán that acquired a life of their own, becoming unfalsifiable by historical facts. My reading of the novel focuses on the biblical overtones of that transition from history to myth in its depiction of Guzmán.

The characterization of Pomareda is the second layer of the novel's apocalyptic interpretation of violence. Halfway through the text, when Pomareda has already initiated the insurgence in Ayacucho, he explicitly refers to himself as a prophet. Pomareda believes that his revolt will redeem the country, and he writes a revolutionary manual intended to be a Bible for his followers (with an esoteric codification of his own invention). He foresees the transformation of Ayacucho and the whole country into a land for the dead.<sup>25</sup> In his portrayal of Pomareda – and perhaps unexpectedly – Cavero manages to convey the fact that the historical Abimael Guzmán effectively believed himself capable of shaping history. In his nuanced analysis of Shining Path's beginnings, Carlos Degregori notes the transformation of Guzmán's discourse as he 'decides to become a prophet of the

Apocalypse'; a prophet that 'doesn't appeal to Andean [indigenous] tradition but repeatedly and surprisingly to biblical tropes'.<sup>26</sup> The centrality of his figure for Shining Path's ideology can be seen in one of their propaganda posters (left).

Like in this image, in *Un rincón* the figure of Shining Path's leader takes centre stage. In this regard, I want to stress the schematic nature of Gonzalo Pomareda as a character. The novel attempts to produce an intimate portrait of him, a sort of biography unveiling his ideas and feelings. But Pomareda is a character whose development consists mostly in performing the same actions that by 1987



Shining Path poster from May 1985, celebrating five years of war. As in many of their images, Abimael Guzmán's figure is clearly visible and of bigger size than the surrounding elements.<sup>28</sup>

his historical counterpart had already carried out. This reiteration reinforces the inevitability of those events. In a similar vein, Eduardo Larrea's critical reading of the novel has noted the numerous gaps in the narration, supposedly key episodes that are promptly skipped and left to the reader's imagination – like Pomareda's execution of his stepfather.<sup>27</sup> If we consider *Un rincón* as an apocalyptic novel, the uneven narration of Pomareda's life, if not entirely justified, takes on a different meaning: what matters most is its ending. In the fictional Perú built around Pomareda, the fate of his character is tied to the war's future. Following this, the novel's final chapters not only complete what was predicted by the Pacaycasa and Ocopa myth and by Pomareda, they also attempt to glimpse into the country's future.

### Moral judgment and the closure of violence

In a distinctively apocalyptic manner, *Un rincón* is a text that provides a moral assessment not only of the war, but of Peruvian society of the time. The condemnatory tone of the narration, while not absent from the previous chapters, becomes very explicit towards the end of the novel. With Pomareda being a prophetic messenger of destruction, denunciation of his acts comes from a different character, the priest Armando Capote. The latter brings apocalyptic discourse to the inhabitants of Pacaycasa and Ocopa and identifies Pomareda with the biblical Beast.<sup>29</sup> Some readings suggest that the novel criticises the historical role of the Catholic Church in the country, for example when the text narrates how the priests abandon the indigenous communities as the uprising starts.<sup>30</sup> While this may be partially true, in its themes and narrative structure *Un rincón* is a novel strongly informed by Catholic imagery and morality. When judging the effects of the war over Ayacucho, the narrator identifies Gonzalo Pomareda and Shining Path with Evil itself:

And so it was that vandalism, pillage and appetencies from the outbreak of an armed uprising of communist ideology increased the despair of oppressors and oppressed, of just ones and sinners, of everyone. Festivities were postponed, traditional costumes were dispelled, and evil sank its claws in with greater vehemence than in previous years.<sup>31</sup>

In the quoted passage the arrival of what is deemed evil to the Ayacucho region supersedes any previous distinctions, including that between oppressors (like the landowners) and oppressed (in this case, indigenous people). This is the third and final layer of the novel's apocalyptic interpretation of violence. The narrator states that evil, though not unheard of in the past, has reached an absolute.



It is the end of times, an expected, pre-determined ending, one that could not have been any other way: a conclusion that is hinted at from the first pages of the novel and throughout. The narrative closure of violence is accomplished by giving it an origin, a development and an end. As the world is destroyed, violence unfolds into itself. In the last pages of the text, a monument to freedom acquires a voice to make the definitive reflection upon history. The monument laments its own destruction and states that human beings brought this conclusion upon themselves. It also asks God not to be abandoned, and affirms that, despite the catastrophe, it will not yield, like Good.<sup>32</sup> The monument speaks, myth and history coalesce, judgment is complete.

But does the world really end? Here we are reminded of what James Berger calls a common paradox of apocalyptic text, the fact that it ‘announces and describes the end of the world, but then the text doesn’t end, nor does the world represented in the text, and neither does the world itself’.<sup>33</sup> Cavero seems to be aware of this difficulty. In the novel’s epilogue, a group of soldiers that was chasing Pomareda realizes that he is not the one they are looking for: ‘he is not the big fish’.<sup>34</sup> And then, in the very last sentence, the narrator ambiguously asks the reader about the whereabouts of both Pomareda and Guzmán, calling them by their common name, Gonzalo: ‘Where may Gonzalo be? ...Do you know?’.<sup>35</sup> The same text, whose narrative is built around the similarity between Pomareda and Guzmán, unfolds them again into two different personas. Just as Pomareda is on the run and the fictional Perú of *Un rincón* apparently survives its apocalypse, back then in 1986 Guzmán was still free and the war ongoing.

## Conclusions

As mentioned before, Cavero’s *Un rincón para los muertos* is an example of apocalyptic narrative written in a traumatic and recent context of Peruvian history – it is a novel that manages to find a language to narrate violence. It was certainly not the first text to achieve such a feat, as numerous Peruvian authors, especially those from the Andean regions most affected by violence, were writing about the war in its early years.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, the novel works as an example of how a writer, by means of a literary appeal to myth, can provide an interpretation of a phenomenon as difficult to describe as war violence. Perhaps the novel’s main limitation (which may account as well for its fatalistic depiction of indigenous people, or its controversial portrayal of Abimael Guzmán) lies in the urgency of its apocalyptic language: the only meaning it can find in the war seems to be that it was inevitable, expected, long foretold. In this gesture, the novel conceals the very same historical context that it intended to elucidate.



*Venus at the Beach*, soft pastel on paper, 32 x 38 cm, 2019

## Common Nostalgia & Collective Memory: Norman Rockwell, Thornton Wilder, and Nostalgic Visualisation of the Small-Town Myth

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In 1861, when Abraham Lincoln boarded a railroad car in Springfield, Illinois, the White House awaiting him at the train's terminus, he looked upon his rural hometown and its inhabitants with a wistful gaze. 'To this place and the kindness of these people, I owe everything', Lincoln remarked to an adoring, if modest, crowd. With his departure, the small-town beginnings of America's most storied president faded to myth.<sup>1</sup>

Like so many of America's canonical figures, both real and fictive, Lincoln's small-town roots are fundamental to his renown. They are roots that mark not simply the origin site of his legacy but that make him fallible, and even kin. The myth of Lincoln is in many ways the myth of the small-town writ large; he embodies what Tim Cresswell describes as the 'search for an authentic sense of place' by providing a self-contained backstory in which subject and place become mythically entwined.<sup>2</sup>

Nathanael T. Booth's recent publication, *American Small-Town Fiction 1940–1960*, restates the cultural capital of small-town America in both historic and contemporary life; he declares that 'the small town is foundational to America's self-fashioning'.<sup>3</sup> In fact, he claims that the small-town is the site of the 'primal American myth'; it is a hub of American identity and experience that exists both physically and ideologically in contemporary culture (p. 42).<sup>4</sup> Booth taps into a critical tradition and discourse that similarly affirms the perpetual myth of small-town America. Miles Orvell refers to the 'powerful ideology' of the small-town's 'constructed space'; Ryan Poll refers to such localised communities as an 'abstract national imaginary'; the sociologist Robert Wuthnow teases out the multivalent meanings of local communities by suggesting there is a 'town under every town'.<sup>5</sup> These critics suggest that small-town America is the national hometown, that it is a nostalgic hearth around which a very specific, exclusive American identity has long been centred. It is a place that is both fictive and physical, a cartograph where memories and collective experiences are coordinated. All roads lead to our own personal Springfield, Illinois.

The myth of the American small-town as the perfect community has endured across the nineteenth and twentieth century and into contemporary culture. Over this period, it has experienced several key recalibrations and challenges that variously reconstruct and dismantle its prevailing myth structures. Late nineteenth-century writers such as Mary E. Wilkins Freeman and Sarah Orne Jewett were popular writers of 'local colour' fiction, a literary realist movement that principally focused on the 'evocative representation of the customs, manner of speech, dress, or other features characteristic of a particular place or period', and that was very often set in rural New England villages.<sup>6</sup> In the interwar period, however, a more critical and self-reflexive reviling of the small-town space became dominant through the 'revolt from the village' movement. An article by Carl Van Doren in *The Nation* coined this term to describe Midwestern writers such as Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, and others who considered the small town to be a subject of scorn.<sup>7</sup>

Following the Wall Street Crash and the national economic crisis that followed, a further shift in the small-town mythos was effected. Many artists and writers turned longingly to the pre-war small-town as a symbol of America's ostensibly lost innocence, a repository of old-fashioned values buried in the dust of the Depression. Two of these artists, the dramatist Thornton Wilder (1897–1975) and the illustrator Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), took America's lamentations for a lost past and gave it dramatic form, with their works mutually using nostalgia and sentiment to visually reconstruct the memories of a fallen American idyll.

This essay aims to examine how Wilder and Rockwell, separated by artistic medium, are both united in their use of collective memory, nostalgia, power of suggestion, and common cultural referents to revive the small-town setting. By close-reading their overlapping artistic techniques, the thematic mode through which Wilder and Rockwell shape and endorse the small-town mythology will be made legible. From Wilder's absent staging and fourth-wall appeals to memory through Rockwell's marked use of the nostalgic vignette, it will here be demonstrated how each artist gives shape and colour to the amorphous, protean myth of the small town.

Wilder's *Our Town* (1938) is reportedly the most produced play in American history, and it limns one of the more overtly sentimental, bucolic visions of small-town America of its time. Grover's Corner, 'just across the Massachusetts Line, latitude 42 degrees 40 minutes, longitude 70 degrees 37 minutes', is a rural utopia that cannot be found on any map, in spite of Wilder's geographic specificity.<sup>8</sup> Its Main Street is lined with the usual amenities of regional America (a barbershop,

a tavern, 'Mr Morgan's drugstore', a grocery shop). It is seated in the shadow of 'our mountain' and enveloped by verdant farmland.<sup>9</sup> It is a place where, before the automobile came and mobilised America, a dog 'could go to sleep all day in the middle of Main Street and nothing come along to disturb him'.<sup>10</sup>

Mapped by a common system of rural referents, from town halls to town squares, storefronts to train stations, Wilder renders Grover's Corner as the objective American utopia. He confirms the New England village as a space 'pregnant with meaning in the construction of American identity'.<sup>11</sup> Despite this emphasis on setting, *Our Town* famously uses no illustrated backdrops, no staging props, no adornments, furnishings, or decorations. The production typically makes use of a dozen or so wooden chairs, a few tables, and two ladders. There is no visual indication on stage that Grover's Corner exists, that any setting of any kind exists; it is Wilder's metanarratorial figure of the 'Stage Manager', and the invocation of his audience's collective visual memory, that wills Grover's Corner into being.

In Act One, the stage manager describes a series of rural vignettes that take place in the village and remarks to the audience, 'you all remember what it was like'.<sup>12</sup> Wilder directly appeals to a collective consciousness here, and the use of the past tense betrays his wider lamentations on small-town America's obsolescence. By conjuring these nostalgic memories of hometowns both old and new, both lived and imagined, via each audience member, Grover's Corner is projected brick-by-brick. The audience's collective psychologies pave its roads, furnish its houses, and people its sidewalks with their own lived experiences. It is a dramatic telepathy like no other.

Miles Orvell, who describes the American small town ideal as both a lode-stone of common experience as well as an exclusionary space, comments upon these ideas of collective memory: 'Main Street was what we all shared, it was symbolically where we all lived, it was the common space, the public space, as opposed to the private, as if all Americans lived in one immense small town'.<sup>13</sup> Wilder's play embraces this ideology; he imagines Grover's Corner without any visual signifiers, and uses the metaphysical architecture of memory and sentiment to build his quaint rural burg. In fact, Wilder himself was vocal about the importance of such techniques in theatre throughout his career:

When you emphasise place in the theatre, you drag down and limit and harness time to it. You thrust the action back into past time, whereas it is precisely the glory of the state that it is always 'now' there. Under such production methods the characters are all dead before the action starts.<sup>14</sup>

The paradox here is that Wilder uses the tropes and fashions of a pre-war American cultural landscape, the very 'past time' which he finds so repellent, to give his play shape and setting. He successfully recreates a small-town environment through a past image, with minimal staging and other visual cues. Most telling, however, is his emphasis on the immediate and the 'now'. His 'action' of projecting collective consciousness from stalls to stage presents a vision of how small-town America might look, and could look, or has perhaps never looked at *all*. The immediacy of Wilder's play is such that the small-town becomes more realised, more tangible, than if it were given physical shape care of staging and set design. By mentally mapping Grover's Corner against the expectations and experiences of his audience, Wilder 'set[s] the village against the largest dimensions of time and place', and, in doing so, successfully stages the small-town environment with minimal physical accoutrements.<sup>15</sup> The small-town myth becomes material, albeit psychologically.

Wilder's evocation of small-town myth through suggestion and memory also extends beyond the play's setting and to the actions of his characters. When Mrs. Gibbs, mother of the play's quasi-protagonist George Gibbs, is introduced along with her home, she performs domesticity in a manner that not only typifies gendered, pre-war norms but also exemplifies the down-home simplicity of small-town America:

Mrs Gibbs, a plump, pleasant woman [...] pulls up an imaginary window shade in her kitchen and starts to make a fire in her stove.<sup>16</sup>

All of these actions described are mimed, though they are recognisable in their description and performance as the domestic rituals of rural life.

Whilst these actions could be equally found in an urban environment, the proximity of the Stage Manager walking along the adjacent Main Street as they occur, as well the proximal relationship between the play's imaginary houses, suggests a local, contained community scene that befits the small-town ideal. Elsewhere, Wilder describes two local institutions – the grocery store and Mr. Morgan's Drug Store – and how 'most everybody in town manages to look into those two stores once a day'.<sup>17</sup> We are led to believe, through Wilder's direction, that the mere act of opening a kitchen window or visiting a shop is quintessentially rural. They seem, in spite of all their simplicity, to be acts that could only occur in Grover's Corner.

Similarly, the stage manager, who is a curious hybrid of omniscient mediator and mayoral figure, assumes a performative role as a drugstore attendant midway through the play and serves George Gibbs and Emily Webb, George's childhood sweetheart.



He sets the imaginary glasses before them.

STAGE MANAGER

There they are. Enjoy 'em.

He sees a customer, right.

STAGE MANAGER

Yes, Mrs. Ellis. What can I do for you?

He goes out right.<sup>18</sup>

The stage manager, Wilder's most innovative narrative device, is both tour-guide and officiant of Grover's Corner. He steps in and out of scenes at will, doing so with one knowing eye forever trained on the audience.

The drugstore scene is typical of small-town American ritual; the institution itself is in many ways, along with 'Main Street', a synecdoche for rural communities across the nation. From Norman Rockwell's sentimental illustrations of rural life, exemplified by his four-decade career as cover artist for *The Saturday Evening Post*, to Frank Capra's archetypal American hometown of Bedford Falls in *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), the drugstore is an important commercial and social hub of any discerning small-town. A distinct American identity is reflected back in the chrome-piping of its countertop, and conversations of both local and national import occur over coffee in its Formica booths. It is these very ideas that Wilder evokes in *Our Town* through attention to these social spaces, and his invocation of audience memory in order to construct them.

Such institutions are crucial to Wilder's visualisation of the small-town myth. They transcend, in his own words, 'time and place' to achieve a total production of this enduring American ideal.<sup>19</sup> Brooke Wortham-Galvin, writing on the 'fabrication' of New England utopias in Wilder's play and other literary works, remarks upon the region as 'a place where people use the physical capital of close proximity and small-town morphology to reinforce the social capital and mores of an imagined village'.<sup>20</sup> It is these very institutions described by Wilder – drug stores, school houses, town halls – that Wortham-Galvin finds so illuminating. He notes the potentiality for the region itself to assume an 'imagined', transcendent position in America's cultural DNA, and so it naturally offers fertile ground for the projection and creation of Grover's Corner; the archetypal New England village. Ultimately, Wilder creates a vision of an imagined American real, a composite of half-remembered childhoods and summer vacations anchored to a single place. It is a geographical impossibility with a set of plottable coordinates. Grover's Corner is a composite environment of various community tropes,

and is sustained by a belief in its purity and truth by an audience longing for a past that is not their own.

The illustrator and painter Norman Rockwell found mutual inspiration in the habits and social mores of small-town America. For over four decades, Rockwell was America's artist of rural life par excellence, one who 'defly chronicled the best of twentieth-century American life'.<sup>21</sup> Apple-cheeked boy scouts, tyre-swings hanging limply over swimming holes, plumes of infield dirt blowing across the town's baseball diamond; these are the indices of Rockwell's America, where 'the women are strong, all the men are good-looking, and all the children are above average'.<sup>22</sup> Rockwell himself noted that his role as an illustrator was to 'draw pictures to suggest the locale or the characters in an already-written story', with the implication here that Rockwell considered small-town America to be a narrative with which the entire nation was familiar; a belief matched by Wilder and his absent set design.<sup>23</sup> Instead, he needed only to draw attention to a few familiar referents (drugstores, front rooms, train stations) to denote the wider utopian myth of small-town America.

Thomas Buechner, writing in 1970 on Rockwell's career and his invocation of nostalgia, astutely points out that 'people, millions of them, enjoy his point of view. It is their point of view, full of things they remember or can imagine or would like to imagine'.<sup>24</sup> This quote could just as easily describe Wilder and *Our Town*, such is the nature of both figures and their desire to tap into collective memory and consciousness. If we are to take nostalgia as the prevailing leitmotif in representations of the New England small town, then Buechner's references to what the audience 'would like to imagine' is vital in understanding why artistic representations of small-town America remain so grounded in nostalgia; both ersatz and historical. It is a myth into which the white middle-class has invested deeply; their own childhoods are largely bound up within it. The belief in this myth extends to their Presidents, and favourite film stars, whose small-town beginnings are frequently sentimentalised on campaign trails and in journalistic profiles to ostensibly authenticate their claims to American identity. Rockwell's, and Wilder's, artistic *raison d'être* taps into this bedrock of human experience and gives it visual form. They allow paying customers to roll back the years and see their dreams of youth, and their obsolescent memories both lived and imagined, in striking visual and dramatic form.

