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Suggestions for articles by current and former British Academy grant- and post-holders,
as well as by Fellows of the British Academy, are very welcome. Suggestions may be sent
to the Editor, James Rivington, at pubs@britac.ac.uk

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In this issue

As usual, this issue contains articles derived from the British Academy's programmes of events and publications. But the issue concentrates on the Academy's support for academic research.

In October 2012, the Academy was delighted to announce a new round of **British Academy Wolfson Research Professorships**; at the moment of writing, a healthy crop of applications is being assessed. These awards are designed primarily for established scholars who already have a significant track record of publication of works of distinction in their field, and who have a major programme of research which would benefit from three years of uninterrupted concentration on what may be the 'career-defining' research of their academic lives. The first three articles in this issue (pp. 2–14) are by scholars – David Perrett, Robert Frost, and Roy Foster – who have recently completed their own British Academy Wolfson Research Professorships.

At the other end of the academic ladder, **British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowships** constitute the Academy's flagship early-career development opportunity for scholars who have recently been awarded a PhD and who have not yet obtained a permanent academic post to have three years to work on a major piece of research in a university environment. The next three articles (pp. 15–25) –

by Erika Mansnerus, Kirsty McDougall, and Jessie Hohmann – all derive from work undertaken during their British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowships.

To mark the 50th anniversary of the first awards made from a British Academy 'Research Fund', there is an article (p. 27) to celebrate the continuing importance of the **British Academy Small Research Grants** scheme.

The **British Academy Research Projects** programme offers a kitemark of recognition, as well as access to regular small-scale funding, to a portfolio of long-term collaborative, infrastructural projects or research facilities, intended to produce fundamental works of scholarship. This issue contains three articles (pp. 30–43) by scholars working on Academy Research Projects.

Further information on the Academy's support for academic research can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/funding/

Eating fruit and vegetables gives your skin a golden glow

DAVID I. PERRETT, ROSS D. WHITEHEAD and GOZDE OZAKINCI

DESPITE WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGNS to increase fruit and vegetable consumption, intake is commonly inadequate, precipitating an estimated 2.6 million premature deaths per year worldwide.[1] A British Academy Wolfson Research Professorship awarded to David Perrett has provided support to explore a new basis of motivating dietary change, essentially by appealing to vanity. With that support we found that eating carotenoid-rich fruit and vegetables leads to an attractive looking skin colour, and that showing people these appearance benefits can encourage dietary improvement.

The health problem: knowledge is not enough

Insufficient fruit and vegetable consumption is associated with higher incidence of cardiovascular disorders, stroke, diabetes, some cancers and obesity.[2] The ramifications of these diseases are widely felt. Not only are there debilitating consequences for personal well-being, but also illness overburdens health-care systems, and adds to countries' financial woes through the lost productivity of sufferers and their supporters.

Fruit and vegetable consumption is particularly poor in parts of the United Kingdom. For example, only one in five Scottish adults meet the World Health Organization's recommended intake of five fruit and vegetable portions per day.[3] Amongst younger adults the situation is even worse, with more than 20% of 16- to 24-year-olds reporting eating no fruit or vegetables at all. Since adolescent habits are likely to last, the poor diet of today's youth is likely to magnify the already substantial burden of chronic disease in the coming decades. There is a clear need for dietary improvement, particularly amongst the young and those living in deprived areas, but there is room for substantial improvement in diet throughout the whole population.

Current attempts to encourage dietary change at a population level, such as the high profile '5-a-day' campaign, provide individuals with information on what a healthy diet is and how it benefits health in guarding against chronic diseases.[4] Yet the provision of health information *alone* does not seem sufficient to motivate adherence to recommendations. Two decades after the inception of 5-a-day campaigns, diet remains a key determinant of preventable sickness and death.[5] There is all too often a discrepancy between good dietary intentions and what people actually eat:[6] most individuals are aware of what constitutes a healthy diet but fail to act on this knowledge.

The question is: how do we get people to act on knowledge and good intentions? Inspiration may come from considering sex and the role of diet in coloured ornaments in the animal kingdom. For many species, bright ornaments are pivotal in gaining the attention of sexual partners. Humans go to extraordinary lengths to improve their chances of finding a suitable partner, so people may take on a better diet if they know it improves their sex life.

Of birds and fish

Many animals wear a health badge in the form of a colourful ornament. Examples in the United Kingdom are the yellow breast of great tits, yellow bills of blackbirds, red comb of grouse, and the red belly of male stickleback fish. All these ornaments are brighter in individuals who are healthy and duller in individuals with infections. Perhaps understandably the individuals with brighter ornaments in these species are more attractive to potential mates.

We might assume red ornaments are a sign of good blood supply, but the colour in many animal ornaments is based not on blood supply but on a large family of (600+) carotenoid plant pigments that are obtained through diet. Carotenoids are a family of red-yellow chemicals that are abundant in coloured fruit and vegetables. Examples include lycopene that makes tomatoes red, carotene that makes carrots orange, and lutein that can impart yellow

[1] K. Lock, J. Pomerleau, L. Causer, D.R. Altmann and M. McKee, 'The global burden of disease attributable to low consumption of fruit and vegetables: implications for the global strategy on diet', *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 83:2 (2005), 100-108.
[2] World Health Organization, *Global Strategy on Diet, Physical Activity and Health* (2004), available at www.who.int/dietphysicalactivity/strategy/eb11344/strategy_english_web.pdf (accessed June 2012).
[3] The Scottish Government. Scottish Health Survey. April 2012, available at www.scotland.gov.uk/topics/statistics/browse/health/scottish-health-survey (accessed June 2012).

[4] World Health Organization, *Diet, Nutrition and the Prevention of Chronic Diseases: Report of a WHO Study Group* (Technical Report Series, 797; Geneva, World Health Organization, 1990), available via www.who.int/dietphysicalactivity/publications/trs916/intro/en (accessed April 2011).
[5] World Health Organization, *World Health Statistics 2011*, available at www.who.int/gho/publications/world_health_statistics/EN_WHS2011_Full.pdf (accessed April 2012).
[6] Foods Standards Agency, *Consumer Attitudes to Food Standards, Wave 6: UK Report, 2005*, (February 2006), available at www.food.gov.uk/multimedia/pdfs/casuk05.pdf (accessed June 2012).

coloration to peppers. Note: green fruit and vegetables often contain the same amount of carotenoids as orange yellow and red ones, but chlorophyll in these foods masks their outward appearance. The appeal of coloured fruit and vegetables (Figure 1) is fitting to the benefits that their consumption can bring.

Carotenoids do more than produce pretty colours in animals and plants. They help neutralise reactive oxidising chemicals formed as an unfortunate by-product of normal living and obtaining energy from carbohydrates. These dangerously reactive chemicals are also produced by the frontline agents of the immune system, the white blood cells, when destroying bacteria and virus-infected cells. The carotenoids are antioxidants and help protect cell membranes, enzymes and DNA from oxidising damage; but the carotenoids are expended in this neutralising role, so carotenoid levels in the blood fall during an infection. The only way they can be replenished is through diet – eating more of the right kind of food. Hence, the carotenoids can act as an 'honest' cue to the bearer's health. Since healthy individuals do not get infected often, they don't use their carotenoids in the war against infections, and can deploy them in showy ornaments.

In the animal kingdom, choosing a mate with extravagantly coloured ornaments has both short-term and long-term benefits. Long-term benefits take the form of healthy offspring. More immediate benefits come from the fact that a partner who is fit and well can execute duties, provisioning and defence of the family, and is unlikely to be a source of contagious disease.

Carotenoids and human skin colour

Carotenoid pigments are found in all layers of human skin. Therefore, we wondered whether diet would have a measureable impact on human appearance as happens in many animal species. Mammals in general have poor colour vision and don't generally have coloured ornaments. In an evolutionary timescale, it is only recently that primates evolved good colour vision (based on three colour photoreceptors). Like birds and fish, this sets the scene for the development of colour signalling and raises the question whether humans (with their three colour vision) convey signal health status to one another through colour. To find out, we asked European students to record how frequently they ate different types of food,

Figure 1. *Fruit and vegetables contain a range of nutrients including carotenoids – a large class of red and yellow pigments.*

Figure 2. *Skin colouration associated with diet. Images on the left represent a decrease in fruit and vegetable consumption of 8 portions a day, images on the right represent an increase in consumption of 8 portions day. NB: colours may vary with print reproduction. Under natural lighting conditions, images simulating increased consumption were seen as healthy and attractive.*

and measured the colour of their skin. The results were clear: the more fruit and vegetables a person ate, the yellower his or her skin was. The way the skin reflected light of different wavelengths showed that this was due to people's consumption of the colourful carotenoid plant pigments, rather than them getting sun-tanned.

While this set the scene, we did not know how quickly the skin changed in response to diet change, or whether the colour made a difference to perception. In our new work, we found that, if people made consistent changes to their diet, then within six weeks their skin colour changed. When people ate more fruit and vegetables their skin colour took on a redder and yellower tint. Conversely, if people stopped eating as much fruit and vegetables, then their colour literally faded.[7]

But does the colour matter? Recent experiments reveal just how much skin colour does impact on attractiveness. Indeed, the variation in skin colour across a population has a bigger impact on judgements of men's attractiveness than how masculine a man's face shape is.[8] Therefore, our next step was to determine if people could see diet-related skin colour differences. We showed students faces that varied in the amount of colour from fruit and vegetables, and asked them to adjust each face until it looked most healthy and attractive. Virtually all the faces became better looking when the amount of plant-pigment colour was increased (see Figure 2). The evaluators did not go to excess and turn the faces into a tangerine colour – that did not look healthy – but they did raise the level of fruit and vegetable pigmentation for an optimal appearance.

The dietary pigment colour effect is evident across different cultures: Asian and African faces are adjusted for yellow colour in the same way as European Caucasian faces, and this doesn't depend on the nationality and skin colour of the people doing the evaluation. Across all the cultures we've tested, people raise the amount of yellow in the face in order to maximise apparent health.[9] While the association between skin lightness and beauty does change across culture, the association between health and slightly raised skin yellowness generalises across cultures.

It is equally important to note that observers are able to detect skin colour differences associated with modest increases in fruit and vegetable consumption, suggesting that humans are very sensitive at discriminating subtle differences in skin carotenoid pigmentation. Our latest estimate is that the skin colour changes associated with two extra portions a day or just one extra portion visibly improve skin appearance.

Moreover, for Europeans, the colour associated with a good diet seems far more important than anything that can be achieved through altering the level of suntan. When given the choice of altering both tan and skin dietary coloration in European faces, evaluators alter dietary pigmentation but barely adjust tan levels. To optimise skin colour, pigmentation from diet was three to four times as important as pigmentation from suntan.[10]

Intervention studies

We are now well armed to start a campaign to persuade people to change their behaviour. Consider the facts: (a) diet can improve skin colour; (b) the change in diet required is small – an increase of one or two portions of fruit and vegetables per day is sufficient; and (c) the benefits are relatively quick to realise – six weeks should see an improvement. All this comes with a general agreement from health professionals that the change in diet improves long-term health.

The carotenoids in fruit and vegetables should contribute to health by providing antioxidants, but there are a whole raft of benefits from eating fruit and vegetables. They contain multiple sources of antioxidants, vitamins, trace elements and fibre that can have important effects. Consuming more vegetables is likely to decrease the appetite for less healthy foods – those energy dense foods that make it so easy for us to increase in girth.

We conducted two intervention studies,[11] in which university student participants were given leaflets containing National Health Service information about the nature and benefits of a balanced diet. In the studies we also showed one set of participants their own facial image and how their skin colour could be affected by changing what they ate. This experience of seeing the more attractive skin colour associated with a high fruit and vegetable diet was effective in triggering a change of behaviour and the adoption of a more healthy diet. We tracked the eating habits of the groups of participants who had seen their own face colour manipulated, and those in the control group who had received only NHS information. The NHS information alone had no effect on diet whatsoever (perhaps because people already know what they *should* be doing). By contrast, those seeing their own appearance changed at the outset of the study reported an increased fruit and vegetable consumption that was sustained for the 10-week study period.

[7] R.D. Whitehead, D. Re, D-K. Xiao, G. Ozakinci and D.I. Perrett, 'You are what you eat: Within-subject increases in fruit and vegetable consumption confer beneficial skin-color changes', *PLoS ONE*, 7 (2012), e32988.

[8] I.M.L. Scott, N. Pound, I.D. Stephen, A.P. Clark and I.S. Penton-Voak, 'Does masculinity matter? The contribution of masculine face shape to male attractiveness in humans', *PLoS ONE*, 5 (2010), e13585. I.D. Stephen, I.M.L. Scott, V. Coetzee, N. Pound, D.I. Perrett and I. Penton-Voak, 'Cross-cultural effects of color, but not morphological masculinity, on perceived attractiveness of men's faces', *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 33 (2012), 260-7.

[9] I.D. Stephen, M.J. Law Smith, M.R. Stirrat and D.I. Perrett, 'Facial skin coloration affects perceived health of faces', *International Journal of Primatology*, 30 (2009), 845-857. I.D. Stephen, V. Coetzee and D.I.

Perrett, 'Carotenoid and melanin pigment coloration affect perceived human health', *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 32 (2011), 216-27.

[10] R.D. Whitehead, G. Ozakinci and D.I. Perrett, 'Attractive skin coloration: harnessing sexual selection to improve diet and health', *Evolutionary Psychology,* 10:5 (2012), 842-54. I.D. Stephen, V. Coetzee and D.I. Perrett, 'Carotenoid and melanin pigment coloration affect perceived human health', *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 32 (2011), 216-227.

[11] R.D. Whitehead, D.I. Perrett and G. Ozakinci, 'Appealing to vanity: does seeing the potential appearance-benefits of fruit and vegetable consumption motivate dietary change?', *Annals of Behavioral Medicine*, 41 (2011), s214. R.D. Whitehead, G. Ozakinci and D.I. Perrett, 'Brief report: a randomised controlled trial of an appearance-based dietary intervention', *Health Psychology* (in press).

Although our results are encouraging, they are preliminary; one wants a dietary improvement to last years not just months. We worked with young adults and this group may have greater concern over appearance than other age groups.[12] Nonetheless, appearance-based interventions at an early age could be important in establishing life-long beneficial dietary habits. Further, our sample was largely European. Hopefully the intervention can be rolled out in larger clinical trials to establish the efficacy across people from all walks of life.

We do not know the ingredients of a successful campaign, but there are several aspects of our approach that are novel and might prove persuasive. We can stress the short-term benefits that can be made. Avoidance of illness later in life is a threat that may not be particularly motivating. Our intervention stresses positives, better looks and achievable goals that are attainable within relatively short time frame (six weeks). One doesn't have to wait decades to cash in on good dietary behaviour.