So many of Rockwell's most famous works depict a tableau of community and imbue these scenes with deep affection and nostalgia for a now-anachronistic way of life. 'Shuffleton's Babershop' (1950) is one of Rockwell's most accomplished compositions: it takes one of the aforementioned core institutions of small-town America – the barbershop – and it allows this location to narrate

macro ideas of community and belonging.<sup>25</sup> A work of layered apertures, from window to doorway, 'Shuffleton's Barbershop' presents community in micro-cosm.<sup>26</sup> The potbelly stove, a typical symbol of both domesticity and sociability, is burned down to its embers in the main room. Beyond it, in the back of the shop, we see a warm and inviting communal interaction between a group of elderly men. The window, with its commercial type printed across the glass, may as well be the storefront of any shop on any main street in any of the nation's small towns. Like Wilder, Rockwell's mastery comes from dissembling ideas of time and place, presenting an enduring, ever-present utopia instead that appears suspended in its own hermetic temporality.

Richard Halpern notes that 'in Shuffleton's Barbershop, as in much of Rockwell's work, social and aesthetic nostalgia converge'.<sup>27</sup> Here, he highlights the significance of such scenes in their promotion of American innocence. This single interior seems to bespeak the town beyond; there is, wrapped up in the warm glow of the barbershop and its elderly musicians, a narrative of an entire unseen community and the utopia of which they are a part. Halpern concludes his analysis of the painting with the following:

Of course, small towns still existed in America, and Rockwell lived in one at the time. But the advanced age of the musicians in Shuffleton's Barbershop, combined with the somewhat tattered condition of the shop itself, invest the image with elegy – the sense that this fragile way of life, like the old men themselves, will soon be passing away.<sup>28</sup>

The myth of the small-town is very much predicated on this idea of its imminent departure, on its 'passing away' into a historic golden-era that is never to be revisited. Communities like Grover's Corner, and Rockwell's various unseen towns and villages, are permanently caught at their eleventh-hour. They are the final outpost against modernity, and Rockwell and Wilder's audience take comfort in the fact that these worlds are hermetically sealed and seemingly indestructible. These towns are armoured by memory and empathetic connection with an audience of small-town expatriates.

Perhaps Rockwell's most overt tribute to the small towns and main streets of which he is so fond is 'Stockbridge Main Street at Christmas' (1967), a work in which the titular town is depicted as a yuletide haven of warm light, freshly-fallen snow, and cheerful shoppers.<sup>29</sup> The perspective of the town, taken from a seemingly invented vantage point, captures Stockbridge as a kind of cross-section, and Rockwell portrays each of its institutions (residences, town hall, church, shops) in the same fairy-light glow of evening. Miles Orvell addresses this Edenic sensibility to Rockwell's style when he writes:

Offering them a unifying model against which they could shape their lives [...] Rockwell's covers gave form to that model, incarnating a world of family doctors, and family dinners, of drugstores and barber-shops, diners and train stations, of Christmas and Thanksgiving.<sup>30</sup>

Behind the town's main street, the dark and encroaching mountains of the nation – perhaps of modernity – lie in winter shadow and Stockbridge sits in their foothills as last best hope for American community. 'Stockbridge Main Street at Christmas' is equally informative when we consider Rockwell's belief and insistence on innocence within his work. Innocence forms the core conceit of Rockwell's visual catalogue, with his subjects and their homes unblemished by the smoggy fallout of an industrialised, modern nation. Richard Halpern notes how '[His paintings] are not so much innocent as they are about the ways we manufacture innocence' (p.2). Here he addresses a key characteristic of the small-town American myth: it is manufactured equally by material as it is by memory, and Rockwell and Wilder are two of its greatest merchants.<sup>31</sup>

Stockbridge's high street is presented, in many ways, as a composite much like Grover's Corner: its buildings fit together so neatly, and its colonial-revival architecture is so ordered, that it achieves a near-perfection of small-town planning. Here, a utopia is crafted from both real and imagined memory, of what is remembered and what would like to be remembered. As Wortham-Galvin writes, 'The persistence of the idea of the New England village thus represents an effort to fabricate a culturally and physically coherent idea of America.'<sup>32</sup> Grover's Corner and Stockbridge, both small towns in Massachusetts – one fictive and one real – take the unreliable and often changeable nature of memory, and they present it as a 'physically coherent' community that invites navigation and interaction. Its appeal lies in its fixedness.

In the works of Wilder and Rockwell, the myth of the American small-town as a utopian space is given visual and dramatic credence. It is an exclusive American space where WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) nuclear families are the core demographic, where repressive social mores and the elision of other ethnicities dominates.<sup>33</sup> As with Disneyland's entrance hub of 'Main Street, USA', where nostalgia is transformed into a navigable hub of memory, sentiment and acts as reclamation of America's 'innocent years', the small-town myth has adopted mawkish proportions in American culture and is recognisable only to those it includes.<sup>34</sup>

What Wilder and Rockwell achieve in their respective works is an expert visualisation of a deep-rooted ideological myth; they trust their intended demographic to delve deep into their own psyches, and they produce an authentic

small-town rendering. Memories and nostalgia intersect like a crossroads on Main Street, and in the storefront windows stand the reflections of an American people eerily homologous.

Rockwell's ubiquitous works of everyday people and the places they inhabit, featured in museums and magazines alike, remind us that some American dreams cannot die. In theatres across the country, from makeshift stages in high school gymnasiums to the bright lights of Broadway, audiences continue to sit and listen as the story of Grover's Corner unfolds before them and within them. Thomas Wolfe once wrote that you can never go home again; Wilder and Rockwell tell Americans they can.



*The hanging rings are removed allowing the two out of the netting, and the lusty maids have found their favourite,*  
soft pastel on paper, 101 x 153 cm, 2018



## In this Age of Wonders: Exploring the Myth of George Muller

Kate Brooks, Bath Spa University

### Introduction: 'Seen even by the natural eye'

Muller's New Orphan Homes in Bristol, five large, grey, Victorian buildings, built over a few decades from the 1830s to the 1870s, collectively remain the largest single-site children's home ever built in Britain.<sup>1</sup> Initially founded by George Muller (1805–1898) in his home in 1836, then moved to Ashley Down, the purpose-built institution could accommodate 2000 children at one time, and operated for approximately a century.<sup>2</sup> Children were admitted on the grounds that they were the bereaved offspring of married, Christian, destitute parents. The 'Orphs' as they were popularly known in the city, remained enclosed in the institution and its grounds, apart from weekly Chapel visits and an annual parade to celebrate Muller's birthday. In its initial decades, charitably-minded visitors were encouraged. Hundreds turned up weekly, including Charles Dickens and Lord Shaftesbury, to watch the children eating, sleeping and learning.<sup>3</sup> The institution was a popular city tour destination.<sup>4</sup> The children were only part of the attraction though: the institution's founder was, in his day, famed throughout the world. Muller's miraculous achievements rivalled that of his contemporary and fellow Bristol emigrant, Isambard Kingdom Brunel.

For my PhD, I am researching Muller's considerable achievements in the education and care of the orphans, from the mid 1800s to the turn of the century. I am also the grateful great granddaughter of orphan no. 458. I would probably not be here, had Muller not taken in my great grandfather and his four siblings from the cholera-ridden slums of Willenhall in the 1830s. I am focusing on Muller's *Narratives*, which were regularly published, and widely-circulated, pamphlet versions of his diaries, recounting the day-to-day life of the orphanage and how donations were funding its operation.<sup>5</sup> Extracts from each *Narrative* would be reported in newspapers, locally and nationally.<sup>6</sup> But approaching this research is not so simple: I am a confirmed atheist, and this article is my attempt to find some way to tell the story of a renowned Christian preacher, who remains a key figure in evangelical Christian writing, from an alternative viewpoint. Is there a way of respecting this narrative, whilst evaluating it from an academic and secular perspective?

### Meeting George Muller

George Muller is quite a character to take on. Muller was a visionary, a preacher, a born-again evangelical, and controversial co-founder of the Plymouth Brethren. His influence still inspires evangelical Christian missionaries today.<sup>7</sup> Prussian born, six-foot-six, and a reformed gambler, womaniser and drinker, Muller decided to build a vast orphanage in Bristol, relying on the power of prayer to build and maintain it. His aim was to demonstrate 'the reality [...] of God'.<sup>8</sup> This, he wrote, was 'best done by the establishment of an Orphan-House. It needed to be something that could be seen, even by the natural eye'.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the orphanage would function as a salutary example to unbelievers, and a rallying cry to Muller's followers, a 'practical demonstration of what could be accomplished simply through [...] prayer'.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, as his biographies state, the five buildings were erected along the city skyline between 1849 and 1868, with funds raised simply through donations.<sup>11</sup> Even in 'this age of wonders', biographer Elfe Tayler wrote in 1871, this was 'truly marvellous'.<sup>12</sup>

The Muller Foundation still exists. It is no longer specifically Plymouth Brethren, but it still actively spreads the Christian word, inspiring Christians with stories of Muller's apparently miraculous achievements.<sup>13</sup> The Foundation itself sells biographies that detail, for example, how Muller was given land and building materials as the result of prayer. Similar stories are told and retold in these biographies, such as the story of a miraculous breakfast in the institution's early days. Despite an empty kitchen, Muller seated the children at the table and prayed. Minutes later, a baker brought in bread, having somehow known the children were hungry. A milkman, whose cart had just broken down outside, followed him in, with enough milk for the 300 orphans.<sup>14</sup>

Another story relates how, on a world preaching tour, he 'lifted fog' on the Canadian coast. His action enabled the ship to sail to shore, and thus he could deliver a talk booked for that evening.<sup>15</sup> His *Narratives* set out how this works: Muller advised that, if one could get one's 'heart into such a state that it has no will of its own' through prayer, one could 'ascertain the will of God', adding that 'I have found this method always effective'.<sup>16</sup> Muller prays, and receives: his prayers have, say his biographers, 'visible and tangible results [...] [his] work belongs to a realm [...] we cannot penetrate'.<sup>17</sup> So where to start from a secular perspective? For the non-believing researcher, are there other ways of analysing, engaging with, understanding, and respecting Muller's story?

### Approaching George Muller (with caution)

The literature detailing Muller's story almost all say this: that Muller prayed in the funds to establish, build and maintain this vast institution. Certainly, one cannot deny the spectacular achievements, the sheer number of children, and the construction and maintenance of these vast grey buildings for almost a century. But to understand it only through a Christian lens, with a purposeful agenda that promotes a certain faith, seems from a secular perspective, limiting. In my research, I am finding that Muller is little known in his adopted city of Bristol beyond particular religious groups. I wonder if this is because the books' exclusively Christian perspective excludes or discourages those who do not share that belief.

As an atheist, I do not believe one can pray quietly in a room and as a result of that, receive thousands of pounds' worth of donations. I also do not believe a man can lift fog. I remain to be convinced there are not more prosaic explanations for these incidents.<sup>18</sup> Yet, these numerous Christian tracts, books and pamphlets continue to quote extensively from the *Narratives*, and continue to describe such events as historical fact. Muller's influence endures, but in an exclusively evangelical religious genre of history writing in which he is constantly portrayed as a saint, a man of God, a giant of Church history, and in which it is unquestioningly assumed that prayers are answered.<sup>19</sup>

However, it must be made clear that although I am not a Christian, my research is not presuming to expose Muller as a fraud. Nor is it presuming to be able to prove or disprove what really happened. As Seth Koven writes of his own research on Victorian philanthropists, the intention is not to smugly 'dismiss them as marginal cranks, or [...] hypocrites', but to examine more critically their role in their world.<sup>20</sup> Muller did what he did as a complex, charismatic, driven human being in a complicated, unsettled and dynamic age. This article is not a debunking of myth, but an exploration of the ways in which myth discursively works.

It is, therefore, suggested that we need to look beyond the miraculous, and to put belief and disbelief to one side for a moment, in order to locate Muller as a complex and charismatic writer, working in the social, cultural and economic context of his time. We can then encounter and engage with the powerful and persuasive ways in which this writing interacts with other stories, narratives and perspectives circulating in the latter part of the nineteenth century. As such, Muller's writing can be appreciated as a particularly compelling and effective example of a particular style of nineteenth-century, evangelical discourse. Perhaps, then, in finding other ways to engage with the Muller story,

we can liberate him from 'the misguided goodwill', as Koven puts it, of those hagiographic accounts that would laud him as someone otherworldly and holy, a two-dimensional, saintly figure.<sup>21</sup> In starting to examine Muller's writing in this way, this article offers a further reassessment of this complicated and charismatic nineteenth-century man. To begin, one needs to understand where Muller was coming from in the first place.

### Understanding Muller's world

Muller arrived in Britain at a time in which widespread evangelical Christian movements, loosely termed 'The Awakening', were sweeping both Britain and America.<sup>22</sup> The mid to late 1800s were generally a time of upheaval, characterised by a rapidly expanding urban population and unparalleled industrial innovation and development, which generated economic uncertainty and workers' riots in cities such as Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol.<sup>23</sup> Part of that upheaval concerned religious and scientific debate: what was 'true' and what was knowable was an issue of grave concern and controversy in nineteenth-century thinking. Unlike today, there was much more interaction between what we would now categorise as supernaturalism or mysticism, religion, philosophy, magic, science and technology. Those involved with spiritualism and the supernatural, for example, popularly used the new scientific photographic technology to try and 'prove' the existence of the spirit world.<sup>24</sup> For evangelical writers, proving that God existed through accounts of 'demonstrable miracles' was thus part of these wider, complicated, socio-cultural movements.

Alongside the fascination with mysticism and the supernatural which helped characterise this age, this was also a time of scientific revelation.<sup>25</sup> Darwin's *Origins of the Species* was published to much furor in 1859, and was hotly debated over by religious groups, philosophers and scientists. Such ideas were reworked, for example, by phrenologists and eugenicist theorists such as Herbert Spencer and Francis Galton, who manipulated Darwinian theory to justify ideological, eugenicist categorising of ethnic minorities, the poor, the ill and the disabled.<sup>26</sup>

Whilst coming from different perspectives (with differing, but at times overlapping, sets of solutions), both Evangelicals and eugenicists shared a significant, nineteenth-century concern: what to do with the vast urban communities springing up around industrial developments in the rapidly expanding cities – the rootless poor, including destitute, parentless children, vulnerable to crime, disease and debauchery.

Evangelical groups saw education as key to these debates, and each group was determined to teach their truth to people in need.<sup>27</sup> Taking destitute children in and educating them to be disciplined, docile workers was therefore a popular

and well-respected move within wider society as well as the Church. Young labour was needed at this time of rapid industrial expansion.<sup>28</sup> The Muller records show that the children's education during this time was religious and elementary. Typical for the era, education focused on rote, routine, catechism, and corporal punishment. Like the Coram Foundling hospital in London the century before, Muller's institution focused on raising 'a hardy race of children, fit for the most laborious employments, and the humble walks of life'.<sup>29</sup> For Muller, the key educational aim was to convert these children to membership of the Brethren: he would note in the Orphanage records, for example, whether a child walked with the Lord (i.e. converted to Plymouth Brethren), was spiritually hopeful (actively Christian, and/or likely to convert), or lost (such orphans were generally described as 'wilful', 'obstinate' or 'ungrateful', 'spoiled'). Children in this last category were usually runaways, or had misbehaved, and were generally expelled in disgrace.

There is much more to be said about the orphans and industrial labour.<sup>30</sup> For the purposes of this article, however, the focus is on how Muller talks about the institution – namely, that Muller always makes it made clear in the *Narratives* that he never asks directly for donations.<sup>31</sup> Instead, he relates how he prays for guidance and support, and God answers. Readers of the widely subscribed to and circulated *Narratives* are thus implicitly invited to respond or donate, in a way that is then confirmed in the next *Narratives* as proof of God's work. Thus, the *Narratives* accounts detailing donations and their usefulness discursively work to encourage further donations, by their inference that both Muller and the donor are open to God's suggestions. This is not to say that this is subterfuge, nor that his motivations were not Christian, and it should be noted here that the *Narratives* do not name donors. Nevertheless, Muller creates a compelling narrative that encourages engagement: the reader is frequently referred to as 'dear esteemed reader', and invited to share the rhetorical observation that God's work is always 'seasonal' [timely].<sup>32</sup>

Muller therefore knew how to appeal to his target market, to encourage and sustain interest and investment through dramatic stories and engaging rhetoric, at a time when various versions of what was right and true were circulating. Indeed, his writings enabled the institution to raise almost two million pounds in his lifetime; the equivalent of eighty-six million pounds today.<sup>33</sup> In that regard, Muller can be seen as more than a simplistic 'saintly' character, and appreciated as a persuasive and influential campaigner and publicist, even 'businessman', as he had described himself.<sup>34</sup>

Yet, the miraculous remains a theme in Muller biographies. Recent biographer Roger Steer for example continues to make the point that, 'there is nothing

magical about Muller's answers to prayer [...] prayer was supernatural, but not magical'.<sup>35</sup> Within this literature, the supernatural continues to be stated unquestioningly as historical fact. Again, this article is not setting out to disprove this, but is approaching the Muller story from the position that, as Munslow has argued, historical 'facts' are never straight forward or simply 'discovered' on a trawl through the archives.<sup>36</sup> History is never objective. History writing is, as Munslow and others have argued, a complex combination of authorship, interpretation and reconstruction – 'a narrative we create'.<sup>37</sup> In this particular case, then, it seems that the theme of the supernatural continues to be a key focus in contemporary narratives of the Muller story today. In order to understand more fully the enduring power of this story, we can look for reasons as to why this particular theme remains dominant.

### 'Very strange, very novel': Muller the myth maker

This article has suggested that we understand Muller as having interacted with, and as a product of, his complex social, cultural, and economic situation. This can be further examined by understanding these *Narratives* not simply as fact or fiction, but as skilful discursive reworkings of Victorian evangelical writing styles and techniques. Elfe Tayler begins his biography of Muller by claiming that, 'it must be granted that this is very strange – very novel – very startling'.<sup>38</sup> Whilst not meaning 'novel' literally in the fictional sense, Tayler's use of such phrasing to draw in the reader thus invites the reader into a narrative that is perhaps more fluid and creative, and more startling and dramatic, than a conventional biography. This is 'novel', in that it defies conventional generic assumptions, by relating Muller's life in terms of amazing and miraculous events.

Koven notes that evangelical writing, such as Muller's texts, would circulate narratives 'between fictional and non-fiction philanthropic writings' in order to present 'higher truths' of religious moralising.<sup>39</sup> A story may appear in a novel, for example, and then 'appear verbatim in a non-fictional article', in order to get the key moral message across to the readers.<sup>40</sup> Certainly, the abandoned orphan was a key trope in popular social realist novels at the time. For example, William Thackeray's *Vanity Fair's* Becky, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, and Emily Brontë's Heathcliff in *Wuthering Heights*, all novels published in 1847, were part of a much wider genre of fiction addressing the social problem of orphans in the Victorian era. Dickens had similarly drawn on his observations of street 'urchins' and working children to create his orphan characters such as *Great Expectation's* Pip (1861) and *Oliver Twist's* central protagonist (1839).<sup>41</sup> Conversely, Victorian observational journalism and report writing on destitute children, orphans and child labour, drew on generic conventions of fiction to emphasise, and make more



compelling, their observations and arguments for reform. The author of the 1862 *Children's Employment Commission Report* for example, writes of 'nice looking girls [...] sunk in hopeless ignorance' at an Essex match factory.<sup>42</sup> A later report describes in melodramatic terms, how 'mournful' it felt to consider the likely fate of 'Sheffield's child of doom' working in the metal manufactory.<sup>43</sup> Such 'children of doom' can similarly be found in Kingsley's *Water Babies* (1863) in the guise of the 'blackened ape' orphaned chimney sweep child, Tom.<sup>44</sup> Kingsley's character evokes the previous century's other 'Tom': another abandoned, chimney sweep child who weeps and sleeps 'in soot,' from William Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1789).<sup>45</sup> Both novel and poem emphasise the young age of these workers, and see an early death as a merciful relief from such misery. Thus it is not surprising that the *Narratives* capitalised on such widespread interest in and concern for orphaned children and their prospects.