On the technological side we are able to personalise the information and this may make it salient. Each participant can see how their *own* appearance is affected by a high fruit and vegetable diet. In future studies we hope to test whether or not seeing images of another person can be persuasive. If so, images demonstrating appearance benefits would be an immensely cost-effective means of health education. Even if the major benefits derive from the personalisation of images, with some development and care it should be possible to perform realistic transformations across the internet. Such possibility supplies health educators with persuasive tools, and provides the internet-savvy public with the means for self-motivation.

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[12] S.J. Chung, S. Hoerr, R. Levine and G. Coleman, 'Processes underlying young women's decisions to eat fruits and vegetables', *Journal of Human Nutrition and Dietetics*, 19 (2006), 287-98.

The Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1386–1795

ROBERT FROST

IN LUBLIN CASTLE on 1 July 1569, Sigismund August, king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania, formally enacted an act of union bringing his two realms, joined since 1386 in what the textbooks call a loose personal union, into a closer relationship with a common Sejm (parliament) and a common council. Lithuania preserved its own ministers, its own army and separate legal system. The negotiations had been stormy. On 1 March, the Lithuanian delegation stamped out in the highest of dudgeon after rejecting the terms on offer. The walkout was ill conceived, however. Sigismund August appealed to the local nobility, among whom there was much support for closer union, over the heads of the magnates who had led the walk-out, incorporating individual parts of the grand duchy into Poland and inviting local nobles to take an oath of loyalty. One by one Lithuania's southern palatinates – lands today largely in Ukraine – accepted the invitation. By June half the grand duchy was gone. The magnates, realising their mistake, scurried back to preserve what was left.

It was the roughest of wooings. Yet Lithuanian anger was relatively shortlived. Within a generation the union was venerated in Lithuania as it was in Poland, and its terms were not seriously challenged for two centuries, before what are universally if misleadingly termed the 'Partitions of Poland' wiped this great union state from the map of Europe between 1772 and 1795. Its forced demise, without the consent of its citizens, ended one of the most durable political unions in European history, lasting 409 years from the election of the pagan Lithuanian grand duke Jogaila (Jagiełło) to the Polish throne in 1386, until Prussia, Russia and Austria finalised the third partition in 1795. It is only in 2013 that it will be surpassed for longevity by the Anglo-Scottish union, forged in 1603, which may not outlast it by long.

Unions and nation states

The Polish-Lithuanian union is largely forgotten today, and is remembered with little affection across much of its former territory. For unions are the changelings of political history, widely unloved and suspected of interfering with the supposedly natural course of political development, identified since the 19th century with the unitary 'nation state'. In the popular view of history, national heroes – the Wallaces, William Tells and Joans of Arc – fight for national independence against foreign oppression. Political union – especially with a traditonal enemy – is presented as a sell-out. This is certainly the case with the Polish-Lithuanian union. It disappeared in 1795 as French revolutionary armies carried the doctrine of the sovereign nation, one and indivisible, round Europe on the points of their bayonets. By the time the partitioning powers – Russia, Austria and Prussia/Germany – collapsed in 1918, the world had changed irrevocably.

As the cold winds of 'national self-determination' blew across eastern Europe, individuals were forced to choose

The Union of Lublin, painted by Jan Matejko (1838–1893) in 1869 to mark its 300th anniversary. The original is in Lublin Museum. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

where their loyalties lay, as nationalists and the largely ignorant western statesmen at Versailles sought to impose neat political borders round a vivid mosaic of ethnic, religious, historic and political loyalties. Neighbourhoods, communities and families were torn asunder. When Józef Piłsudski, a Polish-speaker from the historic grand duchy, sought to revive the union in 1918-19, he was opposed by nationalists from all sides. Piłsudski then chose the Polish nationalist route, seeking to include as many Polish-speakers in the new Polish national state as possible. In 1920 Poland's seizure of Vilnius, the capital of the old grand duchy, brought war with the new Lithuanian state. Despite their long common history, the former partners in union refused even to maintain diplomatic relations until both were crushed by Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in 1939-40. The price of independence was high, and even Hitler and Stalin's gruesome ethnic cleansing could not produce the uniform national states of which the nationalists dreamt.

The sour memories of these years have not wholly evaporated. Attitudes to the union in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine – its successor states to the east – are overwhemingly negative. More positive views survive in popular Polish histories as a reminder that 'Poland' was once a great power, but there is a strong tradition that blames the union for interrupting the supposedly natural development of the Polish nation state, holding it responsible for the partitions.

Survival

Yet the union's creation and survival over more than four centuries raise important questions concerning the nature of European political development before 1789, when political unions were frequent, and the unitary state was the exception, not the rule. Political scientists and historians, however, have shown scant interest in many of these unions, dismissed as merely 'dynastic' or 'personal', and supposedly based on nothing more than dynastic marriage and the vagaries of royal succession, which brought together 'states' into unnatural associations that did not and could not last.

Some did, however. The longevity of the Polish-Lithuanian union raises questions about how and why unions were made, and challenges the notion that union was merely a matter for kings and dynasties. If it had been,

Union treaty of Lublin, 1569. Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (AGAD).

this union would not have lasted. Poland in 1386 was part of the Latin Catholic world; Lithuania was a vast, loosely integrated polity, ruled by a small pagan elite whose Baltic tongue was very different to the eastern Slavic dialects spoken by some 80 per cent of the grand duchy's population. Since Lithuanian was not a written language until the 16th century, Ruthenian (*ruski*) became the language of government, but their Orthodox religion divided the Ruthenians both from their pagan overlords and their future partners in union. Before 1386 Poland had been plagued by Lithuanian raids which devastated wide areas and enslaved thousands. The union's prospects appeared very different from those of the 1397 Kalmar union between Denmark, Norway and Sweden, kingdoms that had experienced parallel historical and cultural development, possessed broadly comparable institutional structures, and spoke closely-related languages. Yet the Kalmar Union was plagued by disharmony and foundered after a mere 126 years.

Reading the standard histories of Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine and Belarus, it is hard to understand why the union did survive. Relations were tense long before the dramatic events of 1569. The Poles maintained that in 1386 Lithuania had been incorporated into the kingdom of Poland, and therefore was little more than a Polish province. The Lithuanians rejected this interpretation: between 1401 and 1447, and again between 1492 and 1506, they had separate grand dukes, the first of whom, Jagiełło's cousin Vytautas, extended his control across the grand duchy, conducted for long periods his own foreign policy, and, in the two years before his death in 1430, entered a fierce dispute with Jagiełło and the Poles over whether – on the suggestion of Sigismund of Luxemburg, the Machiavellian King of the Romans – he should be crowned king of Lithuania.

Stronger together

So why did the union last? Only part of the answer lies in the common explanation, that it survived because of the sparsely-populated and less developed grand duchy's need for Polish military support against its enemies: the Teutonic Order and then Muscovy/Russia. This factor was undoubtedly important, and the new union's greatest achievement was its crushing defeat of the Teutonic Knights, who, from their Prussian base threatened by 1386 to seize and dominate the pagan Lithuanian heartlands. Jagiełło's fulfilment of the promise he made at Krewo in 1385 that, in return for his election to the Polish throne, he would convert Lithuania to Catholicism, deprived the Order of its main justification for its bloody campaigns and made possible Poland's recovery in 1466 of the Prussian lands that the Order had seized from it in 1308-9.

The crushing Polish-Lithuanian victory at Tannenburg in 1410 was a blow from which the Order never recovered. In 1413, the union was renewed by Jagiełło and Vytautas at Horodło on the river Bug. The treaty again stressed that Lithuania had been incorporated into Poland, but the nature of that incorporation was complex, and should not be interpreted on the basis of modern ideas of statehood and sovereignty. Jagiełło, who retained the title of supreme duke of Lithuania, wished to stress that on the international stage his dominions formed one legal entity. This enabled Poland-Lithuania to combat the propaganda campaign mounted by the Order at the Council of Constance, where it convincingly argued that its model of peaceful union had proven a far more effective means of converting the pagan Lithuanians than the Order's devotion to fire and sword.

Building a political community

Yet there was far more to Horodło than this. For it contained in embryo a different vision of union, one in which Lithuania was incorporated not into a unitary state, but into a decentralised political community: not the Polish *regnum*, but the *corona regni Poloniae*, the community of the Polish realm. For the Polish-Lithuanian union was, from the very outset, not a personal union that resulted from a cunning dynastic marriage policy and contingent royal deaths. Poland had effectively been an elective monarchy since the death of the last of the native Piast dynasty, Casimir III, in 1370. Casimir was succeeded by his nephew, Louis of Anjou, king of Hungary, on the basis of an agreement made with the Polish political elite. After Louis' death in 1382, the Polish community of the realm ignored his final wishes, and it was not until 1384 that his 10-year-old daugher Jadwiga, was elected queen regnant of Poland instead of Louis' choice, Mary, and her fiancé, Sigismund of Luxemburg. Thus although the 1385 Krewo treaty was in part a pre-nuptial agreement between Jagiełło, his pagan brothers and Vytautas, and the representatives of Jadwiga's mother, Elisabeth of Bosnia, there was a third party: the Polish community of the realm, which was determined to decide who ruled over it.

The idea that this community of the realm formed a republic of citizens with whom sovereignty ultimately lay developed strongly in Poland throughout the 15th century. The citizens elected their monarchs, who had to swear at their coronation to uphold the law and citizen rights. Poland developed as a decentralised, republican monarchy, in which, from 1454, the *sejmiki* – assemblies of local nobles – had to be consulted over a range of important matters, including taxation and the summoning of the noble levy to defend the realm. It was only in the 1490s that a bicameral Sejm was institutionalised, not as a representative institution like the English parliament, but as an assembly of envoys (delegates) from the *sejmiki*, with the upper chamber formed by the royal council of high officeholders, known as the Senate.

This political vision was to provide the principal driving-force in the process of union. Its influence was plain at Horodło. The treaty spoke of incorporation, but it also spoke the language of fraternal union, and of confederation – an important concept in Polish law by which the citizenry who assembled to decide on matters that affected the community of the realm formally confederated to provide a legal basis for their actions. In 1387, Lithuanian nobles who had accepted Catholic baptism had been granted legal privileges that represented the first breach in the patrimonial nature of the Lithuanian realm, but without the institutions to uphold them, or the political culture that underlay the Polish vision of citizenship, the impact was initially muted. Horodło, however, began to address this issue. Provision was made for

the election of a grand duke after Vytautas's death, and the palatinates of Vilnius and Trakai were created on the Polish model in the central territories of Lithuania proper—which contained substantial areas of what is now Belarus. In a striking clause, 47 Lithuanian noble families were formally adopted into 47 Polish heraldic noble clans. Although this measure had little practical impact – there was initially almost no contact between the families involved – its significance should not be underestimated. For it gave some shape to a vision that was as yet not yet fully worked out, but which was to prove of central importance for the process of union. For it signalled the ideal that the two parts of the Jagiellonian realms might constitute one political community, based around institutions of local self-government.

Citizenship and union

The Horodło agreement left many questions unanswered, and disputes over the nature of the union meant that Polish-Lithuanian relations were frequently tense. Yet this fact did not mean that Lithuanian attitudes to the union should be interpreted, as the Lithuanian nationalist tradition has tended to interpret them, as stemming from a desire to break the union. Local autonomy was written into the DNA of the Polish system, while the Lithuanian Catholic elite needed Polish support to sustain their dominant position with regard to the Orthodox, Ruthenian majority, especially as Muscovy emerged from a long period of political weakness to provide a possible alternative focus for Orthodox loyalty. Orthodox nobles were granted formal equality of rights in the 1430s, but remained in practice second class citizens until the 1560s. Yet the decentralised model of republican citizenship appealed far more to the majority of Orthodox nobles than the centralised despotism of Muscovy. The appeal of republican liberty was also strong among the lesser Lithuanian nobles, chafing at the domination of politics in Vilnius by a small group of magnates. In 1566, institutions of noble self-government on the Polish model were extended across the grand duchy; it was to them that Sigismund August was to appeal in 1569.

It is this republican concept of union, not the issue of statehood which has dominated the historiography, that explains why the Lublin union succeeded. For 1569 represented a victory for the Lithuanian concept of union. The language of incorporation was abandoned: the treaty stated that the kingdom and the grand duchy 'form one indivisible and uniform body and are not distinct, but compose one common Republic, which has been constituted and formed into one people out of two states and two nations'. Thus was Lithuania's equality of status with Poland confirmed, and the ideal of a common political community – a nation of citizens – preserved.

Until at least the mid-17th century, this model provided the basis for a state that was powerful enough despite the complications that were inevitable, on account of its radically consensual and decentralised nature. The union state had many faults, but it perished largely because its decentralised, consensual system rejected aggressive wars fought outside its own frontiers, and it could not adequately defend itself after 1648 against the rapacious military systems built by its neighbours. At its peak, this decentralised, non-aggressive, multi-national, religiously tolerant, republican union stretched from the river Oder to Smolensk, just over 200 miles from Moscow. Had it survived, the blood-drenched sufferings of eastern Europe in the 20th century might well have been avoided. Yet it is the brutal rulers of Russia and Prussia – Peter I, Catherine II and Frederick II – who are venerated and accorded the title 'Great' in the popular histories. The nation state in eastern Europe emerged at a considerable cost from their unprepossessing empires. It is time that historians turned aside from their obsession with national statebuilding and looked afresh at the processes by which unions were formed in late medieval and early modern Europe.

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Making a revolutionary generation in Ireland

ROY FOSTER

THE IRISH REVOLUTION that ostensibly began with the Easter Rising of 1916 and ended with the Civil War of 1922-23 has been much written about, particularly since the emergence of exciting new sources such as the witness statements of the Bureau of Military History, recently opened to scholars. The events of the revolutionary period in Ireland will be much pored over during the 'decade of commemorations' now upon us, starting with the centenary of the 1912 Home Rule crisis last year. What might be called the 'pre-revolution' – the quarter-century between the constitutional nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell's fall and death in 1890-91 and the rebellion of 1916 – has not been explored so intensively, though the broad frameworks of Irish constitutional politics and political mentalities have been suggestively profiled by scholars such as Patrick Maume, Michael Wheatley and Paul Bew. In terms of revolutionary profiles, however, the coverage has been less demanding, and less interrogative. With occasional brilliant exceptions, the motivations that propelled a dedicated minority into revolutionary attitudes by 1916, bringing 3,000 rebels onto the streets of Dublin and instigating years of guerrilla war, have tended to be generalised about, or taken as read.

New look

A new look at the pre-revolutionary period in Ireland is all the more necessary, because traditional approaches to understanding revolutionary change in terms of class or ideology seem inadequate today. We search now, instead, to find clarification through issues of paradox and nuance; we have become interested in what does *not* change during revolutions, as much as what does. And recent analysis of revolution has tended to demote the centrality of ideological dynamics and see ostensibly 'political' impulses in terms of ethnic antagonism, anti-imperial reaction, and local community conflicts. Indeed, the terror, civil war and post-revolutionary fall-out in Ireland in some ways paralleled the bloody events over central Europe post-1918, subject of much recent scholarly analysis. Perhaps it is time to look more sceptically at Irish exceptionalism.