Approaching Muller's *Narratives* from this perspective, one can read these texts in terms of such 'hybrid' discourses. *Narratives* draw on biblical stories to engage the reader. Indeed, the foregrounding of biblical literature is not surprising here given the Brethren's fundamental belief in the 'absolute, literal truth of the Bible'.<sup>46</sup> The story of how Muller lifts the fog from the shore, for example, appears to implicitly recall the popular Biblical story of Moses parting the seas (Exodus 14. 21–28). Similarly the story of the baker echoes the well-known story of Jesus miraculously feeding of the five thousand with a single basket of five loaves and two fish (Matthew 14. 13–21).<sup>47</sup> Both stories would have been well known to a church-going population, in a nation where education was overwhelmingly Bible-based.<sup>48</sup> Such references serve to promote the compelling authority of the *Narratives* religious perspective. However, one can also observe the possible allusion to the popular fictional genres of the day. In the 1874 *Narratives*, for example, there is a reported exchange between a teacher and a disbelieving child who is reminded that – though young – she is old enough 'to be lost'.<sup>49</sup> This could be seen as 'evangelical recasting'<sup>50</sup> of a scene in *Jane Eyre* (published 1847) in which the young, errant Jane is very similarly reprimanded by the owner of Lowood Orphanage,<sup>51</sup> who compares her unfavourably to a 'good little child [...] now in heaven'.<sup>52</sup>

Whatever one's religious perspective, it is clear that Muller writes his *Narratives* as part of widespread evangelical campaigns to promote particular sets of Christian beliefs, particularly those concerning the saving of orphaned children. The creative ways in which such campaigners drew on existing narratives of both fact and fiction, when religious groups were competing to establish themselves as authoritative and persuasive, characterised this writing style.<sup>53</sup> As such, it is put forward here that Muller's *Narratives* are a particularly impressive

example of persuasive, evangelical writing, which was particularly influential in the nineteenth century. Such writing skilfully combines popular Biblical stories with the strategies and techniques of social realist journalism and popular fiction. The majority of Muller biographies are themselves drawn in to this compelling narrative. Its echoes, one could say, can still be heard even in the more contemporary literature recounting Muller's life and achievements.

### Concluding remarks: fact, fiction and everything in between

Muller's many biographies claim to recount, to quote one of the earliest versions, the 'plain and unvarnished facts' of Muller's life.<sup>54</sup> But as this article has started to explore, neither history nor truth are ever plain or unvarnished. Seeing is not always believing. Writing Muller's history simply in terms of religious 'truth' limits wider opportunities to appreciate its complex and compelling discursive power.

Muller discursively constructed events in terms of dramatic miracles to promote his orphanage as testament to the reality of God.<sup>55</sup> Looking beyond trying to prove or disprove what really happened, allows us to value his work as an example of skilful, persuasive evangelical writing. Such writing creatively and compellingly draws on existing themes and tropes of the time, including popular Biblical stories, novels, and social campaigns, in order to maintain widespread interest and engagement with the institution. This enabled the institution to be financially successful at a time when such work was not always supported, and competition for funding and supporters was fierce.

To conclude, this article has attempted to demonstrate that it is possible to critically re-evaluate Muller's writing, without implying that Muller is fraudulent, or that these events did not happen, or that people did not willingly and spontaneously donate. History is never simple, facts are never straight forward, and events never easily reducible to singular, explanatory narratives. Alternative readings of Muller's spectacular achievements, his motivations, and his persuasive skills, are possible if one focuses on *how* these events were recounted, and for what purposes in the social, economic, and cultural context of the time. Ultimately, this approach is not about deciding which version is the real and unvarnished truth. Instead, it is suggested we can acknowledge and appreciate the interconnected and intricate ways in which such stories and histories develop and become reworked and retold. Indeed, it is the elaborations, omissions, layers, contradictions, and cracks – the patina of retelling, the smudging of generic conventions, the varnish – that makes these *Narratives* so compelling to read and research.

Claire Williamson, Cardiff University

## Stepmother Minotaur

Carnivore breath on my neck,  
cold nose ring numbing my cheek  
reminding me that nothing will be easy.

She kicks me in the small of my back  
to choose the stoniest route,  
the steepest climb.

I've made friends  
with the fleas that thrive  
in her fur, each one a critic –

a symbiotic parasite.  
I'm so familiar with their tricks,  
I've learnt how to make them leap

so, I walk through each door  
a little lighter, despite shouldering  
the Minotaur, and those times  
I've mistaken myself for her.

## Temple Church, Bristol – 12th Century Round Church

My heart is a circle, a promise from those who crusaded this sphere,  
twelfth-century knights approved by Jerusalem's King,  
for pilgrims to travel unharmed, freely crossing frontiers  
in this mystical ring.

My name is a cross, blood-red on a habit's white swing,  
for monks who took vows, but didn't adhere  
to the limits that poverty, chastity, obedience bring.

My light is a star, through each grilled shutter it peers,  
marking time, and the disorder this order will bring.  
They will take my stones, but my spirit is still near  
in this mystical ring.

## Atonement

My brother was never  
the European Forest *toro*:  
hide impenetrable  
to arrows, blades, spears,

more petal-skinned, emotional like Nandi,  
faced with divided loyalty  
between his master, Shiva,  
and his master's wife, Paravathi.

Honoured to be integral  
to their dice game  
that rolled on for years,  
Nandi, positioned as both prize  
and umpire.

Despite heroic gestures,  
my brother was caught  
between guilt and shame,  
each spiralling him downwards.

When the sport  
tumbled to its conclusion,  
Nandi favoured Shiva,  
the loser.

Betrayed, Paravathi cursed the bull  
with an incurable disease.

My brother thrashed,  
a fish at the end of a line,  
guts twisted, hooked on escaping.

Nandi in agony,  
begged for a stay of execution  
on his scab-patched knees.

Paravathi declared Nandi's atonement:  
*One day a year give up  
what you savour most.*

My brother savoured the prospect  
of reunion with his son,  
touching his muscled shoulders,  
smelling his gelled hair,  
hearing him play punk-drums.

Nandi chose judiciously  
to give up the grape green grass  
that surged his mouth with saliva.

Nandi was cured, relieved,  
the next day, joyous,  
chewing his delicacy.

My brother chose to give up  
the taste of possibility.  
Falling from so high, snagged,  
even he was surprised  
not to find his feet again.



## ‘[S]wift with the advancing tide’: Secularisation of the Biblical Flood Myth in George Eliot’s *The Mill on the Floss* (1860)

Charlotte Lancaster, Bath Spa University

In this article, I focus on George Eliot’s 1860 novel *The Mill on the Floss* as an example of how the narrative of the biblical flood myth works in secular fiction to shape representations of flooding and ecological calamity. Eliot’s novel not only alludes to the biblical flood through intertextual imagery, but reflects and rewrites the conventions of the biblical flood narrative via plot and structure to express the sense of dissolution fostered by the changing patterns of rural life in Britain during the mid to late nineteenth century. At the same time, I place *The Mill on the Floss* in context with wider changes to the nineteenth-century literary imagination, as it shifts from an understanding of the geological record based on biblical chronology to an understanding of geological and evolutionary processes. As such, I will consider how the novel reworks biblical conventions of the flood narrative to demonstrate the limitations of human knowledge surrounding the complexities of earthly ecologies. In so doing, my reading interjects in current discussions on the relationship between myth and ecological thought.

‘We went into town today, and looked in the Annual Register for cases of inundation’, wrote Eliot in an 1859 journal entry.<sup>1</sup> Recognised as the earliest allusion to *The Mill on the Floss*, this note is significant in that it situates the novel’s final catastrophe, the flood at Dorlcote Mill, as Eliot’s starting point.<sup>2</sup> The forewarning of the flood is present throughout *The Mill on the Floss*, which depicts changing aspects of agrarian life at the turn of the 1830s. The novel traces the lives of Maggie Tulliver and her older brother Tom, the children of a family that has owned and managed Dorlcote Mill for five generations. The old water-mill is situated at the confluence of the River Floss and Ripple, outside the fictional village of St. Ogg’s. In the opening chapter, Maggie and Tom walk alongside ‘the great Floss [...] to see the rushing of the spring-tide, the awful Eagre, come up like a hungry monster’.<sup>3</sup> The ‘hungry monster’ of the tidal bore coincides with the spring and autumn equinoxes at the beginning and close of the novel, corresponding with the farming calendar (with the latter equinox occurring alongside the traditional Harvest festival). In this way, the tide comes

to materially and metaphorically bookend the period of historical change occurring within Britain’s arable and tidal environments during the 1830s.

The historian Jules David Law observes that the technologies of river and mill management during this time were ‘on the verge of historical transformation’, having remained largely unaltered for centuries.<sup>4</sup> Changing patterns in agriculture, food production and the proliferation of free-market trade, combined with a succession of poor harvests, and the lasting impact of the Corn Laws in 1846, plunged Britain into agricultural crisis between the years 1849–53. The effects on the rural landscape were multifaceted: many farmers and millers were forced out of business, taking their symbiotic farming practices and knowledge of the worked arable and tidal environs with them.<sup>5</sup> *The Mill on the Floss* harnesses the imaginative power of the biblical flood myth to evoke the convergences of socioeconomic, agrarian, riparian and industrial forces that meet and collide at the head of the Floss’s tidal bore, where Dorlcote Mill is situated. By depicting the flood as a consequence of the human manipulation of the river rather than an act of God, Eliot remythologises the biblical conventions of the flood narrative to demonstrate the ways in which human patterns of agency contribute to ecological calamity. Therefore, I argue that *The Mill on the Floss* exemplifies the principle of ‘radical typology’, put forward by Lawrence Coupe as the process of remythologisation, ‘which has a perpetual sense of horizon, involving an ongoing dialectic of the sacred and the profane’.<sup>6</sup> In other words, Eliot not only extends the biblical flood myth, but rewrites it within a felt, physical topography in order to challenge the given culture and open up the contemporary moment to other possibilities based on alternative ethical values.

Despite having been Eliot’s intention for the novel from the outset, the closing scene of the flood has long perplexed readers of the novel. Criticism in the twentieth century tended to dismiss the flood as a ‘physical force outside the psychological framework of the action’, as Jerome Buckley maintained.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, F. R. Leavis asserted that the inundation had ‘no symbolic or material value’.<sup>8</sup> Other interpretations have read the flood as a symbol of redemption and reconciliation between Maggie and Tom, from whom she is estranged in the latter half of the text. Anny Sadrin, for example, draws comparisons between Maggie and Eliot’s respective quests for spiritual enlightenment in order to argue that while the flood symbolises punishment and deliverance for Maggie, the novel bears no authorial message of redemption or hope in the wake of the flood, thereby negating the biblical allegory.<sup>9</sup> More recently, Eliot’s repeated allusion to the flood throughout *The Mill on the Floss* has been read as an illustration of her sensitivity to contemporaneous debates taking place between theological and scientific

schools of thought in Victorian Britain. Extending these discussions, my analysis of *The Mill on the Floss* considers how the novel articulates the tenets of modern geology and evolutionary theory through the socio-environmental history of Dorlcote Mill to recast the archetypal event of biblical geology in anthropogenic terms.

Historical chronology, taken from Archbishop James Ussher's *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1650) and *Annalium Pars Posterior* (1654), posited that the world was six thousand years old, and that the Flood had occurred 1656 years after Creation. Ussher's computations underscored the general consensus of the earth's biblical timescale. However, astronomical and archeological discoveries made at the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century called into question the historical accuracy of a universal deluge, and thus the authority of biblical chronology. Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830) is largely credited for popularising the conceptualisation of geological deep time, first theorised by James Hutton in the eighteenth century, which conceived of a world infinitely older than biblical creationism suggested. Yet, it is Charles Darwin's monumental 1859 work on evolutionary theory, *On the Origin of Species*, that proved most unsettling to traditional notions of Christian theology. Darwin's suggestion that the human species originated over time as a result of inherited physical and behavioural alteration and not from a single act of divine creation, exacerbated a 'crisis of faith' in Victorian society. As Gillian Beer explains in *Darwin's Plots*, 'evolutionary theory implied a new myth of the past: instead of the garden at the beginning, there was the sea and the swamp'.<sup>10</sup>

In his article on the use of floods in the Victorian novel, Darryl Jones highlights Eliot's intertextual allusion to the 'Bridgewater Treatises', published in 1833 and 1836 by the Royal Society to counter the findings of modern geology from a theological position, as Eliot's response to the Victorian crisis of faith.<sup>11</sup> Discussed by Maggie and Stephen in the novel, the 'Bridgewater Treatises', taken with Maggie's 'empty and discredited consolations of religion', illustrate for Jones that the novel's tragedy is not so much the flood, but 'is that, in an age of materialist scientific discovery, Maggie consciously and perversely chooses [...] religion. As Eliot knew, Maggie's struggles and contradictions are those of Victorian Christianity itself'.<sup>12</sup> While I agree that *The Mill on the Floss* offers a response to the complexities of theological thought in an age of ground-breaking scientific discovery, I believe that Eliot's argument is more nuanced than Jones suggests. Dwight H. Purdy observes that 'the wit of Eliot's biblical allusions consists in part in how she goes beyond simple verbal echo to complicate ethical issues by juxtaposing the contexts of fiction and scripture'.<sup>13</sup> It is well-documented that Eliot's interest in German philosophical approaches to the Bible, particularly

Ludwig Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christenthums or Essence of Christianity* (1841), influenced her humanist reading of the Christian mythos. As such, the biblical flood narrative is not only recovered in *The Mill on the Floss*, it is reinvented in adherence to Eliot's conviction that moral responsibility should not adhere to doctrine, but should respond to particular situations. This conviction can be traced in Eliot's critique of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. In a letter to her friend, Barbara Bodichon, Eliot shares her concern on Darwin's failure to impress his concepts on the reader with adequate 'illustrative facts'.<sup>14</sup> '[T]o me the Development theory and all other explanations of processes by which things came to be', writes Eliot, 'produce a feeble impression compared with the mystery that lies under the processes'.<sup>15</sup> That Eliot was reading Darwin's book whilst writing *The Mill on the Floss* is well-known. For this reason, many critics have related the novel's depiction of the arable and tidal relationships and pressures placed on the centres of food production as illustrative of the identification of hunger, death and the 'desperate scramble for food' which Darwin posits amidst his processes of evolution.<sup>16</sup> In presenting the socio-environmental pressures of the arable and tidal conditions of 1830s England, that culminate in ecological collapse through the flood at the novel's close, it could be suggested that *The Mill on the Floss* performs an evolution in the history of the flood narrative, just as Darwin had for the evolution of biological thought in attempting to illuminate the mystery underlying the interweaving and continual 'processes by which things came to be'. As such, Eliot asks her readers to consider the critical neglect of the river and its communities, which have become unmoored by the 'hungry monster' of industrial capitalism.

Allusions to flooding are interwoven into the thematic construction and language of the novel, so much so that Larry Rubin has claimed that 'it seems almost artistically impossible for the book to end in any other way'.<sup>17</sup> Yet, as Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Richard Marggraf Turley and Howard Thomas have observed, the ideal positioning of Dorlcote Mill for exploiting waterpower also means that when the tidal bore coincides with heavy rainfall, the threat of flooding is inevitable. Drawing a comparison between the fictional River Floss and the River Trent, Archer argues that in sharing the unusual feature of the tidal bore among English rivers, the Floss appears to be a direct observation of the Trent.<sup>18</sup> The fact that Eliot observed the bore during her stay at Gainsborough, the furthest point inland where the Trent Aegir reaches, seems testament to her inspiration for the Floss and Maggie's eventual surrender to the river, which has followed her 'swift with the advancing tide' since childhood.<sup>19</sup> Eliot's allusion to the biblical flood myth links mythos (existing universal myths) with oikos (specificity of home) to emphasize the coevolution of the river and its inhabitants. The biblical

flood myth seeps into the local natural history and legend of St. Ogg's, particularly in respect to 'Ogg the son of Beorl [...] a boatman who gained a scanty living by ferrying passengers across the Floss' and who achieved Sainthood for ferrying the Virgin Mary across the river on a stormy night.<sup>20</sup> Myth, legend and topography function hermeneutically in *The Mill on the Floss* to suggest the ways in which the past is retold and rewritten. Moreover, the biblical flood myth is deployed throughout the novel as an anagogic mode of reference. The local legend that 'when the mill changes hands, the river's angry' seems prophetic in light of the events that follow: the inundation that kills Maggie and Tom only happens after Mr. Tulliver declares bankruptcy and is forced to sell the mill.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the figure of Noah is reimagined in different guises throughout the novel. He is at once St. Ogg and the young Tom Tulliver, who vows to be prepared against the inevitable deluge of Dorlcote Mill. 'When I'm a man, I shall make a boat with a wooden house on the top of it, like Noah's Ark', Tom declares to his friend, '[a]nd then if the flood came, [...], I shouldn't mind [...] And I'd take you in if I saw you swimming'.<sup>22</sup> Yet Tom's comments appear painfully ironic in light of the novel's final scene. Attempting to rescue Tom from the flood at Dorlcote Mill, Maggie evokes the biblical character of Noah for the final time in the novel, saying: 'God has taken care of me, to bring me to you'.<sup>23</sup> Through persistent allusion to the biblical flood myth, Eliot plays on the notion that myths gain resonance in time through imaginative reworking, thereby exemplifying the aforementioned principle of 'radical typology', imbuing the mythic form with new significance and relevance as history and legend collapse into one another through narrative prefiguration, foreshadowing and realization.

By remythologising the biblical flood story, Eliot is not attempting to preserve the past; rather she is interested in the ways in which the past and future are interlinked. Therefore, the open-ended structure of the conclusion mirrors the biblical flood narrative, posing an uncertain future. Questions over renewal and regeneration hover at the novel's close, as the narrator insists in the epilogue, 'Nature repairs her ravages [...] with sunshine, and with human labour':

The desolation wrought by that flood, had left little visible trace on the face of the earth, five years after. The fifth autumn was rich in golden corn-stacks, rising in thick clusters among the distant hedgerows; the wharves and warehouses on the Floss were busy again, with echoes of eager voices, with hopeful lading and unlading.<sup>24</sup>

Nature and human labour are interlinked as elemental forces, but are presented unsentimentally by the narrator, who suggests that it has taken five years for the land to recover well enough to support crops of 'golden corn-stacks',

five years for the 'wharves and warehouses' to resume the work of food production 'among the distant hedgerows'. The reader is left to question what happened during those four previous years to those communities along the Floss whose lives and livelihoods subsisted on the health of the land. Thus, although Eliot's primary concern is with human communities and networks of exchange, the narrative responds to the restrictions placed on the environment within a decidedly ethical framework that resists received biblical doctrine to demonstrate sensitivity to situational detail. Indeed, while *The Mill on the Floss* does not express explicit concern for the vulnerability of the natural world, the mythopoeic facet of Eliot's realist narrative helps to dramatise a sense of the convergences between humans and natural phenomena to illustrate the rapidly changing conditions of Britain's landscape during the mid-nineteenth century.