Nonetheless the idea of the Irish revolution, which apparently began with the Easter Rising, is still in process of definition: when did it begin, and end? How far was it a 'revolution' in the generally accepted meaning of the word? Should it be seen in its own terms, or mapped against other upheavals in contemporary Europe? It is now an accepted cliché – though a spectacular exaggeration – that events in Ireland from 1916 to 1921 served as a model for later revolts elsewhere. However, the Irish revolution did not leave a theoretical template to act upon, for other dominions, and the record of its events remained for many years patchy and obscure, though much has been clarified in recent years. For revolutions in other countries, scholars have tried to isolate what has recently been called a 'tipping point': the moment when substantive change becomes possible, building on an alteration of 'hearts and minds' as well as the 'presenting problem' of an immediate crisis. This is true, for instance, of many studies of the American Revolution. But, among Irish historians at least, it is less common to analyse the pre-revolutionary mentality across a broad front: to trace that process of alteration which prepares the way for crisis. In the Irish case, since the brilliant short studies by F.S.L. Lyons and Tom Garvin some decades ago, not much attempt has been made at analysing the backgrounds and mentalities of those who made the revolution. Yet the life-stories of the people involved are as important as their theories and ideas. In other contexts, it has been demonstrated that revolutionary process can be illuminated through the biographies as well as the theories of individuals, as Franco Venturi did for the first Russian revolutionaries in his classic study, *Roots of Revolution*. More recent work on the Russian revolutionary generation, such as *Heralds of Revolution*, Susan Morrissey's study of the 1905 student revolutionaries of St Petersburg, bears out this emphasis on personal experience.

The 1916 rising

How relevant is this to the Ireland of the same era? How far can we reconstruct the processes, networks, experiences and attitudes of the Irish revolutionary generation around the beginning of the 20th century? It might be helpful first, to sketch out what they brought about – before returning to where they came from. The Irish revolution began (ostensibly) with the 'Rising' or rebellion of 1916, when a small group of extreme Irish nationalists, organised by the 'Fenians' or Irish Republican Brotherhood, mounted a week-long insurrection in Dublin, occupying public buildings and creating a week of mayhem before the British army restored order. The

Figure 1. *Dublin during the 1916 rising.*

Generational shift

Several studies of the way that the constitutional-nationalist Irish Parliamentary Party lost its grip have referred to generational shift; the fracture between the old and the new ways of politics broke along lines of age as well as ideology. The exceptions, such as the old Fenian Tom Clarke (Figure 2), 58 years old in 1916, were noted as exactly that by their acolytes. 'To all the young men of the Separartist movement of that time he was a help and an inspiration', recalled the younger Sinn Fein activist P.S. O'Hegarty. 'And he was surely the exception in his own generation, the one shining example.' For radical nationalists of O'Hegarty's generation (he was born in 1879), their fathers had sold the pass to craven constitutionalism.

It is worth remembering that the constitutional Home Rulers represented the opinions of the majority in Ireland in 1914; the radicals were a minority, and would remain so. At the same time, many of the attitudes and beliefs that they embraced so fervently were echoed, if in a diluted and perfunctory form, by the rhetoric of constitutional nationalism: that Fenian pedigree which Tom Clarke represented was often invoked from Irish parliamentary party platforms. In the later memories of those who participated in the 1916 Rising, a hereditary Fenian indoctrination would be the predominant feature of their

revolutionaries had originally expected substantial help from Germany, with whom Britain (and therefore Ireland, officially) was at war; when this went astray, they went ahead anyway, in what became a gesture of sacrificial violence rather than a serious challenge to Britain's government of Ireland. That government was already, so to speak, under review, and a measure of Home Rule for Ireland had been passed by the British parliament, granting Ireland some self-government; but it had been postponed for the war's duration, and in any case had been blocked by resistance in Ulster, bringing Ireland to a point of threatened civil war just before the World War broke out in August 1914. As in Russia, a sense of blocked domestic revolutionary potential was released by international war; but the outbreak of hostilities also constituted, for a minority of Irish revolutionary purists, an opportunity they had been anticipating for a long time.

What happened in 1916 set in motion a change of mentality, a change in hearts and minds, whereby within two or three years Irish opinion would shift dramatically away from the old, constitutionalist Home Rule idea, and in favour of a more radical form of republican separatism, achieved if necessary by force of arms. Gradualism was replaced by revolution: it is in these years, especially from 1918, that a revolutionary vanguard emerged in an organised way, and sophisticated structures of subversion and rebellion emerged (though these latter phenomena owed much to previous formations in Irish history). But these later developments built, above all, upon a moment of generational change.
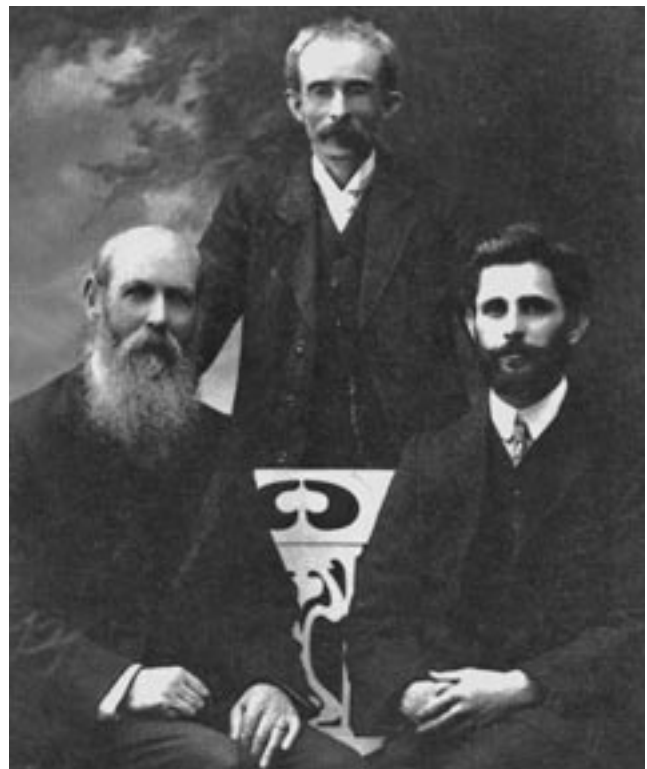

Figure 2. *From left to right: John Daly, Tom Clarke and Sean McDermott [Sean Mac Diarmada], representing the different generations of revolutionary.*

Figure 3. *Terence MacSwiney.*

pre-revolutionary conditioning. And – without the benefit of hindsight – the youthful Cork nationalist Terence MacSwiney (Figure 3), writing his diary in 1902, recorded proudly that he was an 'extremist', differentiating this identification from the constitutional politicians of the previous generation.

For some 'extremists', like MacSwiney, the notion of a righteous war of liberation was a desideratum from early on; the idea pulses through his personal writings in the early 1900s. This belief was founded in imbibed ideas of history, from mentors at school as well as at home; it was also founded in a fervent and mystical devotion to Catholicism. In common with many of the revolutionary generation, MacSwiney had been educated in the doctrine of faith and fatherland by the Christian Brothers. But extremism could emerge from less traditional seed-beds too, and the beliefs embraced by MacSwiney were also articulated by radicals from very different backgrounds. Feminism, socialism, women's suffrage, anti-imperialism, anti-vivisectionism were among the anti-establishment beliefs appealing to young people in the Edwardian era – in Ireland as in Britain. The more avant-garde among them read Freud, and paid attention to new currents of thought in Britain and America. Several of them also embraced secularism, as O'Hegarty, writing from London in 1904,

tried to explain to MacSwiney. In a series of absorbing letters O'Hegarty preached that anti-clericalism was now a desirable, indeed necessary, option for the modern Irish nationalist who had embraced wider horizons (in his case, ironically, by moving to England). While removal to London could hasten this effect, other radicals, especially from Protestant backgrounds, needed no encouragement to see the Catholic church as one of the main obstacles to liberation – along with the Irish Parliamentary Party: the two were often jointly identified through the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the highly-politicised Catholic association founded and led by Joe Devlin and routinely denounced by 'extremists'. To the revolutionary generation such institutions represented a corrupt old order which had to be excoriated.

As the new century dawned, such feelings were not restricted only to the political extremists, but also to cultural activists; the young W.B. Yeats, writing in a radical nationalist journal in 1901, conjured up an undercurrent of revolutionary initiates, bent on overthrowing a decadent modern civilisation, working among the multitude as if 'upon some secret errand'.[1] The Irish generation of 1916, like the European generation of 1914 described by Robert Wohl, or the Risorgimento generation of mid-19th century Italy analysed by Roberto Balzani, defined themselves against their parents' values and were fixed upon a project of reclamation and self-definition. This was partly to be achieved through Gaelic revivalism, and increasingly through a dedication to violence. At all costs, their project was aimed at rescuing Ireland – as they saw it – from the virus of materialism, compromise and flaccid cosmopolitanism which English rule had infused. To that extent, the Irish revolution might be seen as a function of the success of British rule in Ireland, rather than of its failure. This might also explain the passionate and unanalytical pro-Germanism that affected many young Irish radicals after August 1914.

Patterns

To analyse the formation of this radical revolutionary element requires examining their education, their family relations and affiliations, their romantic lives and sexual identities, their intellectual influences, their leisure pursuits of reading-circles, clubs and agit-prop drama groups, and their gradual glorification of violence – paralleling the trajectories of similar age-cohorts all over Europe in the opening years of the 20th century. There is also a marked syndrome, not much noticed before, of the children of the prosperous Irish middle class repudiating the comfortable Home Rule or Unionist beliefs of their parents, and launching revolutionary initiatives from the security of a privileged background There now exists a large database of recorded memories, as well as contemporary diaries, journals, and letters, and the official records of relevant organisations and institutions, through which the group biography of a revolutionary elite can be reconstructed.

[1] *United Irishman*, 9 November 1901.

Figure 4. *Molly Childers and Mary Spring-Rice running guns on Erskine Childers' yacht, July 1914.*

My research, funded by a British Academy Wolfson Research Professorship, has enabled me to trawl intensively through this material for three absorbing years. It is now being written into a book, though the temptation to keep reading more and more archival material is overpowering. The patterns are suggestive. The revolutionaries were often less puritanical, more consciously feminist, more anti-clerical, and less conventional than might be expected: partly because some of the more radical died young, partly because the post-revolutionary dispensation became so thoroughly Catholicised. Several of them sustained an internationalist perspective on radical and anti-imperialist politics, and a fellow-feeling with contemporary Indian nationalists, though this was by no means a majority trend. In many ways they were more comparable to the Russian 'narodniks' of a slightly earlier period. Above all, in terms of a rejection of Anglicised bourgeois values, which they identified with the comforts and compromises of their parents' generation, and the sense of occupying a new position in a transforming world, they were a self-conceived 'generation' of the kind becoming identified in other parts of Europe at the dawn of the 20th century.

There is also the important factor (as Ernest Renan pointed out long ago) of creative mis-remembering, in making the history of a nation. This is what is partly preserved – not intentionally – in just-opened official archives such as the Bureau of Military History, where the ex-revolutionaries recorded their memories after the dangerous interval of 30 years. Those three decades had encompassed first, a traumatic civil war, where the revolutionary generation had turned on each other and comrades became enemies; and then the austere years of defining a new state (still within the Commonwealth, for all their efforts) and the abandonment of many of the impulses that had galvanised them in the heady times up to 1916. This evidence, fascinating if sometimes flawed, can be combined with the more immediate evidence of letters, diaries, and contemporary journalism. What emerges, as a pattern is established of overlapping lives, experiences, relationships and backgrounds, is a study in how a generation is made, rather than born; and also how the structures of a post-revolutionary state help to impose a received version of revolutionary process which bears a very uncertain relation to how people experienced it at the time.

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THE WORKING LIFE OF MODELS

ERIKA MANSNERUS

WHEN MODELS LIVE their lives, they grow up and enter working life. They leave behind the sheltered world of research where they serve as scientific instruments, measuring devices, virtual experiments or representations of the world. They enter a new domain of use, where they are no longer necessarily close to modellers, researchers or instrument makers. Rather they stand on their own to disseminate reliable and usable evidence across research communities and policy domains. This metaphorical language summarises the wealth of studies addressing the development and use of mathematical models, computer-based simulations and computational techniques, in a variety of fields – as diverse as infectious-disease epidemiology and climate research. Through these application-driven areas of research we can learn how model-based knowledge helps predict infectious outbreaks and guides our understanding of climate change.[1]

The increased popularity of modelling methods stems from their cost-effectiveness. Models are capable of producing convincing quantitative scenarios without experimental practices. Model-building itself can incorporate expertise from various fields. For example, in epidemiological modelling, experts with backgrounds in statistics, engineering and epidemiology have formed long-term collaborations.[2]

In order to understand the benefits and limitations of modelling techniques in policy contexts, I will use the metaphor of *working life*. I will explore how infectious-disease models provide predictive scenarios when they are at work for better vaccination policies or preparedness for pandemics. I will then discuss how climate models enter the debates of reliability.

Effective networking: how infectious disease models disseminate evidence across research and policy networks

Epidemiological models that are developed in infectious-disease studies function in several ways. Their primary role is to overcome the limitations faced by experimental studies. Ethical and financial considerations constrain population-level studies, and so the availability of data can become an issue in statistical analysis. Infectious-disease models can overcome some of these constraints successfully.

Figure 1. *Modelling Hib (Haemophilus influenza type b) transmission at the Institute for Health and Welfare, Helsinki, 2003.*

Their documented capacity to disseminate reliable and usable knowledge across research and policy networks is significant. In my study of models that address infectivity, transmission routes, and vaccination effects against infections caused by *Haemophilus influenzae* type b bacteria (Hib), knowledge transmission between models (i.e. where earlier built models store and distribute parameter values and estimates of transmission rates to other models) was a productive way to inform model-building within a research group. The networks were formed when evidence established in these models was used by other research groups to inform their research, providing missing parameter values or suggesting the structure and design of models. Interestingly these models may address questions related to other infections (e.g. ones caused by *Streptococcus pneumoniae* bacteria, PnC). The capacity to transfer knowledge was partly reliant on the chosen modelling style. The Hib models were built in an interdisciplinary modelling group at the National Institute for Health and Welfare, Helsinki, Finland (Figure 1). Their style evolved over time to address infectious transmission in probabilistic terms that were able to accommodate a scarcity of data and to extrapolate parameter estimates from that. When other research groups approached their

[1] E.g. G. Gramelsberger, 'Story telling with code', in A. Gleininger and G. Vrachliotis (eds), *Code: Between operation and narration* (Basel, Birkhauser, 2010), pp. 29-40; G. Kueppers and J. Lenhard, 'Simulation and a revolution in modelling style: From hierarchical to network-like integration', in J. Lenhard, G. Kueppers and T. Shinn (eds), *Simulations: Pragmatic construction of reality* (Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2006); E. Mansnerus,
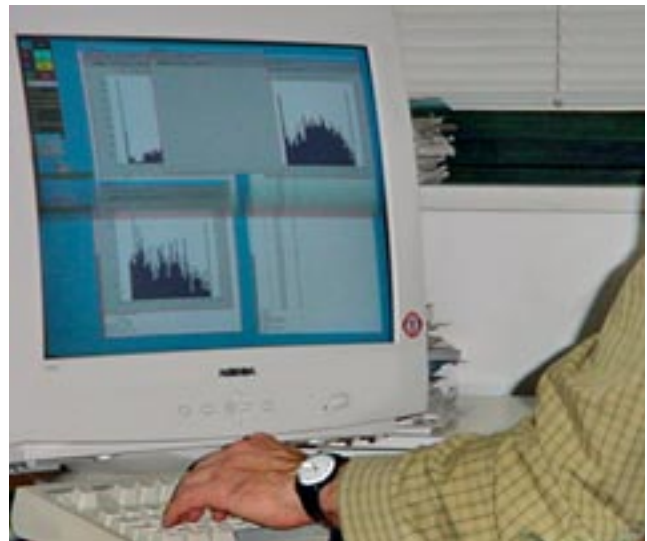
'Understanding and governing public health risks by modeling', in R. Hillerbrandt, M. Peterson, S. Roeser and P. Sandin (eds), *Handbook of Risk Theory* (Dordrecht, Springer, 2012).

[2] E. Mattila, 'Interdisciplinarity in the Making: Modelling Infectious Diseases', *Perspectives on Science: Historical, Philosophical, Sociological*, 13:4 (2006), 531-553.

own questions with modelling methods, the Helsinki models provided a way to address similarities between the bacterial infections, such as the lack of permanent immunity in the case of both Hib and PnC infection. These overlapping interests facilitated the dissemination of model-based evidence through the networks.[3]

But infectious-disease models are desirable not only for their ability to disseminate knowledge. Their predictive capacities and their use in scenario-building and pre-pandemic work significantly increase their popularity. Using models for their predictive functions originates in the UK from the late 1980s, when early measles models were introduced to support a revision of vaccination policies. From these experiences, facilitated by the growth of computational capacity and an acknowledgement of interdisciplinary expertise in epidemiological research, modelling methods paved the way for the most challenging uses: pandemic preparedness and prevention work. A good example is the A(H1N1) outbreak in 2009, when pandemic modelling was employed simultaneously during the development of the outbreak. Although the early predictions of the severity relied on a small sample of data, they provided a way to keep ahead of the outbreak itself. As more data became available, these estimates were reassessed.

In predictive modelling, the scenario-building capacity of models is vital. Not that scenarios should be regarded as the whole truth, but they provide the quantitative playground to assess how well different prevention strategies (such as quarantine, school closures or travel restrictions) are functioning. Yet, in the assessment of the governmental actions during the 2009 pandemic, Dame Deidre Hine emphasises that 'modellers are not court astrologers'.[4] This metaphor captures the challenging tension when models are at work outside the research groups. Model-based evidence is not a 'crystal ball' to predict futures. Rather, we are talking about a way to communicate – accurately, reliably and numerically – particular relationships between the various factors that cause infection and which are responsible for its transmission. When modelled, these factors can be told as a story, and hence approached in a more comprehensible way.

Entering disputes: climate research

Climate research has a long history of model use. Early computer-based climate models – the massive general circulation models whose core code was written in the 1960s – are still partly in use.[5] Even before computerised
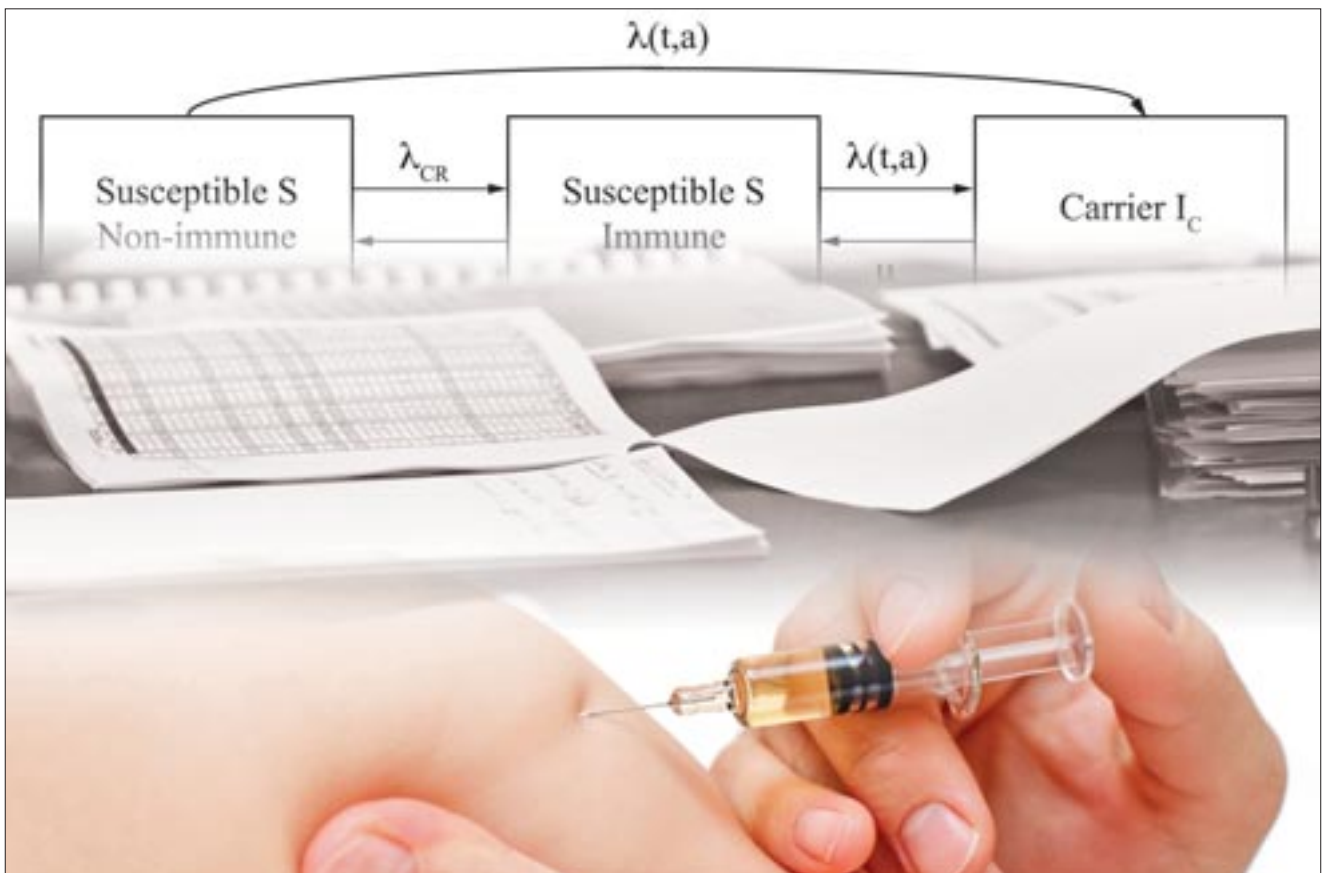

Figure 2. *From graphic model to vaccination policy.*

[3] E. Mansnerus, 'Using models to keep us healthy: The productive journeys of facts across public health research networks', in Howlett and Morgan (eds), *How well do facts travel?* pp. 376-402.

[4] D.D. Hine, *The 2009 influenza pandemic. An independent review of the UK response to the 2009 influenza pandemic* (London, 2010).

[5] Gramelsberger, 'Story telling with code'.

models, meteorological calculations of weather patterns became tools for modelling the climate. As this was one of the early steps that contributed to the mutual relationship between climate science and policy through the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), it is important to assess how model-based evidence has been received in climate policy. Naomi Oreskes's study on the dispute shows how various interest groups have intentionally challenged the evidence for an anthropogenic cause of global warming. Disputes about whose facts were better finally failed to convince the American people of the seriousness of global warming.[6] Is this because the reliability of model-based evidence is difficult to establish? One factor is the potentially opaque nature of acquiring knowledge through computer-based simulations. What are the model assumptions, and how were they made? What about the instrument itself – the model? These questions can be answered when three aspects of model-building and model-functioning are taken into account.

As factors for establishing the reliability of a model, we can clarify the quality of the model itself, how well it has been built, and how strong the modellers' expertise is. Perhaps the disputes over the causes of climate change reflect misunderstandings about the nature of model-based evidence. Yet the quality of the model itself is not easily assessed. By analysing the 'inner life' of the large-scale climate models, we can find one way of responding to the criticism of model reliability. Together with Gabriele Gramelsberger, I have contrasted climate models and epidemiological models and analysed them in terms of their computational capacities.[7] Despite the apparent differences in their scale and magnitude, we showed that in both cases the model assumptions were translated into calculable statements with the help of mathematical algorithms. When this process is grounded in available data, the models function well and can be assessed as reliable. Yet the challenge is to keep these technical stages of model-building transparent when large-scale climate simulations enter the policy domain as sources of

information. In the policy world, model evidence is readily used, because quantitative scenarios are clear and attractive.

Understanding the life of models

The working life of models may turn into a success story, as the current trends for relying on quantified evidence suggest. But the evidence-base that models provide may be disputed equally well, as is shown by the delayed acceptance of the results of climate research. The metaphor itself emphasises how the boundary between model development and model use becomes more flexible when models provide evidence for policy, whether it be health, or climate policy. This is when model transparency, accessibility to the process of model-building, and an understanding of the model assumptions become central. What has been captured in the model remains opaque if the modellers are not able to clarify the assumptions made or the restrictions given by the data. Hence, we can conclude that working life revises the dual function of models. On the one hand, it sets a requirement for transparency in model building. On the other, it asks for understanding of the specific policy process. Complex policy-initiated models find their place – not as new oracles of Delphi – but as valuable tools for prediction.

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With Professor Tony Barnett, she organised a British Academy Conference on 'Modelling for Policy', held on 17 May 2012. Her research on the use of modelling during the 2009 pandemic outbreak will be published in *Sociology of Health and Illness* in 2013.

[6] N. Oreskes, 'My facts are better than your facts: Spreading goodnews about global warming', in P. Howlett and M. Morgan (eds), *How well do facts travel? The dissemination of reliable knowledge* (Cambridge MA, Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 136-66.

[7] G. Gramelsberger and E. Mansnerus, 'The inner world of models: Case of climate and infectious disease modelling', in C. Bissell and C. Dillon (eds), *Ways of thinking, ways of seeing* (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 2012).

Earwitness evidence and the question of voice similarity

KIRSTY McDOUGALL

Consider the following scenario from a real criminal case. A person's house is broken into while the occupant is at home. The intruder is wielding a weapon and wearing a balaclava which conceals his face. The intruder remains in the house for over an hour threatening the occupant, then escapes, having stolen some of the occupant's possessions. The stolen property is later recovered and a suspect identified. The occupant believes that he can remember the voice of the assailant and agrees to participate in a 'voice parade'.

A voice parade can be used to provide 'earwitness' evidence in cases where a voice was heard at the scene of a crime, but the voice was not recorded. Analogous to a visual identity parade, in a voice parade the witness is asked whether he or she can pick out the voice of the speaker heard at the crime scene from a line-up of recordings which includes the suspect's voice and a number of foil voices.

In the United Kingdom, specifically in England, voice parades have been used to collect earwitness evidence in several cases in recent years. In current practice, voice parades are constructed according to the guidelines published in 2003 in the Home Office Circular 'Advice on the use of Voice Identification Parades', prepared by DS (now DCI) John McFarlane of the Metropolitan Police and Professor Francis Nolan, a phonetician at the University of Cambridge. The procedure recommended in the guidelines was developed by extending the existing police procedure for visual identity parades to the aural domain, taking into account findings from the available literature on earwitness performance. This procedure has been successfully implemented on a number of occasions, but it is still evolving as technology improves and research develops.

A voice parade constructed according to the guidelines consists of nine voice samples played to the witness via a video or *PowerPoint* presentation which displays the number of the sample while the audio file is playing. Each voice sample is prepared by a phonetician and contains a 45-60 second 'collage' of short utterances of spontaneous speech representative of the speaker. The utterances are spliced together in a randomised order to give an overall impression of the speaker's voice without the distraction of the topic of discussion or any sense of narrative.

Fairness of the voice parade dictates that the suspect and foil samples are as comparable as possible. Choosing the voices to serve as foils is one of the most difficult aspects of

constructing a voice parade as it is not well understood what makes voices sound similar. Whereas in the visual domain the foils for an identity parade may be selected on the basis of a description such as "short black hair, beard and glasses", there is no straightforward equivalent auditory profile available for describing and comparing voices. My research has therefore been tackling the question of voice similarity and its phonetic description. I am interested in determining why listeners perceive some voices to sound more similar to each other than others, and using this knowledge to develop a phonetically principled technique for selecting foil voices for a voice parade. During my British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship, I have been carrying out an experimental study of the phonetic underpinnings of perceived voice similarity,[1] considering the roles played by aspects of speech such as pitch, resonances, voice quality and speaking rate.

When a listener judges two voices as sounding similar, there are two sources of similarity contributing to this judgement, linguistic factors and personal factors. *Linguistic*
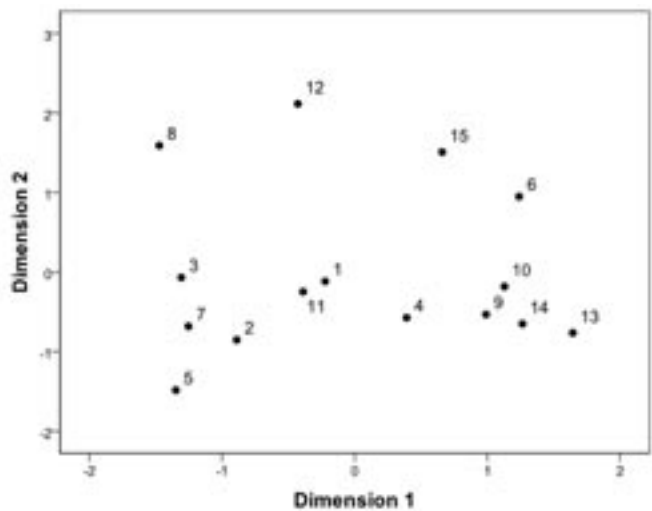

Figure 1. *Plot of the first two dimensions (of five) produced by the Multidimensional Scaling analysis, showing perceived distances among the 15 speakers, labelled 1-15. The closer together the datapoints of a given pair of speakers, the more similar-sounding the pair were judged by the listeners. For example, speakers 1 and 11 were judged as sounding very similar to each other, while speakers 8 and 13 were judged rather different-sounding.*

factors include the language or dialect spoken and the accent used. For example, two speakers of Australian English may sound more similar to each other than an Australian English speaker and a British English speaker (all other things being equal). *Personal* factors relate to the speaker's anatomy and physiology and his or her individual way of using them to produce speech. For example, two speakers with large vocal tracts and hence deep voices may sound more similar to each other than to a speaker with a smaller vocal tract and a higher-sounding voice (all other things being equal). In order to probe the notion of voice similarity, it is necessary to tease apart these two underlying components, the linguistic and the personal, and examine their workings – as well as how the two interrelate. In the present study, linguistic factors are held constant and personal factors investigated, by focusing on judgements of the similarity of voices within a group of speakers of the same accent, age and sex. This study was made possible by the recent appearance of the *DyViS* database,[2] a forensic phonetic database of speech recordings of 100 speakers matched for accent (Standard Southern British English, also known as 'modern Received Pronunciation'), age (18-25 years), and sex (male). By presenting listeners with voices of the same demographic profile, judgements can thus be made about the extent of similarity or difference among the voices specifically due to individual variation within the group.