Moreover, the open-endedness of the flood narrative operates as a form of what Christophe Bode and Rainer Dietrich call 'future narrative', preserving an open space of undetermined possibility or serving as a challenge for remedial change.<sup>25</sup> In this sense, the flood story can be viewed as a philosophical narrative in so much as it uses narrative form as a prime locus for moral discourse by asking the receivers of the story to imagine an alternative, and perhaps better, model of reality as intended in Genesis before the fall. Notably however, the 'hopeful lading and unlading' depicted at the novel's close is not premised upon divine intervention, but is dependent upon the relationship between sustainable human agricultural practices and the environment. In this sense, Eliot's narrative correlates with an emerging awareness of the extent of human influence on the environment in the nineteenth century, most notably in the works of George Perkins Marsh, whose *Man and Nature, or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* (1864) is often referenced as the first modern environmental treatise. Marsh famously compared the observer of ecological change to the artist in proposing that 'the power most important to cultivate, and, at the same time, hardest to acquire, is that of seeing what is before him. Sight is a faculty, seeing an art'.<sup>26</sup>

It would have been difficult, much less impossible, for the Victorian ecological observer to see the complex and far-reaching impacts of the burgeoning fossil fuel industry on future generations. And yet, as Marsh's *Man and Nature* attests, it was possible, as it is now, to have an awareness of the existence of those ecological impacts. Just as the frequent instances of flooding in the 1850s and 1860s were exacerbated by the increased 'presence of mills whose dams held back the water and raised the water level, causing rivers to flood more easily and more often', changing weather patterns, rising sea levels, and extreme levels of plastic pollution are a material record of the privileged, high-consumption environment of the West.<sup>27</sup> The secularisation of the flood myth in *The Mill on the Floss*



reminds us that the instances of overlap between human intervention and ecological calamity are always unfolding in indeterminate, continually changing ways. Moreover, we have seen how the mythopoeic works to rupture the linear narrative progression in Eliot's text by creating an open space at the novel's close, thus allowing the reader to imagine an alternative to the conditions of society already in place. While *The Mill on the Floss* cannot be evaluated from the perspective of contemporary environmental priorities, we can learn from Eliot's ethical responsiveness to the river and its inhabitants to direct our responsibility more consciously to that which we are affecting.



*Hanging*, soft pastel on paper, 114 x 166.5 cm, 2019

## The Rise and Fall of the Big Hewer

Emily Peirson-Webber, University of Reading & University of Exeter

In a cradle of coal in the darkness I was laid, go down  
Down in the dirt and darkness I was raised, go down  
Cut me teeth on a five-foot timber  
Held up the roof with my little finger  
Started me time away in the mine, go down<sup>1</sup>

*'The Big Hewer', BBC Home Service, 18 August 1961*

The Big Hewer; the Derby Ram; Dick the Devil; Bob Temple; Big Isaac; Jackie Tor; Bob Towers; and the Great Miner: though he has gone by different names in different places and at different times, the collier of mythical strength and stature is recurrent in mining folklore.<sup>2</sup> In their radio ballad, broadcast by the BBC in 1961, Ewan MacColl, Charles Parker and Peggy Seegar celebrated the birth and prodigious strength of the mining superman, inspired by stories they encountered speaking to colliers in the northeast of England, the English Midlands and South Wales.<sup>3</sup> This heroic figure – representing the miners' idealised self – offered an escape from their lived experiences 'shuffling home from work like cripples', as a strong and tireless hewer who could withstand the ever-present risks of pit work.<sup>4</sup> This article will explore the shifting heroic mythos of the collier during the twentieth century, through visual material culture.

It was a well-known saying amongst miners that for every tonne of coal brought to the surface a pint of blood was spilt. Few industries could lay claim to such high mortality rates. In her history of coal published in 2003, Barbara Freese described how the fuel might best be described as a 'genie', in order to capture both its 'vast power' and 'exorbitant cost'.<sup>5</sup> Great disasters were renowned in mining culture. Explosions at the Oaks Colliery in Barnsley (1866), which resulted in 361 deaths, and the Universal Colliery in Senghenydd (1913), which killed 439 miners, were the worst ever recorded in England and Wales respectively. Despite technological progress and the implementation of safety regulations, in the late twentieth century mining continued to be one of the most dangerous occupations in Britain, as the Wilberforce Report into the miners' pay dispute of 1972 observed, 'other occupations have their dangers and inconveniences, but we know of none in which there is such a combination of dangers,

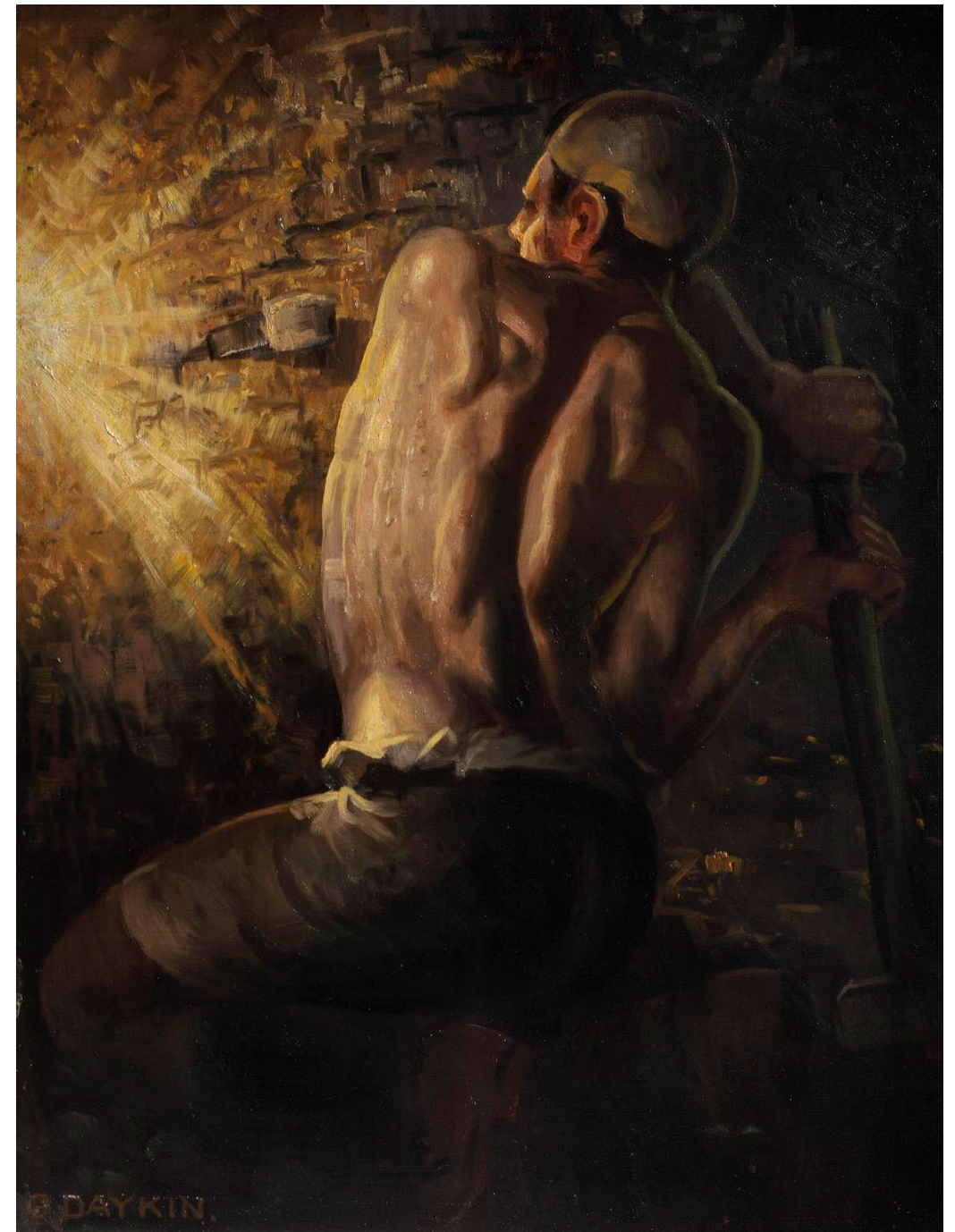


Fig. 1 Gilbert Daykin, *Wedging down coal*, 1937–1938, oil on canvas, 60 x 50 cm, Science Museum Group Collection, London © The Board of Trustees of the Science Museum.



health hazard, discomfort in working conditions.<sup>6</sup> The year after the report was published fatal disasters occurred in pits at Lofthouse in Yorkshire, Markham in Derbyshire, and Seafield in Scotland.<sup>7</sup>

The mine has always presented a surreal and hellish environment in which to work. As well as contending with darkness, miners were subjected to extreme heat underground, with temperatures in a deep pit in the summer easily exceeding thirty degrees Celsius.<sup>8</sup> Until the mid-twentieth century, threats from unseen pollutants were ever-present, from escaping vapours like choke damp (suffocating carbon dioxide and nitrogen); white damp (toxic carbon monoxide); or the most feared fire-damp (flammable methane). The painting *Choke Damp* (c. 1928) by Gilbert Daykin (1886–1939), shows miners ‘shining a light’ on the horrors that had befallen a colleague underground, whilst underlining the heroism of those who continued to risk such a fate through their labours (Fig. 2). Daykin, a working miner, ostensibly created this image to elicit public sympathy for the miners’ plight, whilst implicitly making the case for improved conditions underground. Indeed the artist’s own experiences are preempted in his work, as Daykin was

himself killed in 1939 after he and five colleagues were trapped by rock-fall whilst underground.<sup>9</sup>

If they escaped immediate death miners also risked a variety of pit-induced ailments, including lung diseases like miners’ pneumoconiosis or ‘black lung’, silicosis or ‘black spit’, and miners’ nystagmus, which damaged the eyes.<sup>10</sup> Miners came up with their own superstitious practices, like leaving the coal dust on their backs instead of washing it off at the end of their shift, in the belief that somehow it would fortify them. In addition to such customs, the folklore of the invulnerable Big Hewer helped to bolster the morale



Fig. 2 Gilbert Daykin, *Choke Damp*, c.1928, oil on canvas, 75.5 x 63 cm, Science Museum Group Collection, London © The Board of Trustees of the Science Museum.

of miners, who had to labour in such an unforgiving environment, and offered a counter narrative to the fearful realities of their work.

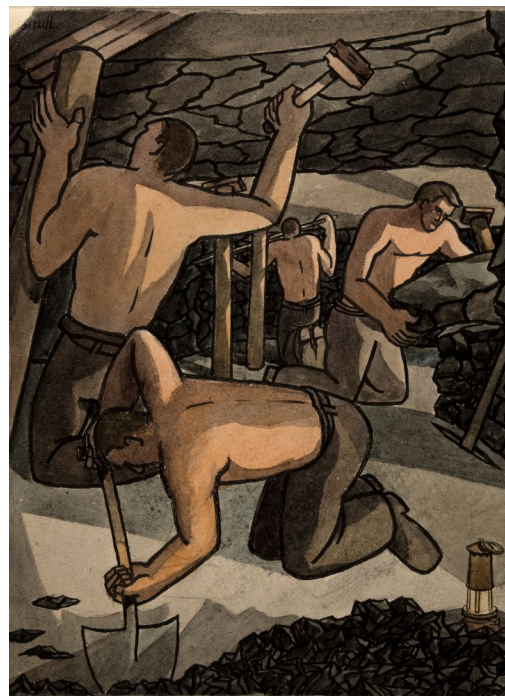
Due to their dark and dangerous occupation and the relative isolation of some mining communities, in literary imaginings the miner was often presented as an otherworldly character. Writing in 1727 on the coalfield communities of North Scotland, Daniel Defoe observed that the miners were ‘well described’ as ‘frightful fellows at first sight’.<sup>11</sup> In his 1845 novel *Sybil*, a critique on Victorian society, Benjamin Disraeli wrote of the spectacle of legions of miners emerging from the pit, a ‘swarming multitude: banks of stalwart men, broad-chested and muscular, wet with toil, and black as the children of the tropics’.<sup>12</sup> Such descriptions give a sense of both the intense physical masculinity of miners, as well as their ‘otherness’ evoked through the dehumanising connotations of the adjective ‘swarming’ and their comparison to foreign, ‘uncivilised’ peoples.

In ‘The True Story of a Coal Fire’, a fictional work with polemical undertones, Richard H. Horne celebrated the mysteries of coal and the dignity of those who mined it, compared to the effete metropolitan elites, who failed to appreciate the hardships the miners endured.<sup>13</sup> The story, which appeared in Charles Dickens’ *Household Words* journal in 1850, recounts the enlightenment of a workshy young man who is visited by a ‘heavily dwarfed figure with shining eyes’, who takes him on a journey to demonstrate the ancient ‘alchemy’ of coal and its noble extraction.<sup>14</sup> One of the old miners in the tale speaks of coal’s primordial ancestry, describing the dangers faced by miners, as well as their stoic heroism:

You are now in the bowels of old  
mother Earth—grandmother and great  
grandmother of all these seams of coal; and  
you see a set of men around you, whose lives  
are passed in these gloomy places, doing the  
duties of their work without repining at its  
hardness, without envying the lot of others,  
and smiling at all its dangers.<sup>15</sup>

The fascination with miners continued into the twentieth century, as in his 1929 essay on the Nottinghamshire coalfield community of his childhood, D H Lawrence described the mysticism of the miners who were ‘deeply alive, instinctively’, and brought into the light ‘a lustrous sort of inner darkness, like the gloss of coal’.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, after living in the northern towns of Wigan, Barnsley and Sheffield in 1936, George Orwell described the typical miner he encountered as a ‘sort of grimy caryatid’ upon whose shoulders civilisation rested, observing how he performed ‘an almost superhuman job by the standards





of an ordinary person'.<sup>17</sup> Such narratives undoubtedly bolstered the mythology of the British miner as a mysterious and heroic figure.

Alongside folklore, the material culture produced by mining communities is particularly rich, as showcased in the visual tapestry of mining banners still paraded at public meetings like the annual Durham Miners' Gala, which began in 1871. As former miner Sid Caplin observed, the banner had the power to rally and unify, and when pits were remote and miners were scattered across the coalfield living in poor conditions, the banner would make a wide circuit to boost morale.<sup>19</sup> These banners, which have been produced with gusto since the mid-nineteenth century, celebrate in technicolour the masculine heroism of the miners, depicting scenes of men wrestling mythical beasts, as working-class heroes slaying the snake of capitalism or crawling through a narrow seam deep underground (Fig. 3).<sup>20</sup> Mining artists like George Bissill (1896–1973), and Norman Phillips (1920–1988), also celebrated in pictorial form the physical stature of miners, who they depicted as giant, bare-chested, muscular men labouring in brutal and claustrophobic environments. One of Bissill's images was used on a Ministry of Information poster, as a propaganda tool promoting miners' industry during the Second World War (Fig. 4).

Following the nationalisation of the mines in 1946, the National Coal Board (NCB) built on the heroic image of the miner in order to

Fig. 3 (top) *Kellingley Colliery Branch Banner*, date unknown, banner, National Union of Mineworkers' headquarters, Barnsley.<sup>18</sup>

Fig. 4 (left) George Bissill, *Coal miners at work, cutting coal and propping*, 1939–1946, poster, courtesy of The National Archives, Richmond.



Fig. 5 Cover of *Coal* magazine, January 1948, courtesy of National Coal Mining Museum for England, Wakefield.

boost the morale of its workforce and promote recruitment. A survey of the cover images of *Coal* magazine, a periodical produced by the NCB, across its run from 1947 to mid-1960, testifies to the continued machismo of mining, with the most often used image depicting mineworkers engaged in a boxing match, as well as a number of covers featuring solitary miners stoically surveying their work. The magazine of January 1948 featured one miner battling a giant wolf, representing 'want', an image which echoed the mythical scenes portrayed on the mining banners a century earlier, and framed the miner as a national defender (Fig. 5). The magazine content was no different, emphasising the pride and stoicism of the mining breed, 'a great race of men' and describing the miner as a superman who 'supports, Atlas-like, the world of industry on his shoulders'.<sup>21</sup> The 'Pit Profiles' which appeared in each edition, celebrated characters of the coalfield like Jack Jones, known as 'Long Jack', a miner who

was '6 foot 1 inch in his socks' weighing over 16 stone, who had 'ox-like strength' and was able to lift heavy timbers and move derailed trams back onto the rails.<sup>22</sup>

### The collision of myth and reality

Despite the optimism for mining's future engendered by nationalisation, by the 1960s colliers found themselves caught in a 'pincer movement' between mechanisation and the closure of uneconomic pits.<sup>23</sup> In his study of British miners, the historian Vic Allen described how the implications of mechanisation 'descended on miners like an avalanche', with the percentage of total coal output being power-loaded rising from 9.8 in 1955 to 92.2 in 1970.<sup>24</sup> In the wake of such changes, the hewer's traditional role was rendered obsolete, as the 'pick and shovel' method of coal extraction became nothing more than a 'curiosity'.<sup>25</sup> In his study of British miners Michael Pollard described how technological advancements 'dehumanised' mining and 'altered collieries' perception of themselves', as less value was placed on their physical strength.<sup>26</sup> Such technological advancements undoubtedly marked a discontinuity in terms of miners' connection with the



practices of the past, and undermined the legitimacy of their claims for a place alongside the Big Hewer of mining mythology.

Miners have long-held a reputation for industrial militancy. The history of strikes since the 'heartless, humiliating' defeat the miners suffered during the General Strike of 1926 – notably the unofficial strike of 1969, and the strikes of 1972 and 1974 – did little to undermine the image of British miners as stalwarts of the labour force.<sup>27</sup> If anything, the victories of the two later pay-related strikes, and in particular the miners' unprecedented success in the so-called 'Battle of Saltley Gate' in February 1972, cemented their image as the 'prizefighters' of the labour movement.<sup>28</sup> It was not until the momentous strike of 1984–85 that the once-heroic perception of the British miner was threatened.

During the 1984 and 1985 strike the Government and media went to war on the striking miners, framing them as 'the enemy within'.<sup>29</sup> Their once-admired physicality was used against them, as they were characterised as 'bully boys'.<sup>30</sup> One striking miner described how the police implied he had 'superhuman strength' in an effort to convict him.<sup>31</sup> Yet in the conflicts during the strike it became clear that the physical strength of picketing miners was outmatched

when confronted by armoured police and cavalry.

The material culture produced during and in the wake of the 1984–1985 strike depicted the fall of the once-heroic miner. The Gascoigne Wood banner (Fig. 6) shows miners powerless before mounted police, attending to wounded comrades in the face of legions of riot police in the distance. The words on the banner do offer some hope, that the miners' spirits were 'never broken' but the physically heroic miner has disappeared.



Fig. 6 Gascoigne Wood Branch Banner, c.1984, banner, courtesy of National Union of Mineworkers, Barnesley.



Fig. 7 Grayson Perry, *Death of a Working Hero*, 2016, tapestry, 251 x 200 cm, courtesy of Grayson Perry and Paragon, Contemporary Editions Ltd, London.