The experiment

Fifteen speakers were chosen from the *DyViS* database, whose recordings were used to construct the voice stimuli for presentation to listeners. Two short samples of spontaneous speech were chosen from each of the test speakers. The speech samples were paired in every possible combination, so that each speaker could be compared with all other speakers, including himself. A group of 20 listeners (10 male, 10 female, all native British English speakers) were recruited and given the task of judging the similarity of the two voices in each stimulus pair on a distance scale from 1 (very similar) to 9 (very different).

The idea behind the study was to investigate whether the listener judgements of voice similarity correlated with a number of phonetic properties of the test voices, in particular pitch, speaking rate, resonance features and voice quality. The voice similarity judgements were therefore subjected to a data reduction technique called Multidimensional Scaling which characterised each speaker in a set of five perceptual dimensions, creating a perceptual space in which the voice similarity relationships among all pairs of speakers could be interpreted. A plot of the 15 speakers' locations on the first two of these dimensions is given in Figure 1. Measures of the phonetic features of interest for each of the 15 speakers could then be tested for their extent of correlation with these perceptual dimensions.

The four types of phonetic feature investigated are explained below with reference to the computer-generated acoustic display of the speech signal, a spectrogram and pitch trace, shown in Figure 2.

1. Pitch

Pitch, how high or low a voice sounds, is intuitively likely to be important in listeners' judgements of the extent to which two voices sound similar. Pitch corresponds to the
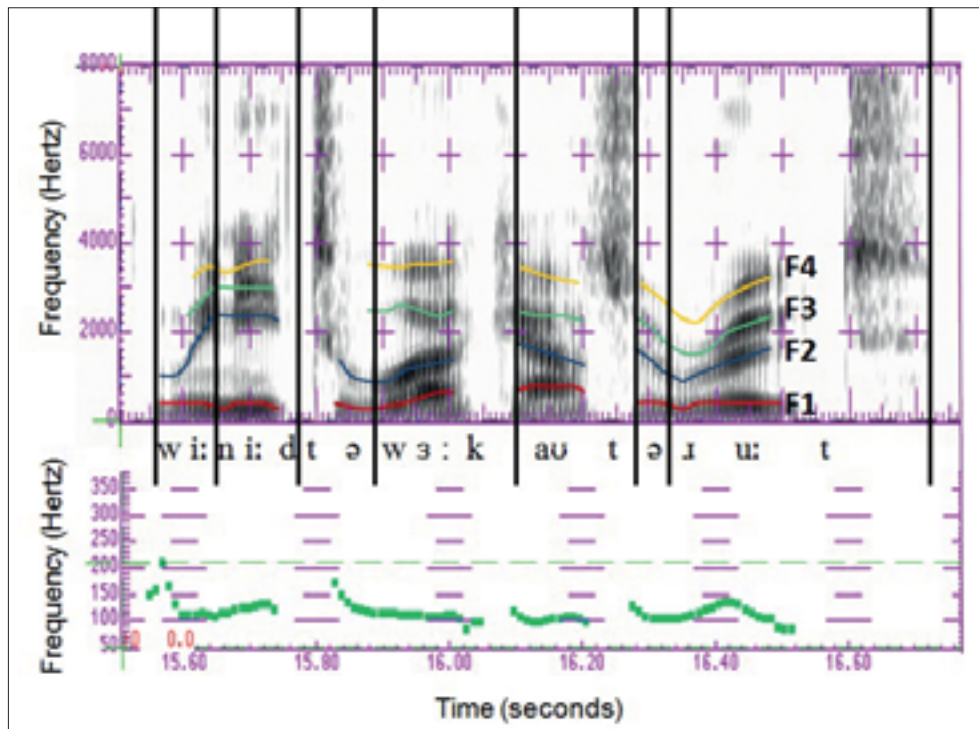

Figure 2. *Spectrogram (upper panel) and pitch trace (lower panel) of a male speaker of Standard Southern British English producing the utterance 'We need to work out a route'. A transcription of the component sounds of the utterance is given below the spectrogram using the International Phonetic Alphabet. The first four formant frequencies are labelled F1, F2, F3 and F4, and shown in red, blue, green and yellow respectively. Approximate syllable boundaries are indicated by vertical lines.*

[2] F. Nolan, K. McDougall, G. de Jong and T. Hudson, 'The *DyViS* database: style-controlled recordings of 100 homogeneous speakers for forensic phonetic research', *International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law* 16:1 (2009), 31-57. The *DyViS* Database is available via the UK Economic and Social Data Service, www.esds.ac.uk/findingData/snDescription.asp?sn=6790.
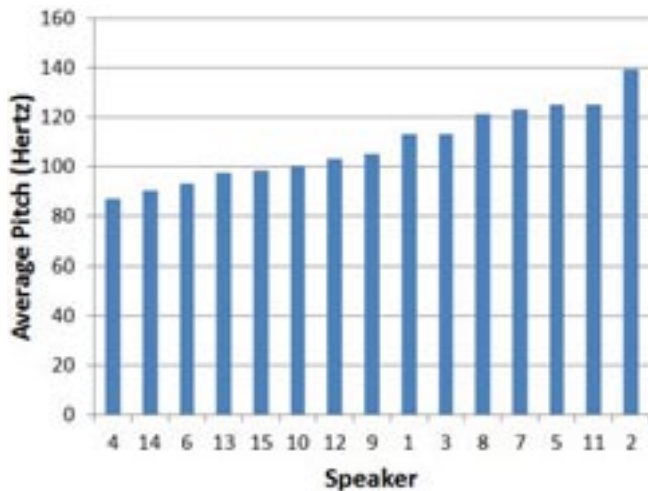
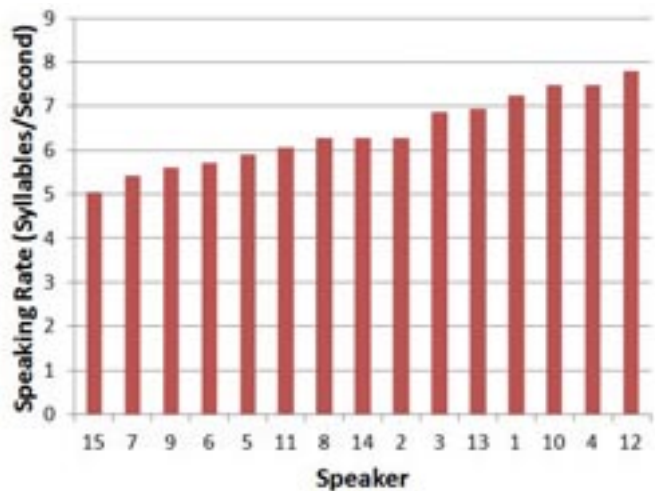Figure 3. *Average pitch values in Hertz for each of the 15 test speakers, ordered from lowest to highest.*

Figure 4. *Average speaking rate in syllables per second for each of the 15 test speakers, ordered from slowest to fastest.*

rate of vibration of the vocal folds, and is measured by phoneticians using the fundamental frequency trace as shown in the lower panel of Figure 2. The average pitch for each of the 15 test speakers is given in Figure 3.
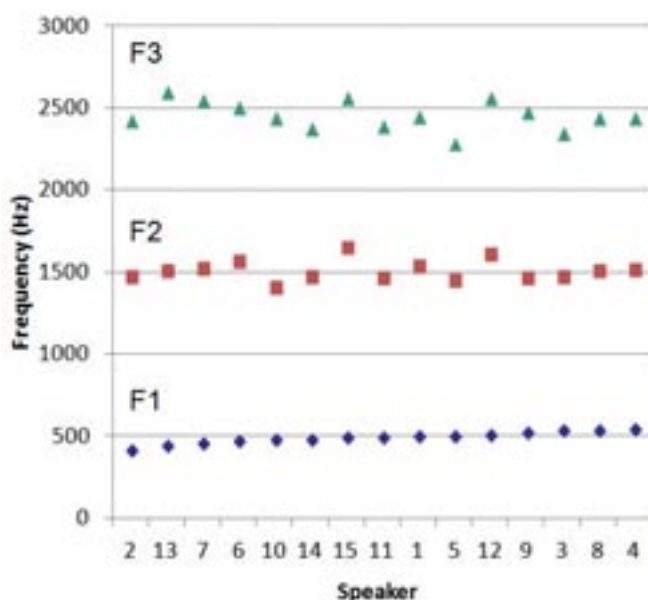
2. Speaking rate

Speaking rate, how fast or slow a person speaks, can be measured by calculating the average number of syllables he or she articulates per second, and also intuitively might be considered relevant to voice similarity. Syllable

Figure 5. *Average Long-Term Formant measures of F1, F2 and F3 frequencies for each of the 15 test speakers, ordered by F1.*
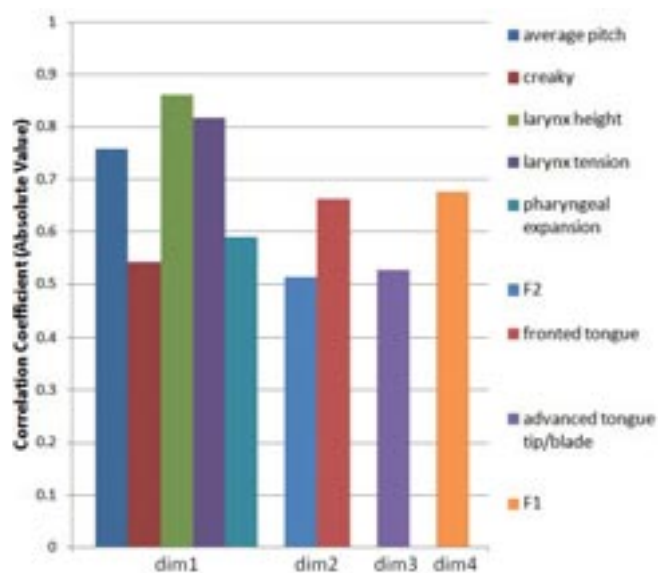

durations can be seen on the spectrogram in Figure 2. The average speaking rate for each of the 15 test speakers is given in Figure 4.[3]

3. Resonances

Further phonetic features contributing to the impression a voice makes are its resonances or 'formant frequencies', that is, the frequencies at which vibrations of air are at maximum amplitude in the vocal tract during the production of vowels and certain consonants. Formant frequencies appear as dark, roughly horizontal bands on a spectrogram and vary over time as shown in Figure 2. As well as determining the quality of different speech sounds, the patterns of these formant frequencies vary between speakers depending on the shape and dimensions of their individual vocal tracts. Formant frequencies are therefore also of interest when investigating the perception of similarities and differences among individual voices. For the present study, an average measure of each speaker's first three formant frequencies was calculated using a technique called Long-Term Formant analysis. These values are shown in the graph in Figure 5.[4]

4. Voice quality

Another feature likely to be important in judgements of voice similarity is voice quality, that is, elements of the timbre of the voice such as breathy, creaky, nasalised, falsetto, whispery, and so on. The seminal framework for describing voice quality is John Laver's *The Phonetic Description of Voice Quality* (CUP, 1980). For the present study, voice quality features of the 15 speakers were analysed using a system involving 33 voice quality settings derived from Laver's framework.[5]

Figure 6. *Significant correlations (p < 0.05) between the phonetic features tested and the five perceptual dimensions from the voice similarity judgements, Dimensions 1 to 5, labelled dim1, dim2, ... Note that there were no significant correlations with Dimension 5.*

Linking voice similarity to phonetic features

The extent of correlation between the five perceptual dimensions from the voice similarity judgements and the set of phonetic features measured was tested using Spearman correlation. The results are given in Figure 6 which shows each phonetic feature that achieved a significant correlation with a given perceptual dimension. For this group of Standard Southern British English speakers, the features most important for voice similarity are those correlating with Dimension 1, namely average pitch and several voice quality features linked to the larynx and pharynx. Since pitch itself is a product of larynx behaviour (vocal fold vibration), these results suggest that one major dimension of voice similarity centres on the larynx/pharynx. Dimensions 2, 3 and 4 yield significant correlations with the F2 frequency, voice quality features related to tongue movement and the F1 frequency. Since F1 and F2 are related to tongue posture, as are the significant voice quality features here, a front/back-of-the-mouth factor could more tentatively be posited for Dimensions 2/3/4. It is interesting to note that speaking rate did not achieve a significant correlation with any of the perceptual dimensions. This could perhaps be due 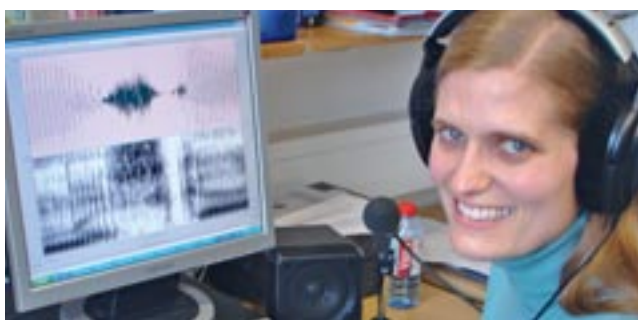to the short duration (3 seconds) of the voice samples the listeners compared in the experiment, which may have been insufficient for speaking rate to establish a clear role in the judgements of voice similarity.

Future directions

The experimental work presented here focused on a single accent, Standard Southern British English. However, investigating the role of accent differences is also crucial in improving our understanding of the perception of voice similarity. Experiments of a similar kind are needed to establish whether the roles for pitch, voice quality features and formant frequencies found here for Standard Southern British English apply in other accents. Investigation of the effect of including more than one accent among the voices to be compared is also required. For instance (extending from the examples initially given to illustrate linguistic versus personal factors), how would an Australian English speaker with a large vocal tract, an Australian English speaker with a smaller vocal tract and a British English speaker with a large vocal tract compare in terms of similarity? Further, research into the role of the accent background of the listener is needed – if the listener judging voice similarity speaks with a different accent from the speakers being compared, how does this impact on the similarity judgements? Does a listener whose accent is more different from that of the speakers under comparison make very different judgments of voice similarity from a listener whose accent is close to the speakers'? I am grateful to the British Academy for the recent award of a Small Research Grant which will enable me to pursue these questions further, initially through collection and analysis of a new database of York English.