## Remembering the Big Hewer

After the 1984–1985 strike mining culture was left with the problem of how the heroic miner of the past could be reimagined, or whether he still had any relevance following his political demonisation, pit closures and the painful aftermath of deindustrialisation. Some speculated that mining culture would disappear, anticipating the decline of attendance at the annual Durham Miners' Gala.<sup>32</sup> However, contrary to expectations in the last decade attendance at the Gala has increased (attracting more than 200,000 attendees in 2017, the most in fifty years), new community groups have emerged to restore age-worn banners, and a significant number of new mining memorials have been commissioned. How have these new creative works sought to present the miner?

In a number of the banners commissioned in the last decade the once virile miner has aged, as the industry in which he toiled has been consigned to memory, and we now see miners as grandfathers, encouraging future generations to look back upon their heritage. In 2016 after visiting the former mining communities of the North East the Turner-prize winning artist Grayson Perry produced his own banner, entitled 'Death of a Working Hero', which shows a miner poised in a bare-knuckle fight against a tattooed boxer, between them a boy clutching his teddy bear, the text in the scroll beneath reads: 'We work for the future and grieve

for the past' (Fig. 7). Perry intimated the demise of the legendary Big Hewer, describing how the blessing of the banners in Durham Cathedral, as part of the annual Gala, seemed to be 'a funeral for a certain sort of man'.<sup>33</sup>

As on Perry's banner, in a number of recently commissioned mining memorials it is women who are increasingly looked upon as the survivors of the industry, reflecting the important role they played in both the strike and in protesting later pit closures. Female heroism is constructed differently from the masculine heroism of miners, centering on



Fig. 8 Graham Ibbeson, *Oaks Memorial Sculpture*, 2017, bronze, Barnsley.



Fig. 9 John McKenna, *The 'Big Jigger'*, 2006, steel, Brownhills, West Midlands.



Fig. 10 Sebastien Boyesen, *The Guardian Six Bells Mining Memorial*, 2010, Abertillery, Wales.

women's ability to endure and carry on whilst grieving for their fallen menfolk. Graham Ibbeson's 2017 sculpture commemorating the Oaks disaster (1866) features a woman clutching her child, rushing to the colliery on hearing news of an explosion (Fig. 8). She is shown with coal running down her back, symbolic of the importance of coal as the 'backbone' of British industry, and she stands atop the miner entombed in the earth below.<sup>34</sup>

At the same time, something of the myth of the Big Hewer still lingers on, as captured by recent sculptural representations like John McKenna's 'Jigger' sculpture erected in Brownhills, formerly part of the South Staffordshire coalfield, in 2006 (Fig. 9). This 30ft stainless steel figure of towering defiance, named after a miner killed underground in 1951, evokes the myth of the mining superman, shown with his axe and lamp raised into the sky, symbolising both strength and virtue. Other sculptural interventions are more reflective, demonstrating both the miner's strength and fallibility, like Ray Lonsdale's 'marra', a 9ft miner with his heart torn out, erected in Horden in 2015, or Sebastien Boyesen's 66ft 'Guardian' statue unveiled in 2010 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Six Bells colliery disaster in Abertillery, a watchful protector surveying the landscape he once wrestled (Fig. 10). In an intentional move against traditional depictions, the miner appears 'almost stripped bare', without his lamp and pick-axe, arms outstretched in a pose that conveys both loss and protection.<sup>35</sup> Though he has been betrayed and broken, the presence of such silent giants in the former coalfields reflects the lingering mythology of the once-great Big Hewer.



## Mythbusting Iran's Nuclear Weapons Aspirations

Chris Evans, University of Reading

Though myths are commonly associated with traditional stories concerning early history, often with a supernatural element at play, a myth can equally be defined as a widely held, yet unfounded or false belief.<sup>1</sup> Since his inauguration in January 2017, President Trump has fuelled the creation of a modern myth, postulating a widely shared assertion that Iran harbours nuclear aspirations and is developing a clandestine nuclear weapons programme,<sup>2</sup> which has been disseminated through media reports among the wider public. The spread and acceptance of this myth can be empirically proven, as in a recent US opinion-poll, 73% of American participants said that 'it's likely Iran will develop nuclear weapons in the near future'.<sup>3</sup> But are these assertions factually correct, or are they purely contributing towards this modern myth? Is Iran currently developing or manufacturing nuclear weapons in violation of its legal and political obligations? This article seeks to debunk this myth surrounding Iran's suspected nuclear ambitions, and clarify that *currently* at least, Iran remains in compliance with its legal and political obligations to refrain from acquiring nuclear weapons, although the future outlook at present seems bleak.<sup>4</sup>

Though many stages are needed to develop a nuclear weapon, enrichment is regarded as the most significant step. Nuclear weapons are either uranium-235 or plutonium based, however concerns over Iran's enrichment activities centres around its uranium-235 stockpiles rather than its plutonium refinement. However, uranium-235 is not widely naturally occurring, and must be enriched to weapons-grade levels, consisting of 80–90% is uranium-235.

### Iran's Legal and Political Obligations

Before the mythbusting begins, I shall briefly outline Iran's key legal and political obligations which exist to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons. From a legal point of view, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) represents the cornerstone of the nuclear weapons regulatory framework,<sup>5</sup> and was primarily designed to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons among states during the Cold War. Iran falls within the category of non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS) under the NPT.

As a NNWS, Iran agrees under Article II not to receive the transfer of, or manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons by any means, but maintains an inalienable right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes under Article IV. Iran further agrees to conclude safeguard agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) which ensures that nuclear materials used in civilian, nuclear energy related capacity, are not diverted and used in a military capacity. However, in 2003, Iran was deemed to have violated its safeguard obligations under Article III, by failing to declare its uranium enrichment programme. In 2006, the UN Security Council demanded that Iran suspended its enrichment activities. Iran however did not comply. Despite diplomatic efforts to resolve Iran's nuclear activities, the US, EU and Security Council imposed economic sanctions on Iran, increasing in severity from 2010.<sup>6</sup>

Given the growing strain on Iran's economy from the imposition of heavy sanctions, Iran began negotiations with the US, China, Russia, UK, France, and Germany, which subsequently resulted in the conclusion of the now infamous Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) in 2015. The JCPOA establishes limitations on Iran's civilian uranium enrichment activities by restricting the number of gas centrifuges permitted which are used to enrich uranium for 10-years, and reduced Iran's stockpiled uranium by 98% for 15-years, which cannot be enriched above 3.67% uranium-235, and is therefore not suitable for nuclear weapons. In exchange, the US, the EU and the Security Council agreed to alleviate economic sanctions once compliance was verified by the IAEA.<sup>7</sup> The JCPOA has been described as a 'tremendous victory for diplomacy', and novel solution to address a challenging proliferation problem which had pervious remained unresolved.<sup>8</sup>

### Emergence of the Iran Nuclear 'Myth'

Despite the international community welcoming the adoption of the JCPOA, the President Trump has consistently opposed the deal, referring to the agreement as a 'disaster', and the 'worst deal ever' during his election campaign,<sup>9</sup> while repeatedly suggesting that Iran is violating the JCPOA.<sup>10</sup> President Trump eventually withdrew the US from the Deal in May 2018 and began re-imposing sanctions as part of his maximum pressure campaign, citing Iran's terrorist group links, its previous pursuit of nuclear weapons from the late 1980s to 2003, and criticising the impermanent nature of the deal as key reasons explaining the withdrawal.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu has also fuelled this rhetoric on a similar premise,<sup>12</sup> claiming that the JCPOA even facilitates Iran's desire to develop nuclear weapons.<sup>13</sup>

Given this state-led framing of Iran as an aspiring nuclear adversary, various media outlets, particularly of a tabloid nature, have widely reflected this myth of Iran's supposed nuclear aspirations towards the general public. A report in the *Express* has circulated rumours of how Iran is using 'secretive schemes' (par. 9) to help fund its nuclear weapons programme, using dramatic, emotive language and exaggerating powerful words such as 'MASS DESTRUCTION', while concurrently providing only vague details of the events taking place with little informed background discussion of the legal or political restrictions imposed upon Iran.<sup>14</sup> This merely fuels the rhetoric against Iran.

A recent article by *The Sun* titled; 'BLOWING UP: Iran's nuclear production QUADRUPLES as tensions with the US reach breaking point',<sup>15</sup> alludes to a 'provocative move' (par. 2) by Iran, which threatens to escalation US-Iranian tensions in the Middle East. While the article does correctly identify the nuclear production as an increase stockpiled amounts of low-enriched uranium, unsuitable for nuclear weapons development (par. 4–5), the overall tone seeks to frame Iran as the hostile party, and fails to mention that it was the US who first withdrew and violated the terms of the JCPOA by re-imposing sanctions. Although other new outlets portray a more objective overview of events,<sup>16</sup> *The Sun's* larger audience share helps misinform the general public, conveying a dangerous one-sided message filled with misleading information. Consequently, these articles help promote, endorse, and to a degree legitimise this modern myth and the US hard-line approach towards Iran, without undertaking any concise, objective analysis as to whether Iran is breaching its legal or political obligations.

## 'Debunking' the Iran Nuclear Weapon Myth

### i. JCPOA Compliance Reports

Despite these tabloid stories, there remains a reasonable amount of available evidence which suggests that Iran is not currently developing nuclear weapons. Firstly, under the JCPOA, Iran has committed to provisionally apply the IAEA 'Additional Protocol', which provides for further monitoring, inspections, and access to Iran's declared civilian nuclear energy facilities, allowing the IAEA to report and verify Iran's compliance with the limitations imposed by the JCPOA. In 2018 alone, Iran was subject to 385 inspections out of the 421 inspections carried out by the IAEA across all states with the 'Additional Protocol' in place, alongside 41 snap inspections with a shorter notice period.<sup>17</sup> Although one argument is that Iran's military nuclear programme may be developing in hidden, clandestine facilities like those discovered in 2003, this possibility is less likely

now given the wide-ranging IAEA verification activities in place, including the ability to inspect any previously undeclared sites that become known.

Importantly, in each compliance report, including the latest quarterly report from 31 May 2019, the IAEA has continued to verify that Iran remains compliant with, and has not breached the most important terms of the JCPOA, remaining well under the 300kg limit of low-enriched uranium permitted, and not enriching uranium above 3.67%.<sup>18</sup> This is despite the imposition of vast sanctions by the US since its withdrawal, which have placed a massive economic strain on Iran's financial sector, resulting in high levels of inflation. The breadth of verification measures and current compliance records would seem to support the assertion that the US created myth relating to Iran's nuclear weapons activity or ambitions remains factually unsubstantiated.

### ii. International Law Compliance

Attention now turns to whether Iran has breached its obligations under Article II of the NPT not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons. David Jonas notes that an ongoing debate persists as to which activities would fall under the term manufacture.<sup>19</sup> Andres Persbo supports a broader interpretation of the term manufacture to cover research and development steps, including significant enrichment activity.<sup>20</sup> Conversely, Daniel Joyner supports a narrower interpretation based on the plain meaning of the term manufacture by applying standard rules of treaty interpretation to cover only the physical manufacture of a completed nuclear weapon, or at its broadest the physical construction of key component parts.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, during the NPT negotiations it was suggested that a prohibition on preparing to manufacture should also be explicitly included under Article II, but was ultimately rejected by the negotiating parties.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, this author adopts the narrower interpretation of the term manufacture endorsed by Joyner, and Jonas in the following discussion.

Has Iran therefore breached its non-proliferation obligations under Article II based on this narrow interpretation of manufacture? An obvious, starting point is that Iran has *never* fully constructed, tested or manufactured a nuclear explosive device at any time in the past. Nor has it ever acquired a completed nuclear weapon from another state. In other words, and reiterating the conclusions of former IAEA Director General Mohamed ElBaradei from 2011,<sup>23</sup> there is no 'shred of evidence that Iran is weaponizing' (par. 39), nor ever developed the primary components of a nuclear weapon.

Concurrently, Iran and the IAEA, in conjunction with the JCPOA, agreed upon a 'Roadmap Agreement' to address the concerns of the IAEA over Iran's

past and present nuclear programme.<sup>24</sup> In the final report of the 'Roadmap Agreement' issued in December 2015, the IAEA noted that Iran's suspected nuclear weapons activities did 'not advance beyond feasibility and scientific studies' (par. 85), and found 'no credible indications of the diversion of nuclear materials in connection with possible military dimensions to Iran's nuclear programme' (par. 88).<sup>25</sup> The IAEA has currently not detected any trace of weapons-grade uranium since the start of inspections carried out under the JCPOA.

Moreover, it is worth reiterating that Iran has repeatedly claimed that its nuclear programme is solely for peaceful purposes, even going so far as to claiming that nuclear weapons are forbidden under Islam.<sup>26</sup> Speaking in 2015, former Iranian President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani reiterated that Iran's nuclear applications were peaceful, 'but it never left our mind that if one day we should be threatened and it was imperative, we should be able to go down the other path' (par. 9).<sup>27</sup> Yet simply considering the possibility of developing nuclear weapons would certainly not cross the threshold of the physical manufacture of a nuclear weapon or its component as prohibited under Article II. In essence, intention must be coupled with actual results in order to constitute a breach of Article II, a point to which Joyner also alludes.

A more troubling matter relates to Iran's ballistic missile activities. These are one form of delivery systems capable of launching nuclear warheads. Although UN Security Council Resolution 2231 retained some existing restrictions, calling upon Iran not to undertake nuclear-capable ballistic missile activities,<sup>28</sup> Iran has since conducted numerous ballistic missile tests since 2015, claiming that the tested missiles were for conventional weapons and defensive purposes only.<sup>29</sup> While these tests may amount to a possible violation of Resolution 2231,<sup>30</sup> and certainly represent a provocative move by Iran, such tests do not violate the obligation established by Article II. Consequently, it is reasonably safe to assume that Iran *currently* remains in compliance with Article II having not developed a nuclear weapon, or developed the primary components such as a completed warhead thus far.

### A Pessimistic Outlook?

Despite its commendable compliance thus far, Iran expressed a clear intention in recent months of ending its compliance with the JCPOA.<sup>31</sup> Iran's threats were first realised in July 2019, when the IAEA confirmed that Iran had exceeded both the 300kg uranium stockpile limit, and has enriched uranium-235 to 4.5%.<sup>32</sup> This, however, merely extends Iran's civilian nuclear energy capacity, and while this increased level of uranium enrichment exceeds the 3.67% level imposed by the JCPOA, the current enrichment levels remains nowhere near high enough for

weapons-grade uranium which must exceed 80% uranium-235. Consequently, this breach does not currently impose a near-term proliferation risk, despite suggestion by Secretary Pompeo this time who implied that the breach suggest nuclear weapon ambition.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, this move by Iran is unsurprising in light of the US' withdrawal and reimposing sanctions since May 2018 despite Iran being in verified compliance with the arrangement; indeed, why should Iran comply with the restrictions on its legally permitted civilian nuclear programme if the other parties to the deal are unable or unwilling to implement their commitments?

Perhaps more worrisome are suggestions made by Iranian officials that Iran could leave the NPT in response to the US leaving the JCPOA and re-establishing sanctions.<sup>34</sup> The NPT permits a state to withdraw if 'extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country'. Although states are only bound by the obligations that they consent to under international law, withdrawal by Iran would almost certainly demonstrate an indication of its intention to abandon its non-proliferation obligations in order to develop nuclear weapons. So far, only North Korea has withdrawn from the NPT, albeit under dubious circumstances,<sup>35</sup> and it has since gone on to develop and subsequently test nuclear weapons, partially in response to US economic and military pressure in the 1990s and 2000s. If Iran were to withdraw from the NPT in the future, clear parallels could be drawn between both cases.

Overall, there are troubled times on the horizon. Yet this begs the question as to why President Trump has sought to postulate an unfounded myth in the first place given Iran's ongoing compliance with both the JCPOA and NPT. One reason could be to protect Israel given Iran's repeated threats and reported state-sponsoring of Hezbollah. President Trump's concerns may also seek to draw from lessons of history, that is, Iran researched into nuclear weapons before, so they will do it again. Moreover, the President may simply perceive Iran as an irresponsible, radical, anti-Western state which poses a threat to American interests. Another argument is the weak claim that Iran has no need for any nuclear capacity because of its domestic oil capacities, despite the NPT providing an inalienable right for all states to develop nuclear energy technology. Yet regardless of the motivations here, the irony of course is that while President Trump has created this unfounded modern myth, a consequence of his maximum pressure campaign may be to push Iran towards develop nuclear weapons in response to growing hostility from the US. And if this eventually occurs, commentators and states will be looking to point the blame, and the finger will not necessarily be aimed at Tehran.



## Wak-Wak

Cristina Navazo-Eguia Newton, Cardiff University

At some point the caravan needs to stop  
for water and sleep and scuttlebutt.  
The tongue of the travellers gets loose on whatever  
– datewine, camel milk, boredom –  
around the fire.

All the idle talk about what may be beyond the Indian Sea,  
(which further south turns into the Sea of Obscurity),  
comes from a longing  
– or a fear  
feeding on mishearing  
– or misreading.

It is obscure desire that will urge al-Idrisi  
300 hundred years later  
to attempt a cartography  
of what is further  
under the title *The Yearner's Avocation*.

The fad spins sequels  
where the geography is increasingly neglected  
and the marvels inversely proportional  
as they pass from mouth to mouth.

Half-fabulous, half-not;  
it is and it isn't,  
like the memory of oneself.

Terra incognita,  
Wak-Wak

Amazonia  
the Island of Women  
Cathay  
Atlantis

you all are the stuff of  
monstrous hungers.

Whatever falls around,  
deciduous blue moons, aeons of tedium,  
dynasties of failures and disastrous victories,  
the yearning / dread lives on  
driving us to a pacifying madness  
we talk ourselves into.

We are fatigued by the same old, same old;  
we are stunned into idiocy by the mystery of it.

In the middle of it grows a tree.  
The kindle made from its wood releases the djinn;  
its aroma returns you to Paradise.  
Sandalwood bleeds the light of the moon  
and the fragrance of the perfect lover.  
Santal, candle, kindle.

Thieves covet the precious wood.

In the middle of it grows a tree  
guarded by serpents.  
If it weren't for them, there would no trees left.

In the middle grows a tree with leaves like those of the fig  
which talked to Iskander and told him the day he would die.

In the middle of Wak-Wak grows a tree with fruit like humans.  
Firstly, the feet appear, then shins, then thighs.  
The torso develops, then shoulders and arms.  
Eventually the head, hanging from the hair.  
When it's finally ripe it cries Wak Wak!  
and drops to the ground.  
The dropped fruit is buried so it will not stink as it rots.

In the middle of Wak-Wak grows a tree  
with fruits like beautifully formed women.  
They are all flesh and have no bones or souls.  
The monks wait till they are ripe,  
then they harvest them and take them for their pleasure.  
This is no sin, as they are fruits without a spirit.  
The remanent that is not gathered  
is left to fertilise the soil.

In the middle of everywhere  
there are trees from which strange fruit hangs.

Q

Sara Anstis was raised on a small island off the Canadian west coast and draws and lives wherever she finds good light. Her images, installations and collaborative projects take shape through an intuitive exploration of memories and desires. In her soft pastel paintings, unruly figures can be found engaging in scenes of revelry and living tender moments within landscapes built from imagination. In this world of their own, much of their mischievousness comes from the possibility of being caught by a look.

Anstis received her BFA in Studio Art and Sociology at Concordia University (Montreal, CA) in 2013 and her MFA in Fine Art from Valand Academy (Gothenburg, SE) in 2016. In 2018, she completed the Drawing Year Postgraduate Programme at the Royal Drawing School (London, UK).

*Sara Anstis*



*Thief*, (from series *By the Sea*), soft pastel on paper, 31.5 x 38 cm, 2019



## Endnotes

From God to Superhero: The Reception of Mercury in Comics, pp. 8–17

Bar Leshem, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

- 1 The god is mentioned in ancient literary sources such as Homer's *Iliad*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the *Homeric Hymns*. He is also represented in a variety of vase paintings and sculptures from ancient Greece and Rome. A fuller discussion is presented in the next section. In this paper, the god is referred to by his Greek name Hermes and Roman name Mercury. In the modern world, and specifically in the comic-book medium, he is mostly known as Mercury and is therefore referred to by this name in this context.
- 2 These three sites are spread across the Mycenaean Greek territories: The Peloponnese (Pylos), Thebes, and Crete (Knossos). See, Arlene Allan, *Hermes* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), p. 5.
- 3 In an attempt to interpret Hermes' name, H. J. Rose suggests that it may come from the Greek word *ἑρμα* (rock, stone, ballast), although he also considers the possibility that the Arcadians discovered the god upon their arrival in Arcadia, and that the name is not of Greek origin at all. See, H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London: University Paperbacks, 1965), p. 146.
- 4 For a fuller discussion on his traits see, Allan, pp. 23–38.
- 5 These sources may have had their origins in the oral tradition, which was certainly the case for Homer.
- 6 He plays an active role in: Homer, *Iliad*, ed. by D.B. Monro & T.W. Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) vv. 331–468, 677–94, xxi.497–502. References of a less significant nature can be found in *Iliad*, vv. 22–4, 153–5, 181–3, ii.104–5, v.388–90, xiv.490–1, xvi.181–7. See Allan, p. 10.
- 7 Hesiod, *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia*, ed. and trans. by G.W. Most (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018) vv. 937–9, 444; *Homeric Hymns*, trans. by D.J. Rayor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), numbers IV & XVIII.
- 8 Most of the artistic development can be found on Greek vases. A broad discussion on this can be found in, Allan, pp. 7–9.
- 9 For example: Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. by G.P. Goold & trans. by F.J. Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press) sections 6.7–23.
- 10 Allan, pp. 130–131.
- 11 See for example Ovid, *Met.*, 14.291, where Mercury is described as: 'Bringer of the blessing of peace.'
- 12 Charles Martindale, 'Reception,' in *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*, ed. by Craig W. Kallendorf (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007), p. 298.
- 13 For the reception of the gods in Renaissance art see: Luba Freedman, *The Revival of the Olympian Gods in Renaissance Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For the reception of Ovid see: John F. Miller and Carole E. Newlands, *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), especially the following chapters: Diskin Clay, 'The Metamorphosis of Ovid in Dante's *Divine Comedy*,' pp. 174–86, Paul Barolsky, 'Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the History of Baroque Art,' pp. 202–16, and, Dan Hooley, 'Ovid Translated: Early Modern Versions of the *Metamorphoses*,' pp. 339–54. For Hermes's reception in the early modern period, see: Maria Moog-Grünwald ed., 'Hermes,' in *Brill's New Pauly, The Reception of Myth and Mythology* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 343–45, and, Allan, pp. 167–70.
- 14 A notable example is Mercury's appearance, along with the other Olympian gods, in Disney's animated movie "Hercules" from 1997. He also appears in Japanese Anime, and even in video games. See the full survey on the subject in, Allan, pp. 170–75.
- 15 On the subject of the appearance of superheroes in the late 1930s and their development see: Richard Reynolds, *Super Heroes: A Modern Myth* (London: B.T Batsford, 1992); John M. Trushell, 'American Dreams of Mutants: The X-Men – "Pulp" Fiction, Science Fiction, and Superheroes,' *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 38 (1), (2004), pp.149–67 (pp. 150–52); *Ages of Heroes, Eras of Men: Superheroes and the American Experience*, ed. by Julian C. Chambliss, William Svitavsky and Thomas Donaldson (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), especially section 1: 'Defending the American way: The Golden Age of Comics, American Identity, and the Search for Order'. Pp. 6–106.
- 16 Luke V. Pitcher, 'Saying 'SHAZAM': The Magic of Antiquity in Superhero Comics,' *New Voices in Classical Reception Studies*, 4 (2009), pp.32–33.
- 17 The different "ages" of superheroes in comic books are presented below. D.C.'s Captain Marvel is usually known by the name SHAZAM.
- 18 Craig Dethloff, 'Coming Up to Code: Ancient Divinities Revisited,' in *Classics and Comics*, ed. by George Kovacs and C. W. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pg. 104. Heracles is one of the most well-known Greek heroes. He was begotten by Zeus and a mortal woman, Alcmene, and had to pass through a long course on earth, including the famous twelve labors, before he could celebrate his entry into Olympus. Perhaps the best-known representation of Heracles in the twentieth century is the Disney movie bearing his Roman name, *Hercules*, which contains many discrepancies compared to the Greco-Roman myth, but also demonstrates the desire of modern society to represent an ancient hero. For more information about Heracles, see, C. Kerényi, *The Heroes of the Greeks* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp. 125–206.
- 19 Debuted in: W. M. Marston, 'Introducing Wonder Woman,' *All Star Comics* #8 (DC Comics, Dec., 1941).
- 20 Probably the most obvious example is the 300 graphic novel published in 1998; Frank Miller, 300 (Dark Horse Comics, May–Sep., 1998). The storyline is a fictional retelling of the battle

of Thermopylae and the events leading up to it. This battle is mentioned in Herodotus's *The Histories*: Herodotus, *Histories*, trans. by G. Rawlinson (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics of World Literature, 1996) VII. 205.

- 21 These portrayals usually consist of fictitious storylines whereby the actions and attributes of the gods have been adapted to suit the modern age. An example is the third chapter of the first issue of *Red Raven Comics*, entitled *Mercury in the 20th Century*, which is discussed in the following section.
- 22 An example (albeit not Greco-Roman) is a god taken from Norse mythology, Thor, who explicitly appears as a superhero in the Marvel Comics universe; debuted in: Stan Lee and Larry Lieber, 'The Mighty Thor,' *Journey into Mystery* #83 (Marvel Comics, Aug., 1962). Another example is the appearance of the figure of Mercury in *Earth 2*, which is discussed below.
- 23 An obvious example is Wonder Woman, who debuted in 1941 (note 19). She is an Amazonian warrior-princess and the daughter of Queen Hippolyta – a known character from Greek Mythology. LoCicero raises the following question: 'How could Hippolyta have been Wonder Woman's mother, one might ask, remembering that Heracles killed her during his mission to steal her girdle?' He answers his own question as follows: 'Marston [William Moulton Marston, the creator of Wonder Woman] would have replied that the beauty of mythology is its lack of logical restriction'; See Don LoCicero, *Superheroes and Gods: A Comparative Study from Babylonia to Batman* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Co, 2008), p. 109. Thus, Wonder Woman is a fictional character with deep roots in Greek mythology.
- 24 Shazam is an example of this type. Pitcher presents Shazam as 'a magically-empowered hero with strong ties to Greco-Roman antiquity': Luke V. Pitcher, 'Saying 'SHAZAM': The Magic of Antiquity in Superhero Comics,' *New Voices in Classical Reception Studies*, 4 (2009), p. 29. The powers of the hero Billy Batson are derived from six Greco-Roman and biblical characters, as represented by the six letters of the name "Shazam": The wisdom of Solomon, the strength of Heracles, the stamina of Atlas, the power of Zeus, the courage of Achilles and the speed of Mercury: Bill Parker, 'Introducing Captain Marvel!' *Whiz Comics* #2 (Fawcett Publications, Feb., 1940).
- 25 Martin A. Bursten, 'Mercury in the 20th Century,' *Red Raven Comics* #1 (Timely Comics, Aug., 1940).
- 26 This nickname is presented in the comics itself, referencing the quickness of the god, which is a trait that is also known from ancient sources. See Martin A. Bursten, 'Mercury in the 20th Century,' *Red Raven Comics* #1 (Timely Comics, Aug., 1940), p. 30.
- 27 Martin A. Bursten, 'Mercury in the 20th Century,' *Red Raven Comics* #1 (Timely Comics, Aug., 1940), p. 30.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 29 Marc Di Paolo, *War, Politics and Superheroes: Ethics and Propaganda in Comics and Film* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Co, 2011), p. 24.

- 30 Scott presents the example of Shield #5 (1941) where the enemies of the Shield were depicted as sporting monocles and neatly trimmed facial hair – clear references to German soldiers. See Cord Scott, 'Written in Red, White, and Blue: A Comparison of Comic Book Propaganda from World War II and September 11,' *The Journal of Popular Culture* 40, 2 (2007), pp. 325–343 (pp. 326–327).
- 31 Further reading: B. J. Oropeza, *The Gospel According to Superheroes: Religion and Pop Culture* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005); Julian C. Chamliiss, William Svitavsky and Thomas Donaldson eds., *Ages of Heroes, Eras of Men: Superheroes and the American Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013); Bradford W. Wright, *Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), especially chapter 7: 'Great Power and Great Responsibility,' pp. 180–225.
- 32 In this era, all the known superheroes appeared in their basic forms, including Superman, Batman, and The Flash in his first identity (Jay Garrick).
- 33 During this period, DC and Marvel (the two main comic-book publishers of the superhero genre) started to alter the known superheroes and introduce new ones. The superheroes of this era were generally more human than their Golden-Age counterparts and exhibited flaws. Furthermore, it was not uncommon for main characters to die and for superheroes to kill their rivals instead of handing them over to the appropriate authorities.
- 34 Now, the storylines became darker and the superheroes took the law into their own hands. The classification of this era is based not only on the different storylines, but also on the shift from comic books to other media types. Thus, superheroes began to show greater presence in media other than comic books, including TV series, blockbuster movies, Manga and video games.
- 35 Gardner Fox, 'Origin of the Flash,' *Flash Comics* #1 (DC Comics, Jan., 1940).
- 36 He appeared in 32 issues of *The Flash*, as well as in many issues that combined multiple DC superheroes together.
- 37 James Robinson, *Earth 2* #1 (DC Comics, 2012–2013).
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 36.
- 40 Jeffrey Renaud, 'Exclusive: Robinson leaves A Big Hole in "Earth 2",' in *CBR News* <<https://www.cbr.com/exclusive-robinson-leaves-a-big-hole-in-earth-2/>> [accessed 13 August 2019].
- 41 In the original version, Garrick gets his powers by inhaling hard water.
- 42 See discussion in the above section of this paper: 'Mercury in the Twentieth Century'.

## The Great Jewish Migration of 1881–1914: History, Memory and Myth, pp. 18–25

Sam Hawkins, *University of Southampton*

- 1 David Cesarani, 'An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-Alienism in British Society Before 1940', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 11.3 (1992), 24–52 (pp. 47).
- 2 The Migration Observatory, 'Too many? Too few? Too difficult? How should the UK think about how many refugees to take?' in 'https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk', <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/commentaries/too-many-too-few-too-difficult-how-should-the-uk-think-about-how-many-refugees-to-take/> [accessed 12 June 2019].
- 3 John Garrard, *The English and Immigration: A Comparative Study of the Jewish Influx, 1880–1910* (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1971), pp. 10–11.
- 4 These two examples have been cited from two different texts, which both proposed to discuss the “alien” or immigrant problem. Arnold White’s opposition was often hyperbolic and can be characterised as possessing xenophobic tendencies. William Evans-Gordon by contrast, was conscious of these criticisms and was careful to be avoid making the issue a question of ethnicity. Rather, he proposed he was highlighting the general problem of paupers looking to relocate in Britain. See: Arnold White, *The Modern Jew* (London: William Heinemann, 1899), p. 5; and William Evans-Gordon, *The Alien Immigrant* (London: William Heinemann, 1903), p. 294.
- 5 The estimates vary, with the number placed between four and six million. In his economic study of English Jewry, Harold Pollins stated that prior to 1914, around 2 million Jews left Russia, which was around one third of the nation’s total Jewish population. See: Harold Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England* (Rutherford: Fairleigh University Press, 1982), p. 134.
- 6 Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914*, 3rd edn (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), p. 22.
- 7 Geoffrey Alderman, *The Jewish Community in British Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 50.
- 8 Historian John Klier warned, however, of the loose definition of the term “pogrom” and how it has been applied to the history of Eastern Europe and the Russian Empire. The very definition and categorisation of events as “pogroms” has enabled the suggestion that these horrific events were far more common and part of everyday life in Eastern Europe than they in fact were. Pogroms, Klier has argued, should be recognised as unique and exceptional events born of various factors, and not regular occurrences which all possessed the same characteristics. See: John Klier, *Russians, Jews and the Pogroms of 1881–1882* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 58.
- 9 A prime example of this treatment can be found in the memoirs of Joe Jacobs, an active, often outspoken and dissident member of the Communist Party in the East End. In the opening section of his memoirs, he fleetingly mentioned poor economic conditions as a reason for many departures. However, this was overshadowed by the ‘the pogroms and anti-Semitic persecutions which most of them had experienced’, along with military conscription. See: Joe Jacobs, *Out of the Ghetto: My Youth in the East End: Communism & Fascism, 1913–1939* (London: Janet Simon, 1978), p. 11.

- 10 Unfortunately, it is not within the scope of this article to explore the development of memory and myth for these two communities. Detailed studies have been conducted by historians, though, examining the process of memory conservation within these communities. Kathy Burrell has detailed how the children of the Polish émigré community and the second generation have ‘absorbed’ the experiences of their parents, piecing their family history together through two or three generations. They can recall in vivid detail the experiences of grandparents never met, with a striking level of confidence and authority as if they were there. Likewise, Wendy Ugolini similarly inspected the development of popular myths in Scottish-Italian community history. Through a series of oral interviews, she has interrogated the myths surrounding the often-romanticised experience of Edinburgh’s Italian community, who found themselves segregated and ostracised as ‘enemy aliens’ during the Second World War, a fact regularly omitted from the positive representations commonly encountered today. See: Kathy Burrell, ‘Personal, Inherited, Collective: Communicating and Layering Memories of Forced Polish Migration’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 24.2 (2006), 144–63; Wendy Ugolini, ‘Reinforcing Otherness? Edinburgh’s Italian Community and the Impact of the Second World War’, *Family & Community History*, 1.1 (1998), 57–69; and Wendy Ugolini, “‘Spaghetti Lengths in a Bowl?’ Recovering Narratives of Not ‘Belonging’ Amongst the Italian Scots”, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 31.2 (2013), 214–34.
- 11 *The Jewish Immigrant in England*, pp. 44–46.
- 12 This group of historians in the 1980s were termed the ‘New School’ of Anglo-Jewish history. Todd Endelman, noted in his survey of the academic scene how the once stagnant historical field of British Jewish history had been revitalised, with historians critically reassessing long-standing assumptions about Britain. Bill Williams is regarded as introducing the ‘emancipation contract’ theory, which posited that British society accepted her Jewish minority, so long as they assimilated and adopted British customs. This was not unchallenged in the ‘New School’, however, with other historians such as David Feldman arguing that the liberalism of British society offered her Jewish citizens opportunities not afforded elsewhere. The process of anglicisation was rather actively pursued by British Jews, as opposed to an imposed condition for their settlement in society. See: Todd Endelman, ‘Writing English Jewish History’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 27.4 (1995), 623–36; Bill Williams, “East and West”: Class and Community in Manchester Jewry, 1850–1914’, in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. by David Cesarani (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp. 15–33; and David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840–1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
- 13 Bud Flanagan, *My Crazy Life: The Autobiography of Bud Flanagan* (London: Frederick Muller, 1961), pp. 17–18.
- 14 Israel Sieff, *Memoirs* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970), pp. 23, 52.
- 15 David Cesarani, ‘The Myth of Origins: Ethnic Memory and the Experience of Migration’, *Patterns of Migration, 1850–1914*, ed. by Aubrey Newman and Stephen W Massil (London: Jewish Historical Society of England/Institute for Jewish Studies, 1996), pp. 247–54 (p. 250).



- 16 Shlomo Lambroza, 'The Pogroms of 1903–1906', in *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russia*, ed. by John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 195–247 (p. 218).
- 17 Hasia R. Diner, *Lower East Side Memories: A Jewish Place in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 7.
- 18 Louis Teeman, *Footprints in the Sand: An Autobiography* (Leeds: L. Teeman, 1976), p. 15.
- 19 Gemma Romain, *Connecting Histories: A Comparative Exploration of African-Caribbean and Jewish History and Memory in Modern Britain* (London: Kegan Paul, 2006), pp. 100–01.
- 20 Derek Penslar, *Jews and the Military: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 30–31.
- 21 Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *Jews in the Russian Army, 1827–1917: Drafted into Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 167.
- 22 *Jews in the Russian Army*, p. 2.
- 23 Selig Brodetsky, *Memoirs: From Ghetto to Israel* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1960), pp. 16–17.
- 24 Selma Berrol, *East Side/East End: Eastern European Jews in London and New York, 1870–1920* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 1994), p. 11.
- 25 Vivi Lachs, *Whitechapel Noise: Jewish Immigrant Life in Yiddish Song and Verse, London 1884–1914* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2018), p. 2.
- 26 Lloyd P. Gartner, *American and British Jews in the Age of the Great Migration* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2008), p. 23.
- 27 Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1972), p. 196.
- 28 Jill Pellew, 'The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905', *The Historical Journal*, 32.2 (1989), 369–85 (p. 379).
- 29 *American and British Jews in the Age of the Great Migration*, p. 23.
- 30 Nils Roemer, 'Memory', in *Routledge Handbook to Contemporary Jewish Cultures*, ed. by Laurence Roth and Nadia Valman (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 162–72 (p. 167–68).
- 31 Jewish Women in London Group, *Generations of Memories: Voices of Jewish Women* (London: Women's Press, 1989), p. 3.
- 32 Jewish Women in London Group, p. 6.
- 33 Charles Poulsen, *Scenes... from a Stepney Youth* (London: THAP Books, 1988), p. 16.
- 34 Cesarani, 'The Myth of Origin', pp. 252–53.
- 35 Cesarani, 'The Myth of Origin', pp. 253.