As well as its importance for phonetic theory, an improved understanding of voice similarity will have a crucial practical impact on forensic phonetic casework. Developing a more comprehensive model of voice similarity will help us better understand how earwitness speaker identification works, and help us to construct better, more scientifically informed, voice parades.

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The true radicalism of the right to housing

JESSIE HOHMANN

Introduction

The right to housing grabs few headlines, but at the same time it enjoys a legal status beyond its public persona. Set out as part of the right to an adequate standard of living in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is now codified in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. At the regional level, the right is protected in the Revised European Social Charter, and has been implied into the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. A right to housing is also enshrined in over 50 national constitutions, from France to South Africa, Brazil to Vietnam.

The wide scope of its legal protection suggests that we recognise that housing is of fundamental importance to human life. Yet, when I mention that the human right to housing is the subject of my research, people are often sceptical of its significance, and even dismissive of its existence. In fact, there are three common reactions to the suggestion that there is a right to housing. I meet these in conversation with friends and acquaintances, and they are also prevalent in the scholarly literature and debates on human rights.

Three criticisms of the right to housing

The criticisms generally are as follows. First, enforcing a right to housing is inappropriate: the economic implications of the right are enormous and would bring national economies to their knees. Second, the right to housing cannot be enforced by courts, because letting judges make such decisions gives them a policy role only appropriate to an elected legislature. Finally, some allege that housing just isn't a right, and to suggest otherwise is a fundamental misunderstanding of what human rights are.

All three of the criticisms suggest that the right to housing is *too* radical, *too* challenging, in some way. And yet, in the way that the right to housing has been interpreted by courts and by those international bodies responsible for developing it, it appears to hold no such radicalism. Instead, the right emerges as a thin concept, which carries little risk – or promise – within it. It is vaguely defined in human rights documents, and cases have largely failed to clarify it. When the right is adjudicated before courts or international adjudicatory bodies, any protection given is, almost universally, only procedural in nature. Most worryingly, the way the right is

Majuro Atoll, capital of the Republic of the Marshall Islands. Poorer settlements tend to be built on the ocean side of the thin islands, while better-off houses generally face the lagoon beach. It is the ocean side of these islands that are most immediately at risk from rising tides and increasingly intense tropical storms which mark climate change in the islands. Photo: Skye Hohmann.

defined seems to be profoundly disconnected from the actual circumstances of suffering and deprivation that originally motivated its inclusion in the corpus of human rights. In other words, the right appears to have been de-radicalised.

Claiming a de-radicalised right

My research into the right to housing has been motivated, in part, by the question of *why* people continue to turn to this right – to claim it and make arguments in its name – when it has proved so thin and provided so little. These questions propelled my Postdoctoral Fellowship from the British Academy. The results of my research[1] suggest that the right to housing does contain within it the potential for real, and radical, change. Its radicalism does not, however, lie in the three fears expressed above. Rather, these issues act as smokescreens, which keep the debate from progressing in more meaningful ways.

The persistence of these debates on the political and economic radicalism of the right to housing should be questioned further. Here, however, I want to suggest that the true radicalism of the right to housing should be understood as *social* in nature. In order to illustrate my point, I will give three examples drawn from my research.

The true radicalism of the right to housing

What appears most strikingly from my research is that the radical potential of the right to housing does not lie in its economic or budgetary implications. Neither does it lie in any particular tendency to remove matters from the hands of politicians and place them in the domain of the courts. Finally, to argue that the right to housing is not a human right fails to acknowledge its codification in human rights, and must be treated as a wish that the right was not a right, rather than a statement that it cannot be one.

Instead of focusing on these tired debates, I will argue that the right to housing has the potential to change fundamentally the structures upon which our current social organisation rests. It is in this respect that the right is most radical, as the following examples illustrate. The first is the potential for a right to housing to alter fundamentally the role of women in society. The second is the role of the right to housing in rebuilding communities, even nations. The third is the role of the right to housing in responding to the assimilation and acculturation of indigenous and minority groups.

Women's social roles

The association of the woman to the home is based on and reinforced by the idealisation of the home as a sanctuary, particularly for the family. In western political philosophies (which legal rules serve to reinforce and protect) the home operates as a private zone – an important retreat from the pressures of society. A key aspect is that the home is seen as outside the economy. Yet at the same time, the family is viewed as an economic unit. The family is the entity, and the home the location, in which it is assumed that basic human needs of food, shelter and care will be met. To this day, moreover, it is largely the labour of women which powers and sustains the home as a private domain. Because it is assumed that the family unit is the natural provider of basic human needs, these needs are not conceived of as rights due from the state, except in some cases when the family is unable to provide.

What would it mean to undo the *assumption* that women's hidden labour power should sustain a society based on individual family homes, and instead ask what it would mean to consider housing as a publicly provided right? In order to consider what life would be like if housing were not a private, family asset, we need to unpick common suppositions about what things are and are not rights, and the deeply structural social effects those assumptions carry with them. Let me give an example that illustrates not only these hidden assumptions, but also the argument that housing cannot be legitimately considered a right.

In an influential argument on the nature of human rights, Jack Donnelly[2] provides a 'deconstruction' of human rights that neatly illustrates how certain needs are placed beyond the sphere of human rights entitlement precisely because of their assumed provision by the family: 'charity, compassion, and the support of loving family and friends' are simply not, Donnelly says, human rights due from the state.[3] But this statement lacks sufficient specificity, because we must ask what *sort* of support we wish the state to provide, and what sort the family. It is this underlying question that our example of a *right* to housing allows us to consider.

It is for this reason that the right to housing remains a radical proposition, particularly in its 'positive' aspects. To take basic, private needs and translate them into public entitlements challenges not only accepted categories of human rights, but what Engels termed the 'cellular form of civilised society'[4] represented by the family. Thus, if we took the concept of a right to housing seriously, and thought about housing as a public good, we would be able to examine our deeply held assumptions about women's social (and economic) roles and the part that rights play in sustaining inequalities within and beyond the family. To undertake this examination would provide a powerful space to reimagine the form of society. It would challenge us to ask why we treasure the family home (perhaps with good reason) as a social and economic unit. And it would force us to consider the implications of the physical infrastructure of our neighbourhoods, cities and nations for what is socially and economically possible for individuals and for intimate groups such as the family.

[1] To be published in March 2013 as J. Hohmann, *The Right to Housing: Law, Concepts, Possibilities* (Hart).
[2] J. Donnelly, 'The Social Construction of International Human Rights', in T. Dunne and N.J. Wheeler (eds), *Human Rights in Global Politics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[3] Ibid p. 79.
[4] F. Engels, 'The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State', in R.C. Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd edn (New York, Norton and Company, 1978), at p. 739.

Housing, citizenship, and community

It might be argued that such fundamental, social change is too much to ask from any human right. Yet the right to housing has been invoked in service of just such ambitious social transformation: it was included in the post-Apartheid South African Constitution with this very intent.

In South Africa, a right to housing was explicitly premised on the recognition of its potential to bring excluded citizens within the new, post-Apartheid nation, and to overcome the denial of rights that is the legacy of Apartheid. Apartheid policies were based on a logic of spatial marginalisation, which created and reinforced the political and material dispossession of black and 'coloured' South Africans. Relegated to the poorest and least habitable areas, cut off from equal participation and opportunity, and denied any but the most rudimentary services and infrastructure, the overwhelming majority of South Africans lived in inadequate housing, in peripheral townships of informal shanties.

As a direct result, the housing situation in South Africa remains one of dire need and deprivation. Thus, as Constitutional Court Judge Albie Sachs has noted, questions about the right to housing are also questions about how to bring into society those citizens whose lives 'have been spent in systematised insecurity on the fringes of organised society'.[5] Implicit in Justice Sachs' statement is the understanding that the right has the potential to foster new identities, not only for individuals and groups, but for the State itself. As such, the recognition of the right to housing is conceived as a new compact of citizenship in South Africa, and the state's housing policies are premised, at least in part, on the assumption that the provision of adequate housing will support the development of individuals as fully functioning national citizens, rather than as a marginalised underclass.

The South African example illustrates the value of a right to housing as a discourse and practice of social reconstruction, even of social engineering. Yet the ways in which housing policies can be harnessed in service of social engineering projects point to a darker side of the state's relationship to the housing of citizens. It is to this point that I now turn.

Housing and indigenous/minority identity

If the right to housing has been used in South Africa to bring people into a new compact of citizenship, housing polices also have a long history as tools to deny and erase the identities and existence of certain communities.

This has particularly been the case for indigenous peoples, over whom housing policies have been used to disastrous effect. On the one hand, states have refused to extend rights, citizenship or entitlements based on the non-conformity of minority housing. A depressingly contemporary example concerns Roma communities in France, who recently challenged the French State's refusal to grant them housing benefit. The French government argued that in order to gain such housing benefit, Roma need merely give up living in caravans.[6] Simultaneously, the imposition of settler style housing has been used to deracinate and erase the identity of indigenous communities. From Israel to the Canadian Arctic, the provision of settler housing to indigenous populations has been a sophisticated technique in the quest to erase indigenous culture, even existence. As Peter Read notes, a cottage provided for an Aboriginal family by the Australian state was 'less a shelter than an instrument of management, education, and control.'[7]

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[5] *Residents of Joe Slovo Community, Western Cape v Thubelisha Homes and others* (CCT 22/08) [2009] ZACC 16 (10 June 2009) at para 177.
[6] See the claim made before the European Social Committee in *ERRC v France* (Case no 51/2008), Decision on merits, 19 October 2009.
[7] P. Read, 'Preface', in P. Read (ed), *Settlement: a History of Australian Indigenous Housing* (Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 2000).

What role might a right to housing play here? A right to housing has the potential to recognise the social and cultural elements of housing, whether they be indigenous ties to ancestral land, or culturally specific forms of housing such as caravans. Indeed, the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights has begun to respond to such state policies through a sensitive understanding of the cultural elements of housing.[8] In concert with the insights of the South African example above, keeping sight of the individual social and cultural factors that make housing a home within the right to housing allows us to respond to the imposition of housing on some individuals for the good of the community as a whole.

Understanding the social, the economic, and the political

These three examples lead back to a discussion of the relationship between the social radicalism of the right to housing, and its economic and political radicalism.

Of course, it is evident even from a brief tour through these examples that radical social ideas have economic and political implications. Treating housing as a public good, rather than a privately provided asset, would indeed have major financial implications. In addition, any change to social identity carries with it an opportunity for change in political identity. My point is not that there are no political or economic implications within the right to housing. Rather it is that, because of the exclusive focus on the political and economic arguments which dog – and dominate – debates on this right, the actual social potential is obscured.

The argument that courts cannot legitimately oversee a right to housing has largely been countered by practice around the world. Meanwhile, the fear of the particular economic implications of the right to housing has been overcome by studies illustrating the substantial costs of fully resourced prison and electoral systems, for example, which are necessary for the realisation of other human rights. Nevertheless, these arguments persist, and provide a smokescreen that means that it takes some digging to uncover any social radicalism, and reclaim the possibilities in the right to housing.

For me, the right to housing and the particular debates over it serve as an entry point into a larger debate on the role of social and political change in the realisation of those rights often thought of as particularly economic in nature. Its openness to competing arguments, and the fact that it remains unsettled as a legal standard, provide an opportunity to examine the deeply held assumptions about the relationship between the state and the citizen, and the role of human rights in that relationship. The right to housing's very contested status may provide an avenue of particular power for those (like me) who suspect that one of the real promises inherent in human rights lies in their ability to show us the hidden contours of our assumptions about justice and injustice, inclusion and exclusion, and power and powerlessness.

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Six months after the Tsunami of March 2011, Minami Sanriku, Japan. Nearly two years after the disaster, the majority of residents are still living in temporary housing. While the authorities plan a new town, the delay in realising adequate housing has been a long one. Photo: Skye Hohmann.

[8] Hohmann, *The Right to Housing*, Chap 3 s III.

In brief

The British Academy has a varied programme of public events, for communicating scholarship or for engaging in issues of topical debate. Video recordings of the following items from the Autumn 2012 programme can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/events/2012/

Where are all the Women?

On 24 October 2012, the British Academy held a panel discussion that asked why women in a range of sectors are still not getting the top jobs.

One of the panellists, Professor Vicki Bruce FBA (Newcastle University), discussed how change could be brought about in traditional institutions such as universities. 'Transformational change comes when there are reasons to make change. Sometimes there are reasons to make change because the institution for all sorts of reasons has reorganised itself and new people have come in. Sometimes there are reasons to change because even the oldest institution can be struggling in these difficult times we find ourselves in. If you've got very old traditional institutions, you can on occasion meet the following attitude: "I don't think you understand the way that we do things here." And that's one of the things that worries me a little bit about any kind of organisation in which there is a majority of a particular type of person that has traditionally held the power – and that need not necessarily be a male dominance.'

Professor Vicki Bruce FBA

The 'Big Data' debate

On 5 November 2012, the British Academy hosted a panel discussion, chaired by Polly Toynbee (*Guardian*), which asked: What are the opportunities that 'Big Data' offers the social sciences? And what are the wider implications for public scrutiny and debate?

One of the panellists, Professor Harvey Goldstein FBA (University of Bristol), considered some possible advantages and disadvantages of the growth in large datasets. 'The availability of data – especially linked data – on individuals actually does allow more control over individuals. So a whole lot of ethical issues arise. It is very interesting to compare cultures and countries. In Nordic countries like Denmark and Finland, enormous linked datasets – on health, education, crime and so on – on every citizen have been in existence for a long time, and appear to be generally accepted; the culture isn't one of great suspicion. Yet in the UK there is a lot more suspicion, particularly about the way government might use these enormous datasets, especially when they are linked, on citizens. It would be a great shame, I think, if these datasets, as they become available, weren't used, or there were severe restrictions placed on their use, because of a distrust of the people providing them.'

The event, jointly organised with SAGE Publications, formed part of the 2012 ESRC Festival of Social Science.

Under the microscope: the 2012 US Presidential Election

On 10 December 2012, the British Academy hosted a panel discussion entitled 'Under the Microscope: the US Presidential Election Revisited', chaired by Professor Anthony King FBA. What were the key issues that framed the US Presidential campaign? The panellists were Professor Paul Whiteley (University of Essex), Professor Harold D. Clarke (University of Texas at Dallas), and Professor Ted Marmor FBA (Yale University).

Before the event, Professor Marmor gave the British Academy an interview, about the Presidential Election, and about healthcare issues in the US and the UK. Of the factors that gave Obama victory, Professor Marmor said that 'The most important one was the turnout among Hispanic voters, particularly in states like Virginia, Ohio and Michigan. That's a demographic trend, but it was revealed in full colours in 2012. A second one was frankly the determination of the Obama electoral machine to turn out voters more generally: to monitor more carefully and skilfully to induce voters with preferences for the Democrats to get out and vote. And the third central feature was the extraordinary combination of gender and racial considerations that tipped the balance towards Obama: in the case of women, the extraordinary riskiness of the position taken by some of the senatorial candidates was inflammatory; and related to that is the idiosyncratic combination of Obama's mixed race background and the degree of support among black Americans.'