Chinese Myth of Resurrection: Translation of *Du Liniang's Resurrection*, pp. 26–30  
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- 1 This quotation is taken from Virgil's 'omnia vincit amor' in *Eclogues* X. 69.
- 2 Wm. Theodore de Bary, 'Introduction', in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed. by Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 14–15.
- 3 Raymond Geuss, 'Introduction', in Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and Other Writings*, trans. by Ronald Speirs, ed. by Raymond Geuss and Ronald Speirs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. vii–xiii (p. xi).
- 4 For example, in Christian belief, Jesus Christ resurrects after he is executed; in Egypt, the Pharaohs' bodies are well-preserved so that they will be brought back to life; in Indian Brahmanism, there are six living spaces. The dead enter another space and are reborn into some other forms.
- 5 Philip Schwyzer, *Archaeologies of English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 1.
- 6 Gan Bao, *Anecdotes About Spirits and Immortals*, trans. by Ding Wangdao, ed. by Huang Diming (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2004) (千宝, 《搜神记》, 黄涤明 校译, 丁往道 译, 北京: 外文出版社, 2004).
- 7 Tang Xianzu, *Peony Pavilion*, trans. by Cyril Birch, 2nd edition (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), p. ix.
- 8 Donald Alexander Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan* (London: The Gresham Publishing Company, Ltd., 1923), p. v.
- 9 Jeanette Rodriguez and Ted Fortier, *Cultural Memory: Resistance, Faith & Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), p. 7.
- 10 In Chinese culture, 'cloud and rain' (yun yu, 云雨) connote sex, as ancient Chinese people regard the emerging of cloud and rain as the natural representation of sexual intercourse.
- 11 The four treasures of the study include a brush (笔), ink (墨), paper (纸), and inkstone (砚).
- 12 The Mid-Autumn Festival (中秋节) is a time for joyful family union in China. Liniang's premature death and this family's bereavement are a stark contrast to the jubilant festival mood.
- 13 Da'e (嫦娥), Moon Goddess in Chinese myth.
- 14 Qin jin zhi huan (秦晋之欢), the historical and political marriage between Country Qin (秦) and Jin (晋); now this phrase generally means the marriage of two families.
- 15 *Du Liniang's Resurrection*, in Tang Xianzu, *Peony Pavilion*, ed. by Xu Shuofang and Yang Xiaomei (Beijing: The Publishing House of People's Literature, 2005), Appendix 2, pp. 313–319.  
 杜丽娘慕色还魂记, 载于《牡丹亭: 插图版》, 汤显祖著; 徐朔方、杨笑梅 校注  
 (北京人民文学出版社, 2005), 附录二, 第313至319页。

# A Narrative Closure of History Through Myth: Samuel Cavero's *Un Rincón Para los Muertos* and the Internal Armed Conflict in Perú, pp. 38–44

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- 1 Shining Path emerged as a specific faction amongst different Peruvian communist parties and would come to be shaped as a movement by the ideological thoughts of its leader, Abimael Guzmán. Guzmán considered his doctrine (known as 'pensamiento Gonzalo') as a new iteration in a long tradition of Marxist thought and believed himself to be the next leading figure of Communism in the world, following Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin and Mao Zedong. In this sense, he labelled himself as 'the fourth sword of Marxism', a position strongly supported by his followers. For studies on the origins of Shining Path, see: Carlos Degregori, *El surgimiento de Sendero Luminoso, Ayacucho 1969–1979* (Lima: IEP, 2011); Lewis Taylor, *Shining Path: Guerrilla War in Peru's Northern Highlands, 1980–1997* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006).
- 2 The event recognized as the first action of war is Shining Path's attack on the town of Chuschi, in the Ayacucho region, where they destroyed electoral facilities. It took place on the 17th of May 1980, on the eve of the election process that would elect Fernando Belaúnde Terry as president. The year 2000 is seen as the end of the main stage of the conflict, at the end of the authoritarian regime of Alberto Fujimori. At that time, years of widespread corruption and human rights violations during his presidency turned into a crisis and Fujimori fled the country. In addition to Shining Path, The Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA) also took part as an armed insurgent group in the internal conflict, though its role will not be addressed here.
- 3 According to Mark Cox, the publication of the novel brought Cavero a series of problems, not only with his family, of long military tradition, but also with the Peruvian Air Forces to which he belonged. His purpose for writing the novel and his political affinities came into question. See Mark Cox, 'Narrativas 'desde adentro' en la guerra interna peruana: presentación y balance', in *Memorias En Tinta: Ensayos Sobre La Representación De La Violencia Política En Argentina, Chile y Perú*, ed. by Lucero De Vivanco (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2013), pp. 450–66.
- 4 Back in 2008, Cox counted 68 novels and 306 short stories from Peruvian authors whose subject was the internal war. Around half of that number were published after the year 2000. Details about these works can be found in: Mark Cox, 'Bibliografía anotada de la ficción narrativa peruana sobre la guerra interna de los años ochenta y noventa (con un estudio previo)', *Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana*, 68 (2008), 227–68.
- 5 I label Vargas Llosa's novel as controversial based on the heated debate that followed its publication. An important part of it has to do with the previous participation of the Peruvian Nobel Prize in a State commission sent to investigate the assassination of eight journalists in 1983, during the first years of the war. The journalists had travelled to the indigenous community of Uchuraccay, in the Ayacucho region, to document the war. The event is known today as the Uchuraccay Massacre and set a landmark in the country's awareness of the escalating conflict. The most questioned parts of

- Vargas Llosa's participation have to do with his depiction of the indigenous people of Uchuraccay and his appeal to ethnic elements to explain the violence of the episode. The bibliography on the subject is extensive but relating specifically to *Lituma en los Andes*, see: Misha Kokotovic, 'Vargas Llosa in the Andes: The racial discourse of neoliberalism', *Confluencia*, 15 (2000), 156–67; Victor Vich, *El caníbal es el otro. Violencia y cultura en el Perú contemporáneo* (Lima: IEP, 2002); Lucero de Vivanco, 'El capítulo PCP-SL en la narrativa de Mario Vargas Llosa', *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, 80 (2011), 5–28.
- 6 Some recommended texts on this subject, made with the collaboration of different authors: *Batallas por la memoria: antagonismos de la promesa peruana*, ed. by Marita Hamann, Santiago López Maguiña, Gonzalo Portocarrero and Víctor Vich (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2003). *No hay mañana sin ayer: batallas por la memoria y consolidación democrática en el Perú*, ed. by Carlos Iván Degregori, Tamia Portugal Teillier, Gabriel Salazar Borja and Renzo Aroni Sulca (Lima: IEP, 2015).
  - 7 For critical works that address the relationships between Peruvian literature and the internal armed conflict see: Mark Cox, *Pachaticray (el mundo al revés): ensayos sobre la violencia política y la cultura peruana desde 1980* (Lima: Editorial San Marcos, 2004); Juan Carlos Ubilluz, Alexandra Hibbett and Victor Vich, *Contra el sueño de los justos. La literatura peruana ante la violencia política* (Lima: IEP, 2009); *Memorias En Tinta: Ensayos Sobre La Representación De La Violencia Política En Argentina, Chile y Perú*, ed. by Lucero De Vivanco (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2013).
  - 8 Mark Cox, 'Describiendo lo ajeno: narrativas criollas sobre la guerra interna en Ayacucho', *Hispanic Issues Online*, 17 (2016), 33–46 (p. 34).
  - 9 In Spanish, Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR).
  - 10 The TRC/CVR has estimated a number of 69,280 victims caused by the conflict. Responsibilities for the violence exerted are shared between the terrorist organizations, Shining Path and the MRTA; the Peruvian State, including its different branches of armed forces; and the self-defence armed groups from the peasantry. The number of victims that had an indigenous language as a mother tongue comprised 16% of the country's total population, which gives an idea of the scale of the tragedy. Furthermore, 40% of the fatal victims and missing persons reported are concentrated in the Ayacucho region. Indigenous peasants were the main victims of this war. See: Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, *Informe Final* (Lima: CVR, 2003), Conclusiones. There is an English version available in: <<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php>> [accessed 4 July 2019].
  - 11 In the mid-twentieth century different Latin American countries implemented agrarian reform policies, as was the case of Perú. These policies aimed to redistribute land ownership, as it was commonly concentrated in a very small percentage of the overall population. The problem of land ownership in Latin America has its roots in the distribution of land during colonial times (see note 12) and through the years has given birth to different conflicts, many of them armed subversions.

In Perú, agrarian reforms were implemented during the nationalist and politically left-oriented dictatorship of General Velasco Alvarado (1968–1975). The effectivity and consequences that these reforms had are still the subject of debate between scholars. For example, according to Peter Klaren, *Nación y Sociedad en la historia del Perú* (Lima: IEP, 2012), pp. 415–16, the Peruvian agrarian reform affected sixty percent of the country's agricultural land, dissolving the *hacienda* system and strongly affecting the landowner elite of the country; however, this agrarian reform had a lesser impact in the Andean highlands. (There is an English version of this text available, published as *Perú: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*).

- 12 *Hacienda* is a term commonly referring to a large rural estate controlled by a landowner, a socio-economic structure that characteristically developed in Latin America from colonial times. There are multiple definitions of it as it acquired different characteristics in each Latin American country. A brief definition can be found in Susan Ramírez, 'Haciendas in Latin America', in *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450*, ed. by Thomas Benjamin (Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2006), pp. 537–38. According to Ramírez, the origins of the *hacienda* can be traced back to the sixteenth century, when the Spanish crown started a policy of giving land grants to selected citizens. Many *haciendas* remained in the hands of the same families for years, and the structure persisted until republican times on the continent. These landowner families, like the Pomaredas from Caveró's novel, have historically been powerful actors in Latin America.
- 13 Lucero de Vivanco, 'Pares-dispares: dinámicas de simbolización de la violencia política en la literatura peruana (de 1980 al presente)', in *Memorias En Tinta: Ensayos Sobre La Representación De La Violencia Política En Argentina, Chile y Perú*, ed. by Lucero De Vivanco (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2013), pp. 333–61 (p.340).
- 14 The Spanish Conquest of America, also known as Spanish Colonization of the Americas, refers to the period in which the Spanish Crown forcefully established control over vast territories across the American continent. It begins with Christopher Columbus's first trip across the Atlantic in 1492, which is followed by around three and a half centuries of Spanish Colonial rule over those territories. The end date for the period is debated, but it is commonly mentioned that, when the Spanish king Ferdinand VII died in 1833, the Crown had lost the majority of its colonial possessions on the continent. Among many other influences, the Spanish Conquest brought Christianity to the Americas, including different currents of apocalyptic thought. Regarding apocalyptic imaginaries in Peruvian literature, see: Lucero De Vivanco, *Historias del más acá. Imaginario apocalíptico en la literatura peruana* (Lima: IEP, 2013), pp. 20–21.
- 15 Lois Parkinson Zamora, *Writing the Apocalypse: historical vision in contemporary U.S. and Latin American fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 14.
- 16 The word Ayacucho is composed of the Quichua words *aya* (corpse, dead or deceased people) and *kuchu* (corner). In this sense, Ayacucho is commonly translated into English as 'corner of the dead'. For the title, Caveró chooses the slightly different translation 'corner for the dead', probably to

emphasise the sense of an offering in the word, as the region's destruction in the novel symbolises that of the whole country during the war. There is an additional word play in the use of *rincón*, which normally means 'corner', but is also colloquially used to indicate a place. In this sense, the word *rincón* could be referring to the Ayacucho region or, again, to the whole country.

- 17 A particularly compelling work concerning this issue within Peruvian society is that of Nelson Manrique, *El tiempo del miedo: la violencia política en el Perú, 1980–1996* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2002), p. 25 (translation is mine): 'The vast majority of the victims of violence were indigenous people, traditionally considered as the bottom of the country's social ladder; people that have at most a second-rate citizenship and who are not perceived as having the same rights as members of the dominant society'. This argument is developed in detail in the first half of the book.
- 18 Carlos Iván Degregori, *Qué difícil es ser Dios. El Partido Comunista del Perú – Sendero Luminoso y el conflicto armado interno en el Perú: 1980–1999* (Lima: IEP-CNDDHH, 2010).
- 19 Translation is my own from Samuel Caveró, *Un rincón para los muertos* (Lima: Editores Asociados, 1987), p. 20: 'Siempre el fin del mundo estuvo muy cerca, muy cerca de ellos; lo sabían. Así creció en la imaginación popular de los indios y en sus propios mitos andinos, una suerte de fatales profecías que se revelarían en Pacaycasa y Ocopa. Vendría el mal profesado. Vendrían las pestes, la sequía, el mal del odio, el rencor y la venganza. Y el apocalipsis de estos pueblos llegaría dejándolos en escombros, como Huari'.
- 20 Parkinson (1994), p. 13, also points out that 'the apocalyptic assigns to event after event a pattern of historical relationships that will not repeat itself in the cyclical manner of oriental myth, but that presses steadily towards culmination'. And specifically regarding literary works, she adds that 'the directedness of apocalyptic narration is closely related to narrative plot. Like apocalypse, most plots can be described as a teleology of words and episodes, as comprehensible structures of action that are interrelated in a legible whole'.
- 21 An important part of this complex issue revolves around the fact that literary works about indigenous people have been mostly produced by non-indigenous authors. That authors enjoying a comparatively privileged socioeconomic position can write about the historical struggles of indigenous people raises a series of political questions. For an example of this discussion in Perú, see Antonio Cornejo Polar, *Literatura y sociedad en el Perú: la novela indigenista* (Lima: CELACP-Latinoamericana Editores, 2005). Cornejo Polar analyses the origins of the Peruvian indigenist movement in the early twentieth century, pointing out the striking socioeconomic and cultural differences that separated those Peruvian intellectuals from the indigenous people they intended to support. In his words (translation is mine), p. 34, 'in the specific field of literature, the revelation of the indigenous world [was] processed under forms associated with the Western literary system. It is clear that for both dimensions, that is, the overall conception of the world as well as the repertory of literary forms, quechua culture offers substantially different alternatives'. For an example



- specifically related to Peruvian literature about the internal war, see Juan Carlos Ubilluz, 'El fantasma de la nación cercada', in *Contra el sueño de los justos. La literatura peruana ante la violencia política*, ed. by Juan Carlos Ubilluz, Alexandra Hibbett and Victor Vich (Lima: IEP, 2009), pp. 19–85. Ubilluz discusses what he believes to be a widespread problem among contemporary Peruvian authors writing about the war: their persistent idea that indigenous people live in a culturally different and backwards version of Perú, imaginarily located in the Andean highlands.
- 22 Manrique, p. 222, summarises this event in a few words (translation is mine): 'the capture of Guzmán halted in its tracks an offensive that the day before seemed unstoppable'. As Manrique points out, Shining Path's leader was captured in a moment when the organization was in the middle of its biggest offensive since the beginning of the war. By then the conflict had reached the city of Lima and its effects were felt throughout the whole country. The war however was far from over. The violence in Perú would diminish over the years but the insurgent organizations were not completely disarticulated.
- 23 Julio Roldán, *Gonzalo: el mito. Apuntes para una interpretación del PCP-SL* (Lima: CONCYTEC, 1990).
- 24 Mark Cox, 'Violence and Relations of Power in Andean-based Peruvian Narrative since 1980' (Doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1995), p. 132.
- 25 Cavero, pp. 158, 179, 204, 207.
- 26 Translation is my own from Degregori (2010), pp. 84–85.
- 27 Eduardo Larrea, 'Del Indigenismo Literario A La Novela De La Guerra Interna: Evolución Y Presente De La Narrativa Autóctona En El Perú' (Doctoral dissertation, University of South Carolina, 2017), p. 168.
- 28 The image was first published in May 1985 by Shining Path. Wikimedia Commons, <<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/39/SenderoLuminosoPoster.jpg>> [accessed 4 July 2019]. Public domain. According to Wikimedia Commons: 'This is effectively in the public domain; since it was produced by the Communist Party of Peru (a.k.a. Shining Path), any copyright would belong to a terrorist organization and would be legally unenforceable'.
- 29 The Beast refers to the figures described in the biblical Book of Revelation, key characters in opposition to God during the events of the Christian apocalypse. See Revelation 11. 7; 13. 1–18; 17. 7–18; 19. 19–20.
- 30 Both Cox and Larrea share this view.
- 31 Translation is my own from Samuel Cavero, *Un rincón para los muertos* (Lima: Editores Asociados, 1987), p. 291: 'Fue así que el vandalismo, el pillaje y las apetencias del inicio de una sublevación armada con ideología comunista, acrecentaron la desesperación de opresores y oprimidos, de justos y pecadores, de todos. Se aplazaron festividades, las costumbres tradicionales se disiparon, y el mal sentó sus poderes y garras con mayor vehemencia que en los últimos años'.
- 32 Cavero, pp. 348–49, 358.
- 33 James Berger, *After the end: representations of post-apocalypse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 5.
- 34 Translation is my own, from Cavero, pp. 351: 'no es el pez grande'.
- 35 Cavero, pp. 351 '¿Dónde andará Gonzalo?...¿Usted, lo sabe?'.
- 36 According to Cox until 1992 the majority of narrative works about the war were from Peruvian authors from the Andean regions (Cox, p. 450).

Common Nostalgia & Collective Memory: Norman Rockwell, Thornton Wilder, and Nostalgic Visualisation of the Small-Town Myth, pp. 46–54

William Carroll, University of Birmingham

- 1 'Abraham Lincoln's Farewell Address', <<http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/farewell.htm>> [accessed 12 June 2019].
- 2 Tim Cresswell, *Place: A short introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p. 61.
- 3 Nathanael T. Booth, *American Small-Town Fiction 1940–1960* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2019), p. 1.
- 4 Booth, p. 42.
- 5 Miles Orvell, *The Death and Life of Main Street: Small Towns in American Memory, Space, and Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), p. ix.; Ryan Poll, *Main Street and Empire: The Fictional Small Town in the Age of Globalisation* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2012), p. 14.; Robert Wuthnow, *Small-Town America: Finding community, shaping the future* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 21.
- 6 'Local Colour', *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/109549?redirectedFrom=local+colour#eid1110856070>>, [accessed 4 June 2019].
- 7 Carl Van Doren, 'The Revolt from the Village: 1920', *The Nation*, 103 (1921), 407–12.
- 8 Thornton Wilder, *Our Town* (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), p. 21.
- 9 Wilder, p. 21.
- 10 Wilder, p. 65.
- 11 Brooke Wortham-Galvin, 'The Fabrication of Place in America: The Fictions and Traditions of the New England Village', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 21 (Spring, 2010), 21–34 (p. 23).
- 12 Wilder, p. 35.
- 13 Orvell, p. 2.
- 14 Wilder, p. 11.
- 15 Wilder, p. 12.

- 16 Wilder, p. 24.
- 17 Wilder, p. 22.
- 18 Wilder, p. 64.
- 19 Wilder, p. 12.
- 20 Brooke Wortham-Galvin, *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, p. 29.
- 21 Pamela V. Krol, 'Norman Rockwell: America's Artist', *The Saturday Evening Post*, April 5th 2010, <<https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2010/04/americas-artist/>> [accessed 15 June 2019].
- 22 This quote is taken from Garrison Keillor's popular radio segment 'News from Lake Wobegon', featured in the long-running Minnesota Public Radio variety show *A Prairie Home Companion*. A fictive Midwestern small-town, Lake Wobegon is, like Grover's Corner and Rockwell's many anonymous towns, a place of simple, down-home wisdom and tradition. Keillor wrote several books – *Lake Wobegon Days* (New York: Viking, 1985) and *Leaving Home* (New York: Viking, 1987) – set in the town.
- 23 Norman Rockwell, 'Artist's Foreword', in *Norman Rockwell: A Definitive Catalogue* (Stockbridge: Norman Rockwell Museum, 1986), p. xi.
- 24 Thomas Buechner, quoted by David H. Wood, 'Introduction,' in *Norman Rockwell: A Definitive Catalogue* (Stockbridge: Norman Rockwell Museum, 1986), p. xxvi.
- 25 Image available to view here: <<https://www.nrm.org/2013/05/from-canvas-to-screen-norman-rockwells-shuffletons-barbershop/>>. Norman Rockwell, *Shuffleton's Barbershop*, 1950, oil on canvas, 31" x 33", Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield. This painting was the cover illustration for 'The Saturday Evening Post' on 29 April 1950.
- 26 See Jennifer A. Greenhill's article 'The View from Outside: Rockwell and Race in 1950', *American Art*, 21 (Summer, 2007), 70–95 for an alternative reading of this image which addresses Rockwell's complex relationship with racial representation during his career. The warmth and inviting myth structure that I read in 'Shuffleton's Barbershop' is, of course, just one interpretation of Rockwell's style.
- 27 Richard Halpern, *Norman Rockwell: The Underside of Innocence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 11.
- 28 Halpern, p. 11.
- 29 Image available to view here: <https://www.nrm.org/main-street-stockbridge/>. Norman Rockwell, *Home for Christmas* (Stockbridge *Main Street at Christmas*), 1967, illustration for 'Home for Christmas' McCall's, oil and acrylic on board, 26 ¼" x 95 ¼", Norman Rockwell Family Agency / Norman Rockwell Art Collection Trust, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge.
- 30 Orvell, p. 42.
- 31 Ibid. p. 2.
- 32 Wortham-Galvin, p. 22.