You can also read Professor Marmor's *Policy Perspectives* opinion piece on 'The 2012 US Elections: Features, Causes, and Implications for the American Welfare State'. *Policy Perspectives* provide a unique web forum for Fellows of the British Academy, as well as contributors to our Policy Centre projects, to give their views on topical debates, drawing on their expertise. They can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/policyperspectives/

Professor Ted Marmor FBA

British Academy Small Research Grants: an anniversary worth celebrating

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

In May 1963, the British Academy's newly established 'Research Fund Committee' awarded the first research grants from the Academy's new 'Research Fund' – financed by a grant from government that had been negotiated a year earlier. The Committee awarded grants to 44 research projects, with an average value of less than £500 (equivalent to £8,000 in today's money).

Small research grants are especially valuable to scholars in the humanities and social sciences, as many academics – particularly in the humanities – work independently. The British Academy's Small Research Grants scheme has provided a valuable resource for talented scholars to test research ideas, travel to pursue original research opportunities, or carry out small, discrete projects they would otherwise be unable to fund. This flexible scheme providing modest sums for pieces of innovative research differs from other major funding schemes, such as those run by the Research Councils, which offer large-scale project funding for teams of researchers and equipment – vital in scientific research, but less necessary for much work in the humanities and social sciences.

In the academic year 2011-12 (in two rounds of applications), nearly 500 awards were made to scholars for travel and research expenses. And the value of a Small Research Grant can now be up to £10,000.

The Pilgrim Trust, and the Rockefeller Report

Although the British Academy had been able to provide some modest support before then, it was in the early 1950s that the Academy began its first significant involvement in funding research throughout the UK. It operated a programme – funded by a private grant from the Pilgrim Trust – which offered small grants to scholars who were otherwise unable to secure funds to conduct personal programmes of research. This was intentionally set up as a pilot-scheme, to reveal the scale of demand within universities, museums, art galleries and elsewhere for this kind of support, and to establish a set of procedures for administering such a scheme. The grant from the Pilgrim Trust, initially awarded for a three year period, was twice renewed, in recognition of the quality of the research funded under the programme, and in view of the gathering momentum for demonstrating to the Treasury the clear necessity for government support.

In 1958, the Rockefeller Foundation made available a grant of £6,000 for the Academy to conduct a systematic review of the provision for research in the humanities and social sciences in the UK. A committee of Fellows of the British Academy was appointed to carry out the review, plus a full-time secretary. During the course of three years, the committee took evidence from a wide range of sources, and conducted visits to the United States, Canada, France, Germany and Holland to acquire comparative information from foreign academies and grant-giving bodies.

The Rockefeller Report, published in 1961, made a compelling case for a better national mechanism for supporting research in the humanities and social sciences.[1] The Academy pressed home its arguments in a 'lively and informal' face-to-face discussion with the Financial Secretary of the Treasury. And at the British Academy's annual general meeting in 1962, the President, Sir Maurice Bowra, was able to announce that the Treasury had agreed an annual grant to the Academy of £25,000, with a promise of an early increase to £50,000.[2]

The first awards in 1963

At its meeting in May 1963, the Research Fund Committee – on the basis of the specialist advice of its subject 'Sections' – approved research grants for 44 projects, totalling £20,735. The bald project titles – all that now survives from once detailed project proposals – are both tantalisingly vague and intriguingly exotic. Successful projects included:

Union Catalogue of Foreign Law	£750
Register of Business Archives	£100
Ethnography in New Guinea	£300
Kurdish-English Dictionary	£750
British Bronze Age	£325
Ethical concept of sin	£350
Computer tests in Greek textual criticism	£365
International inventory of musical sources	£750
Archaeology in Southern Rhodesia	£500
Social changes – Italian Land Reform	£150

Sources of funding

The amount of government-sourced money that the Academy was able to disburse in research grants grew significantly in the following decades. But other sources

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[1] *Research in the Humanities and the Social Sciences: Report of a Survey by the British Academy, 1958–1960* (British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1961).

[2] A fuller narrative of these events is provided by chapters on 'The Pilgrim Trust pilot-scheme' and 'The Rockefeller Report and its sequel', in

Mortimer Wheeler's *The British Academy 1949-1968* (British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1970). A more general historical overview of the Academy's 'Support for Research' is given in *The British Academy 1902-2002: Some Historical Documents and Notes* (2002), pp. 21–9.

Featured in previous issues of the British Academy Review (BAR)

**British Academy Small Research Grants
have enabled ...**

... Dr Jeremy Lester to study the urban slums of
South America (BAR issue 12)

... Professor
Caroline Knowles
to explore complex
global interactions
by following the
life-journey of a
pair of flip-flops
(BAR 12)

... Dr Colin Irwin to develop
the use of 'peace polls' as an
aid to conflict resolution in
some of the world's most
troubled regions (BAR 13)

... Dr Liz Walker to study the
parenting experiences of fathers who
had spent time in prison (BAR 15)

... Dr Clare Wood
and colleagues to
investigate the
impact of texting
on childrens'
literacy skills
(BAR 14)

... Professor Andy Miah and Dr
Beatriz Garcia to study the media
coverage surrounding past Olympic
Games (BAR 15)

... Dr Chantal Conneller and
colleagues to excavate Britain's
earliest house (BAR 16)

... Dr Caroline Page to
research the involvement of
Australia and New Zealand
in the Vietnam War (BAR 15)

have been cultivated as well. For 30 years (since 1982), the Sir Ernest Cassel Educational Trust has generously helped to fund the overseas travel costs of early-career scholars applying under the Small Research Grants scheme; one of the very first of these travel grants was awarded to one Dr Mary Beard, for a visit to Rome to conduct research into 'Recent discoveries in Roman inscriptions'.

In addition to such support from private trusts and foundations, bequests or other gifts to the Academy have created small funds, typically with a specific subject focus, adding to the resources available for Small Research Grants over the years. One such example is the Elisabeth Barker Fund, established by her family in her memory after her death in 1986, which supports studies in recent European history. These 'restricted' funds are administered under the umbrella of the Small Research Grants programme to ensure that the awards maintain a consistent standard of excellence in research.

The Academy's Fellows peer review every application on a *pro bono* basis, as with all of the Academy's funding schemes – adding a great deal of value to the money invested and disbursed.[3]

Proven value

In 1999-2000, the Small Research Grants scheme was the subject of a review of 'British Academy Support for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences'. The review showed that Small Research Grants were still as important as ever.[4] Individual survey responses indicated the scheme's unique character:

- 'Small grants are important out of all proportion to their size in fostering original research'

- 'The small grants scheme is a lifeline to many researchers and the British Academy fulfils a role no other body does so specifically'

- 'The small grants scheme can make a real difference to a young scholar's career by offering just the right seed corn help'

- 'The reputation of the British Academy carries weight, and once I had a grant from the BA it enabled me to obtain grants from other sources'

- 'It is by far the most valuable scheme available to those who wish to carry out traditional research based on personal scholarship'.[5]

A formal evaluation of the Small Research Grants scheme, carried out by external consultants[6] in 2010, demonstrated the impact of these relatively small sums of money. The grants greatly benefited the careers of the award-holders, and provided them with opportunities to extend their academic collaborations and networks. The funding was judged to stimulate new research ideas and lead to genuinely new discoveries and knowledge – subsequently published in a large volume of scholarly books and journal articles. And researchers were also able to communicate their findings to more general audiences, through talks, the media and popular publications; and many found themselves being consulted as experts by government.

The 2010 evaluation also confirmed the extraordinary capacity of a British Academy Small Research Grant to unlock further funding from other sources, by bestowing a kitemark of excellence on award-holders and their research work. A 2012 study found that the total amount leveraged from other sources was approximately 28 times the value of the original grant.

In 2010-11 the Academy disbursed over £2.7m in Small Research Grants, and regarded this as constituting unrivalled value for money.

A new beginning

It was therefore disappointing when it became clear that such small grants schemes did not fit the priorities of the government's 2010 Spending Review, and the Academy found itself having to announce the discontinuation of its Small Research Grants. The news shocked the academic constituency.

The Academy reacted by establishing a special 'Research Fund' in 2011, to allow donations to be ring-fenced for its research funding programmes. Many Fellows of the British Academy have already contributed to this Fund, and strong vocal support from the Fellowship has also been a great help in making the case to save the scheme. An urgent approach was made to the Leverhulme Trust, who agreed to support the Small Research Grants programme with £500,000 per year for three years from 2012. The Academy also negotiated a change to the terms of its government funding to allow sums underspent in other research programmes (e.g. unclaimed or returned funding from its various research posts schemes) to be directed to the Small Research Grants. The sums available are much reduced compared to 2010 levels, but the Academy has been able to relaunch its Small Research Grants scheme.

In the 50-year history of the Academy's small-scale research funding, nearly 15,000 awards have been made, with a total value of over £60,000,000 in today's money. To ensure that this valuable programme can continue for another 50 years, the Academy needs to diversify further the sources of funds that the scheme can draw upon.

The British Academy is actively seeking support for its research programmes. The fundraising team would be delighted to hear from any potential supporters, whether individuals, trustees or corporate contacts. Please contact Jennifer Hawton, Development Officer (020 7969 5258 or j.hawton@britac.ac.uk). Donations can be made to the Academy online via www.justgiving.com/britac/donate

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More information on the Small Research Grants scheme can be found at www.britac.ac.uk/funding/guide/srg.cfm

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[3] An analysis in 2012 estimated that Fellows of the British Academy gave over 30,000 hours of voluntary time in support of Academy activities in 2011/12.

[4] *British Academy Support for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences: Report of a Review 1999-2000* (2000). The review findings were summarised in 'Review of Research Support', *The British Academy Review*, January-July 2000 (2000), pp. 47-9.

[5] A further survey of past award-holders and the wider academic community, undertaken for the Academy by external consultants Evidence Ltd in 2006, confirmed that Small Research Grants remained 'the most highly rated scheme within the BA portfolio'.

[6] People Science and Policy Ltd.

Research on childhood and play:
Drawing on the Opie legacy

JACKIE MARSH

ONE OF SOCIETY'S recurrent myths, frequently circulated through media reports, relates to childhood and play. This particular 'moral panic' laments the decline of play in recent years, but, of course, this is a claim that has a long history, with each generation documenting the perceived degeneration of the social and cultural practices of its youth. Fortunately, in the UK we have numerous archival collections relating to children's play, which can be drawn upon in order to trace the continuities and discontinuities in play over time. One of the most significant of these collections is that of Iona (1923-) and Peter Opie (1918-1982), relating to the play and traditions of children in Great Britain in the mid-20th century. The Opies were folklorists who collected information on children's play, language and lore through the use of surveys completed by schoolchildren – supplemented by extensive fieldwork, which involved observations of play and interviews with children playing in school playgrounds and on street corners. The Opie collection contains materials submitted by some 20,000 children from schools over Britain, and these materials, in addition to the fieldwork notes and observations, informed a series of landmark publications by the Opies – including *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (1959), *Children's Games in Street and Playground* (1969) and *The Singing Game* (1985). The collection itself covers a wide range of play and cultural practices, including language games, rhymes, songs, customs and beliefs, and is deposited at the Bodleian Libraries and the Folklore Society. The British Academy Research project, 'Childhoods and Play: An Archive',[1] aims to survey the entire collection and make it available, by creating a digital resource that brings together its distributed parts and makes them available for the purposes of research in a wide range of disciplines.

A British Academy Small Research Grant enabled members of the project team to undertake a study[2] which involved tracing some of the original child contributors to the Opie surveys, now aged between 50 and 80, and their contemporaries, in order to explore changes in play over the past six decades. Twenty-eight participants took part in oral history interviews, and their reflections on their memories of play were compared and contrasted with more recent findings on contemporary children's play that emerged from a study funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in the Beyond Text programme – 'Children's playground games and songs in the new media age',[3] which involved ethnographic studies in two playgrounds in London and Sheffield. A number of continuities and discontinuities in play over time were found.

Forms of play

There were many similarities in the forms of play reported by the adults in the oral history interviews and the forms of play observed in the ethnographic studies. Physical play, such as running and chasing games (e.g. Tig), were prevalent in both studies, as were skipping, football, playing with hoops and balls. Pretend play was also pervasive, with adults and contemporary children reporting being involved in fantasy play and socio-dramatic play. The changes in relation to forms of play could be identified as those activities that were more prevalent in current childhood play (e.g. clapping games), those activities that were new to playgrounds (e.g. handshakes, perhaps influenced by gang practices, and pretend play based on reality television, such as *The X Factor*), and activities that were less prevalent than in previous generations or not present on the contemporary playgrounds we observed (e.g. games such as 'British Bulldog' or conkers). The features of play that were less prevalent today relate to issues of safety and reflect the way in which many schools have curtailed such play deliberately through school policies. Ways in which the rhymes and games are transmitted have also changed since the mid-20th century because of developments in media and technology. Our adult respondents reported learning games and rhymes from their peers, whereas in the recent ethhnographic studies, some children had learned clapping games, for example, from Internet sources such as YouTube.

[1] http://www.opieproject.group.shef.ac.uk
[2] http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/education/research/ groups/csnl/relationmedia
[3] http://projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/playgroundgames/index.php

Figure 1. *Boys playing conkers, Leyland, Lancashire, 1968. Photo: Fr. Damian Webb [PRM2003.88.3148], courtesy Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

Media, technology and play

Inevitably, given the developments in relation to media and technology over the past 60 years, there were significant differences in the experiences of the adults we interviewed and of the children who were the focus of the ethnographic studies, in terms of the way in which media related to play. Contemporary children have access to a wide range of media and technologies, such as cinema, television, radio, computer games, DVD, tablet pcs, handheld computers, mp3 players and so on. The data from the oral history interviews indicate that television, cinema, radio and record players were the media sources for the participants in this study in the 1950s and 1960s.

The adults reported seldom watching television, as they preferred to play outside. The programmes they reported watching were primarily those produced for children, although a few respondents mentioned programmes that were aired past the watershed. In contrast, children in the recent study watched television more extensively and watched a variety of programmes, including programmes aimed primarily at an adult audience. Because of the prevalence of DVD players, cinema attendance is less frequent for contemporary children than it was for the

adults in this study, many of whom reported going to the cinema every Saturday to watch children's films. In relation to music, the adults listened to popular music on the radio and record players, whereas children in the more recent study enjoyed music across a variety of platforms including radio, mp3 players and the Internet.

Nevertheless, despite the disparity between the types and range of media employed, there were similarities in the way in which children drew from media in their play across both cohorts. Pop singers and film stars have always informed children's games and rhymes. In the 1970s and 1980s, a popular rhyme referred to Diana Dors. One of the variants is as follows:

> My name is Diana Dors
> And I am a movie star
> I've got a cute cute face
> I play monkey guitar
> I got the lips, ooh,
> I've got the hips, ooh
> Got the turn around movie star.