- 33 WASPs is an acronym for 'white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant'. For further reading on the *Post*'s readership see Virginia Sammon's article 'Surviving the Saturday Evening Post', *The Antioch Review*, 29 (Spring, 1969), 101–08. Here, she writes that 'its audience of middle-class housewives may perhaps be the largest and most homogeneous single group in the nation' (p. 104). Similarly, John Fagg notes how 'few publications have claimed the voice of national consensus with greater confidence than the Saturday Evening Post in the first decades of the twentieth century'. See 'The Bewhiskered Rustic, Turned Orator': Robert Robinson's Old Men, Politics, and the Saturday Evening Post', *American Art*, 27 (Summer 2013), 68–93 (p. 69).
- 34 A thinly veiled expression of white racial dominance, Disney was under no illusions that his 'Main Street' theme park attraction was a reminder of a 'simpler' America, a revisionist time-warped where civil rights and gender equality were, at their very best, embryonic. For more on this topic, see Richard V. Francaviglia's *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small-Town America* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996).

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#### In this Age of Wonders: Exploring the Myth of George Muller, pp. 56–63

Kate Brooks, *Bath Spa University*

- 1 Peter Higginbotham, *Children's Homes: A History of Institutional Care for Britain's Young* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2017), p. 63; The buildings remain, now partly flats, part-owned by City of Bristol College.
- 2 The Muller Foundation, *Our History* (2019) <<https://www.mullers.org/our-history>> [accessed 10 June 2019].
- 3 Charles Dickens, 'Brother Muller and His Orphan Work', *Household Words: A Weekly Journal*, 16 (1857), 433–38; Lord Shaftesbury (1801–1885) – 'The Poor Man's Earl' – was a leading reformer and founder of 'Ragged Schools' (Higginbotham, p. 15). Higginbotham (and others) claim Muller's work influenced both Shaftesbury and Barnardo.
- 4 A 1910 charabanc tour of Bristol, for example, stopped at Clifton, Sea Walls and 'Muller's Orphan Houses' as 'tours to the most interesting places in the district' (*Bristol Magpie*, 9 June 1910, pp. 1–13).
- 5 An example of the *Narratives* is available online: *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings with George Muller Part 1* (1865/2007) <[http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/20379\\_9](http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/20379_9)> [accessed 11 June 2019].
- 6 Newspapers as far away as the *Glasgow Herald*, for example, would regularly quote Muller's *Narratives* (cf. 'George Muller's Orphan Homes', *The Glasgow Herald*, 11 September 1865, pp. 1–8).
- 7 For more information on the history of the Plymouth Brethren cf. Massimo Introvigne's sympathetic history, *The Plymouth Brethren* (Oxford: OUP, 2018). For a more critical account of the historical and contemporary Brethren cf. Rebecca Stott's account of a Brethren childhood: *In the Days of Rain* (London: 4th Estate, 2017). Both deal with issues beyond the remit of this paper, but it is

- interesting to note here that Introvigne refers to the Plymouth Brethren as a 'radical evangelical movement' (p. 11) whilst in her book, Stott refers to it as 'fanatical' (p. 105) and a 'cult' (p. 17).
- 8 Roger Steer, *George Muller: delighted in God* (Tain: Christian Focus productions, 2012), p. 58.
  - 9 George Muller, cited in A.E.C Brooks, *Answers to Prayer from George Muller's Narratives* (Chicago: The Moody Press, 1895), p. 4.
  - 10 William Elfe Tayler, *The Bristol Orphan Houses Ashley Down: The History Of The New Orphan Houses On Ashley Down, Bristol, Under The Direction Of George Muller* (1871) (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2018), p. 145.
  - 11 Cf. [www.mullers.org](http://www.mullers.org) for a summary of Muller's story, as well as a list of historical sources written from an evangelical Christian perspective.
  - 12 Elfe Tayler, *The Bristol Orphan Houses*, p. 1.
  - 13 The Ashley Down Young Rangers provided Christian 'outreach' to Lakota Sioux teens in South Dakota, based on Muller's original Brethren teachings and named after the Muller Home location (cf. [ashleydownyr.org](http://ashleydownyr.org)).
  - 14 Cf. Nancy Garton, *George Muller and his Orphans* (Sussex: Churchman Publishing Ltd, 1987), pp. 65–66 for a detailed account of this story and its origins.
  - 15 Clive Langmead, *Robber of the Cruel Streets: The Prayerful Life of George Muller* (Surrey: Crusade for World revival, 2006), p. 171, and Roger Steer *George Muller: Delighted in God* (Tain: Christian Focus productions, 2006), p. 240 both have detailed accounts of the story of the lifting of the fog.
  - 16 George Muller, cited in A.E.C Brooks *Answers to Prayer from George Muller's Narratives* (Chicago: The Moody Press, 1895), p. 3.
  - 17 Dr A.T Pierson, *George Muller of Bristol* (London: Pickering and Inglis, 1899), p. 306.
  - 18 Interestingly, Langmead's account of this story notes Muller's wife 'only mentions fog delaying their arrival and on lifting, had revealed land to be close' in her diary. Langmead suggests perhaps 'answers to prayer' were, for her, 'routine.' (Langmead, p. 171).
  - 19 Steer, p. 7.
  - 20 Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 3.
  - 21 Koven, p. 3.
  - 22 Madge Dresser, 'Protestant, Catholics and Jews: Religious Difference and political status in Bristol 1750–1850', in *The Making of Modern Bristol*, ed. by Madge Dresser and Phil Ollerenshaw (Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 1996), pp. 93–126, p. 96.
  - 23 Cf. Jose Harris's detailed account of this 'pluralist' age in *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870–1914* (Middlesex: Oxford University Press, 1993).
  - 24 Matthew Tompkins, *The Spectacle of Illusion* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2019), p. 19.

- 25 Tompkins makes the point that the 'staggering variety of religious awakenings' in the Victorian era 'sometimes became strangely blended' with what we would now define as spiritualism or 'mysticism' – there was a 'steady and eclectic parade of Doomsday cults, prophets, seers and saviours' particularly in the US and the UK (p. 19). As Tompkins goes on to note, some of these 'mystical' ideas are now mainstream. Brethren founder Edward Cronin for example is now widely recognised as a pioneer of Homeopathy.
- 26 Angelique Richardson, *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), p. 59.
- 27 Gillian Sutherland, *Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century* (London: The Historical Association, 1971), p. 5.
- 28 Edwin Royston Pike, 'Young England', in *Human Documents of the Victorian Golden Age (1850–1875)* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1967), pp. 138–53.
- 29 Janette Bright, *J Fashioning the Foundlings – Education, Instruction and Apprenticeship at the London Foundling Hospital c.1741–1800* Unpublished MRes in Historical Research, University of London. (Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, 2017).
- 30 Cf. Royston Pike, pp. 138–53.
- 31 Elfe Tayler refers to the institution as 'visible proof that the Lord delights in answering prayer' (p. 21).
- 32 Cf. *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings with George Muller Part 1* (1865/2007) <[http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/20379\\_9](http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/20379_9)> [accessed 11 June 2019].
- 33 The Muller Foundation, *Muller's Story* (2019). <<https://www.mullers.org/our-history>> [accessed 10 June 2019].
- 34 Langmead, p. 116.
- 35 Steer, p. 9.
- 36 Alun Munslow, 'Thoughts on Authoring the Past as History', *Rethinking History*, 20.4 (2016), pp. 556–85, (p. 585).
- 37 Munslow, p. 585.
- 38 Elfe Tayler, p. 4.
- 39 Koven, p. 95.
- 40 Koven, p. 95.
- 41 Koven, p. 95.
- 42 Charles Dickens, *Night Walks* (1850–1870) (London: Penguin, 2010).
- 43 John Edward White, *Children's Employment Commission Report* (1862), p. 53. <[https://archive.org/stream/b21365350/b21365350\\_djvu.tx](https://archive.org/stream/b21365350/b21365350_djvu.tx)> [accessed 7 October 2019]
- 44 Edwin Royston Pike, *Human Documents of the Victorian Golden Age (1850–1875)* (London: George



Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1967). The report sets out how such children are ‘squalid and uncared for’ and will inevitably suffer an early death: ‘this sacrifice is in no way needed for the public good’ (p. 132).

- 45 *The Water Babies* was originally intended as a satire of the debates around Darwin’s *Origins of the Species*. Although a Church of England vicar, Kingsley was sympathetic to Darwin’s ideas, and a campaigner against child labour [*The Water Babies*, <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/charles-kingsleys-the-water-babies>>, accessed 2 August 2019]
- 46 Royston Pike writes somewhat scathingly about ‘tender hearted young ladies’ crying over Blake’s ‘pretty little poem’ whilst a ‘miserable urchin’ continues to clean the chimney of that ‘same drawing room’ (p. 138)
- 47 Introvigne, p. 12.
- 48 Along with Noah’s Ark and the Good Samaritan, both these stories remain the most popularly known from the Bible, according to the UK Bible Society (<<https://www.biblesociety.org.uk/what-we-do/england-and-wales/nations-favourite-bible-stories/britains-top-10-bible-stories/>>)
- 49 Sutherland, n.p.
- 50 George Muller, *Brief Narrative of Facts relative to the New Orphan Houses (for 2050 children) on Ashley Down 1873* (London: J.Nisbet, 1895), p. 31.
- 51 Koven uses this phrase to describe how Barnardo draws on evangelical novels, in which popular narratives are rewritten to give them an evangelical theme (p. 123).
- 52 Lowood was based on the Clergy Daughters’ School, Lancashire, ‘unhealthily...spartanly run on almost a parody of evangelical beliefs’, and at which, Maria and Elizabeth Bronte contracted fatal illnesses in 1825. Helen Cooper, ‘Introduction’ in Charlotte Bronte *Villette* (London: Penguin 2016, p. 11). In an example of life imitating art, Muller’s was subject to a typhoid epidemic very similar to that described at Lowood, in 1875: newspapers reported that preventative measures had not been undertaken as the asylum authorities believed it ‘a visitation from God’ (*The Bradford Observer*, no. 3927 (30 July 1875, p.3), *British Library Newspapers, Part II: 1800–1900*). The Brontë’s are one of the few books approved by the more exclusive ‘Closed’ sector of the Plymouth Brethren (Introvigne, p. 113).
- 53 Charlotte Bronte, *Jane Eyre* (London: Penguin, 2011). Incidentally, the 1847 edition, published as authored by ‘Currer Bell’, Bronte’s male pseudonym, is dedicated to William Thackeray, whose *Vanity Fair*, published the same year, similarly features a headstrong, unconventional orphan girl, Becky Sharp.
- 54 Dresser, p. 96.
- 55 Elfe Tayler, p. 160.
- 56 Steer, p. 237.

‘[S]wift with the advancing tide’: Secularisation of the Biblical Flood Myth in George Eliot’s *The Mill on the Floss* (1860), pp. 68–74

Charlotte Lancaster, Bath Spa University

- 1 George Eliot, *The Journals of George Eliot*, ed. by Judith Johnson and Margaret Harris, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p. 145.
- 2 Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Richard Marggraf Turley and Howard Thomas, ‘Moving accidents by flood and field: The Arable and Tidal Worlds of George Eliot’s *The Mill on the Floss*’, *ELH*, 82: 2 (2015), pp. 701–728, (p. 712).
- 3 George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*, (London: Vintage, 2010), p. 43.
- 4 David Jules Law, *The Social Life of Fluids: Blood, Milk, and Water in the Victorian Novel*, (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2008), p. 5.
- 5 On the British agricultural crisis in the mid-nineteenth century and its representation in the Victorian novel, see David Jules Law, *The Social Life of Fluids: Blood, Milk, and Water in the Victorian Novel*, p. 78.
- 6 Lawrence Coupe, *Myth*, (London: Routledge, 2008) p. 93.
- 7 Jerome H. Buckley, *Season of Youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974) p. 114.
- 8 F. R. Leavis, *The Great Tradition: George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948), p. 45
- 9 Anny Sadrin. “Time, Tense, Weather in Three ‘Flood Novels’, *Bleak House*, *The Mill on the Floss*, *To the Lighthouse*.” *Yearbook of English Studies*, 30 (2000), pp. 96–105.
- 10 Beer, Gillian. *Darwin’s Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot, and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 1983, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 118.
- 11 Darryl Jones, “‘as if the waters had but newly retired from the face of the earth’: The Flood in Victorian Fiction”, *Literature and Theology*, 26: 4 (2012) pp. 439–458. (p. 441).
- 12 Jones, p. 454
- 13 Dwight H Purdy, ‘The Wit of Biblical Allusion in *The Mill on the Floss*’, *Studies in Philology* 102: 2 (2005), pp. 241–267 (p. 236).
- 14 George Eliot, *The George Eliot Letters*, vol 7, ed. by Gordon S Haight, (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1954), p. 68.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Richard Marggraf Turley and Howard Thomas, ‘Moving accidents by flood and field: The Arable and Tidal Worlds of George Eliot’s *The Mill on the Floss*’, *ELH*, 82: 2 (2015), pp. 701–728, (p. 722).

- 17 Larry Rubin, 'River Imagery as a Means of Foreshadowing in *The Mill on the Floss*', *MLN*, 71 (1965), pp. 18–22, (p. 18).
- 18 Archer et al, p. 723.
- 19 *The Mill on the Floss*, p. 583.
- 20 *The Mill on the Floss*, p. 130.
- 21 Ibid, p. 296
- 22 Ibid, p. 53
- 23 Ibid, p. 587.
- 24 Ibid, p. 589.
- 25 Christophe Bode and Rainer Dietrich, *Future Narratives: Theory, Poetics, and Media-Historical Moment*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).
- 26 George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature, or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*, ed. by David Lowenthal, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), p. 2.
- 27 Brian Lancaster, "George Eliot's Other River," *Notes and Queries* 54 (2007) pp. 150–51 (p. 151).

### The Rise and Fall of the Big Hewer, pp. 76–85

Emily Peirson-Webber, *University of Reading & University of Exeter*

- 1 E. MacColl, P. Seeger and C. Parker, *The Big Hewer (A Radio Ballad)* (Topic Records, B00000JG3W, 2008). This was first broadcast on BBC Home Service radio on the 18th August 1961, and is also available on CD as per the reference above.
- 2 Collier is a title used for those employed in coal mining, in the mining industry itself the title collier was typically given to those involved in the physical extraction of coal.
- 3 Jean R Freedman, *Peggy Seeger: A Life of Music, Love, and Politics* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2017), p. 150.
- 4 Michael Pollard, *The Hardest Work Under Heaven: The Life and Death of the British Miner* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), p. 49.
- 5 Barbara Freese, *Coal: A Human History*, (London: Random House, 2006), p. 12–13.
- 6 V. L. Allen, *The Militancy of British Miners* (Shipley: The Moor Press, 1981), p. 92. The Wilberforce Report was the outcome of a government-sponsored enquiry into the coal mining dispute of 1972, considering the legitimacy of miners' pay claim, chaired by Lord Wilberforce.
- 7 Allen, p. 94.
- 8 John Benson, *British Coalminers in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History* (Harlow: Longman, 1989), p. 33, pp. 34–35.

- 9 'Brief Biography: Samson Gilbert Daykin, 1886–1939', *The Hidden Art of Barnsley*, Barnsley Art on Your Doorstep website N.d. <<http://barnsleyartonyourdoorstep.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Brief-Biography-Gilbert-Daykin.pdf>> [accessed 31 July 2019].
- 10 Brief Biography., p. 45.
- 11 Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain III* (London: G. Strahan, 1727), p. 151.
- 12 Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil: Or the Two Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 139.
- 13 Richard H. Horne, 'The True Story of a Coal Fire', *Household Words*, 6 April 1850, pp. 26–31. In 1842 Horne compiled the *Report of the Children's Employment Commission* into child labour in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, following the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Children's Employment established by Parliament in 1840, which initially looked at the employment of children in mines.
- 14 Horne, 'The True Story of a Coal Fire', pp. 28–30.
- 15 Horne, 'The True Story of a Coal Fire', *Household Words*, 13 April 1850, p. 72.
- 16 D H Lawrence, 'Nottingham and the mining country', *The Spokesman: Rojova in View*, 135 (2016), pp. 85–92 (p.88).
- 17 George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Penguin, 2001), pp. 18–19.
- 18 The creator and date of this banner is unknown – the Colliery opened in 1965 and closed in 2015, and the banner was paraded in 1983.
- 19 Sid Caplin, 'Foreword', in: William A. Moyes, *The Banner Book* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham, 1974), pp. 3–4.
- 20 See the North East Area Banner and Hanley Branches banner.
- 21 *Coal*, 1, May 1947, p. 19 and p. 13.
- 22 H. Andrew Freeth, 'John Jones, Pit Profile no.21', *Coal*, January 1949, p. 9.
- 23 Allen, p. 44, p. 56.
- 24 Allen, p. 55.
- 25 Allen, p. 55.
- 26 Michael Pollard, *The Hardest Work Under Heaven: The Life and Death of the British Miner* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), pp. 25–26.
- 27 Allen, p. 219
- 28 B. Campbell, *Wigan Pier Revisited* (London: Virago Press, 1984), p. 113.
- 29 Alwyn W. Turner, *Rejoice! Rejoice! Britain in the 1980s* (London: Aurum Press, 2013), p. 178.
- 30 Turner, p. 180.
- 31 Bell, D. *The Dirty Thirty* (Nottingham: Five Leaves, 2009), p. 80.

- 32 Gwyn A. Williams, 'Introduction', in John Gorman, *Banner Bright: An Illustrated History of Trade Union Banners* (Buckhurst Hill: Scorpion Publishing, 1986), pp. 13–26 (p. 24).
- 33 'Death of a Working Hero by Grayson Perry', Paragon website N.d. <<http://paragonpress.co.uk/works/death-of-a-working-hero>> [accessed 13 June 2019]
- 34 'Oaks Memorial Sculpture by Graham Ibbeson', Oaks Disaster 1866 website N.d. <<http://www.oaks1866.com/memorials/oaks-memorial-sculpture-by-graham-ibbeson/>> [accessed 31 July 2019]
- 35 Taken from the Guardian Six Bells Mining Memorial interpretation panel.

### Mythbusting Iran's Nuclear Weapons Aspirations, pp. 86–91

Chris Evans, *University of Reading*

- 1 Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 'Myth', <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/myth>> [accessed 16 October 2019].
- 2 See for a clear example of this, 'Remarks by President Trump on Iran Strategy', White House Briefing Statements, 13 October 2017, <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-iran-strategy/>> [accessed 16 October 2019].
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