In 2009, in the Sheffield playground, a version of this song was recorded[4] that replaced Diana Dors with Tracy Beaker, a fictional character from books written by Jacqueline Wilson, which were adapted for television and film. This is, perhaps, an indication of the more complex media landscape of contemporary childhoods, in which characters and narratives appear across a wide range of media, and children may encounter the same characters in books, films, computer games and related texts and artefacts.

Across the decades, children have blended characters and plots drawn from media with more traditional play practices. In *Children's Games in Street and Playground* (1969), the Opies identified eight categories of 'pretending games' (pp. xxv-xxvi):

- Mothers and Fathers
- Playing Schools
- Road Accidents (boys feign injury, girls make-believe they are nurses)
- Playing Horses (children pretend to be or to possess animals)
- Storybook World (children make-believe they would be able to manage in abnormal situations)
- War Games (children engage in pretence battles, either against an imaginary enemy or an opposing group of children)
- Cops and Robbers (players on one side chase or seek the other side)
- Fairies and Witches (girls enact the everlasting fight between good and evil)

There was extensive evidence from the recent AHRC-funded study that these categories are still prevalent in

Figure 2. *Girls playing the ring game, 'In and out the dusky bluebells', Workington, Cumbria, 1961. Photo: Fr. Damian Webb [PRM2003.88.438], courtesy Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

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[4] http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/ playground/clips/clapping/121215.html

contemporary playgrounds. The media has consistently influenced play across the majority of these categories, although the substantive content of the play has changed. For example, war play in the 1950s and 1960s was based on television programmes such as *Bonanza,* which informed 'cowboys and indians' war games, or films that involved stories relating to the Second World War. In the 2010s, children's war play is more likely to be influenced by media reports on terrorist activity, or computer games that involve combat, such as *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare.*

Schools and play

Over the last 60 years, there have been key developments in the way in which playtimes are conceived of and constructed in primary schools, with contemporary

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New British Academy Research Projects in 2012

In 2012, five new 'British Academy Research Projects' were adopted. The British Academy Research Project scheme bestows a kitemark of academic excellence on major infrastructural projects or research facilities that are producing fundamental works of scholarship.

The new projects are:
- Childhoods and Play: An Archive
- Imperial Logistics: The Making of the Terracotta Army

- Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese
- IRIS (Instruments for Research Into Second Languages)
- IVF History Project

There are now 50 British Academy Research Projects. A full list can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/arp

The 'Making of the Terracotta Army' project is investigating the crafting methods and logistical organisation behind the making of the vast Terracotta Army, the world-famous archaeological figures, which guarded the mausoleum of China's first emperor, Qin Shihuang (259-210 BC). The project brings together specialists from different fields in order to open up entirely new areas of insight into the warriors and their world. Early results suggest that the warriors were made by small workshops of skilled craftsmen – a cellular production akin to that used by Toyota today.

Professor Helen Wallace, the British Academy's Foreign Secretary, is seen here discussing the new British Academy Research Project with Dr Xiuzhen Janice Li, who has been seconded to University College London for the duration of the project. During her October 2012 visit to China, the Foreign Secretary also signed a new Memorandum of Understanding with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and gave talks at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and Peking University. The visit marked a reinvigoration of the Academy's engagement with China.

playtimes being shorter in nature because of curriculum pressures. In terms of the management of play, many of the adults who were interviewed in this study stated that adults in schools rarely intervened in play during playtimes, whilst in the ethnographic studies, adult play workers and teachers were observed stimulating and engaging in play with children. Safety issues were of much less concern in the schoolyards of the 1950s and 1960s, with some adults reporting risky play during playtimes (such as playing on bunkers). Developments in media and commercialisation have, inevitably, impacted upon play in the school playgrounds over the 60 years between the first Opie survey and the AHRC-funded study. Children in the recent study brought branded toys and artefacts (e.g. *Star Wars* figurines) into the playgrounds and sometimes utilised these in their play, whereas the adults reported taking only non-commercial or low-cost items to school (e.g. whips and tops, or tins of beads they had collected).

Space and play

There has been widespread discussion about the way in which contemporary childhoods are spatially constrained because of concerns about risk. In this study, the adults who grew up in the 1950s and 1960s reported being able to play at a distance from their family homes, unsupervised by adults, in parks, wasteland and woods. Fewer cars meant that they were able to play on streets, stretching skipping ropes across roads or running from side to side of the road. Issues of personal safety were not paramount, as the adults reported climbing trees and exploring bomb sites. For contemporary children, play is largely restricted to school playgrounds, their own homes and the homes of friends, or they are taken on trips to specific play spaces, such as theme parks. For the adults who participated in the oral history narratives, play spaces were not generally designated as specifically aimed at children; they describe play taking place in a wide range of settings (street, wasteland, countryside, parks, homes). Developments in new technologies mean that spatial elements of play are also different for children today, because of access to both online and offline spaces. Children in the AHRC-funded study reported playing with both known and unknown others on a range of online sites such as virtual worlds, whereas prior to the widespread use of the Internet, children only played with others they knew in offline spaces.

Gender, sexuality and play

A number of issues relating to gender, sexuality and play were fairly persistent across the studies. Adults reported playing primarily in same-sex groups in their childhoods, and some attended schools at which the playgrounds of boys and girls were spatially separate. Gendered patterns in play were apparent, with girls reporting being involved in skipping and boys in football. Only in a few cases did the adults report examples that were counter to these gendered patterns. In the contemporary playgrounds, gender differences remained persistent, but were more complex. Similar issues reported by the adults in relation to space and play were still apparent in the AHRC-funded study, in that boys frequently took up large sections of the playground for football and girls spent time in small social groups to the edges of the space. There were some changes in that mixed-gender friendship groups were apparent, and a minority of children did engage in play which was not usual for their gender. Heteronormative play was apparent across both studies, which includes games such as 'Kiss-Catch'. Developments in relation to media and commercialised practices across the 60 years also mean that gendered representations are more complex today. In the 1950s and 1960s, children were presented with stereotypical accounts of girlhood and boyhood in television advertising and books, for example. In contemporary society, children do encounter stereotypes and toys and artefacts targeted primarily at boys or girls, but they are also more likely to encounter non-stereotypical representations. There has been much speculation about the increasingly sexualised nature of contemporary childhoods, but we found little evidence across the studies to support this thesis in relation to the participants in our projects. Risqué rhymes, accompanied by actions such as grinding hips and pouting lips, are prevalent in play across all decades and reflect a persistent interest by children in transgressive play and play that explores, and parodies, adult worlds.

The British Academy-funded study that is reported in this article highlighted the very rich potential of the Opie collection. This is a unique repository, which has the potential to inform further, in-depth studies of the history of childhood and play in the UK over the latter decades of the 20th century. This work is important if we are to develop a fuller understanding of the nature of the changes in childhood and play over the past 60 years, and it can enable us to challenge the recurrent media-fuelled cries regarding the disappearance of play.

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Transcribe Bentham!

The Bentham Project is a British Academy Research Project. Members of the project team describe both an innovative research method, and what's next in the 'Collected Works' pipeline.

THE BENTHAM PROJECT at University College London (UCL) has been working on the production of the new edition of *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham* for over 50 years.[1] Most people will know Bentham (1748-1832), the philosopher and reformer, as the originator of the Panopticon prison, and for requesting that his remains be preserved as an auto-icon (in which state Bentham is now displayed at UCL). But as well as being custodians of his corpse, UCL also owns a great deal of Bentham's corpus: UCL Special Collections holds around 60,000 manuscript folios (conservatively estimated at *c.* 30 million words), while the British Library has a further 12,500 folios (*c.* 6 million words). Many volumes of the *Collected Works* are – and will be – based upon edited transcripts of this material. Transcription is itself a very time-consuming task.

Thus far, 29 volumes of the new edition have been published, with several more at an advanced stage of publication (see page 37, and a total of around 25,000 manuscript folios have been transcribed. The majority of the Bentham Papers – a resource of great historical and philosophical importance – are therefore untranscribed and their contents largely unknown, and are otherwise only accessible to those able to visit UCL Special Collections. Our understanding of Bentham's thought –

together with its historical significance and its contemporary relevance – is therefore rendered at best provisional, and at worst a caricature.

Recently, and to help overcome these problems, the study of Bentham has moved firmly into the digital age. Since 2010, the Bentham Project has co-ordinated a pioneering and exciting public engagement initiative, which provides students, researchers, scholars, and the general public with access to Bentham manuscripts, and involves volunteers in research. Launched to the public in September 2010, the double award-winning 'crowdsourced' transcription project, *Transcribe Bentham*, recruits online volunteers from around the world to assist in the transcription of unpublished manuscripts written and composed by Bentham, on a range of subjects including economics, representative democracy, religion, law, convict transportation, and sexual morality (Figure 1).

At the heart of the project is a collaborative transcription platform known as the 'Transcription Desk', which is a customised MediaWiki – therefore instantly recognisable to the millions who use Wikipedia every day – programmed by our colleagues at the University of London Computer Centre. Volunteers are presented with a high-quality digital image of a manuscript, and a plain-text box into which they type their transcript (Figure 2).
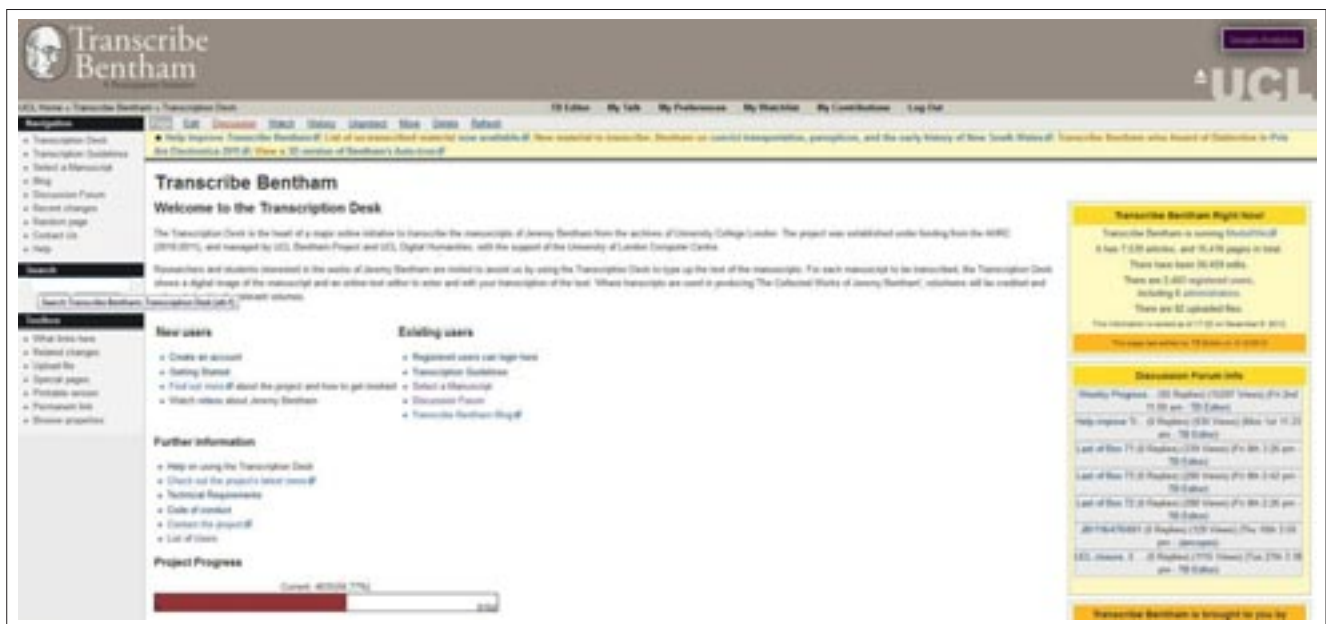
Figure 1. *The Transcribe Bentham homepage.*

[1] See 'Thinking Around the Box: The Work of the Bentham Project', *British Academy Review*, 13 (June 2009), 46-50.
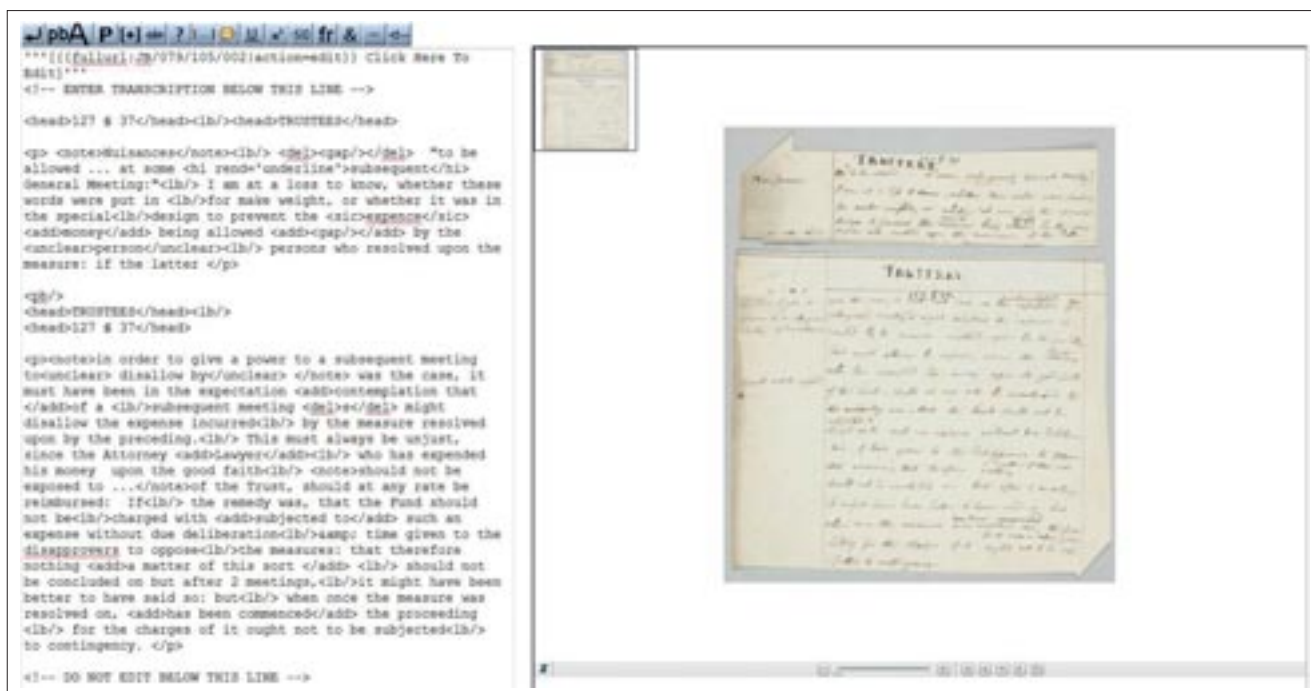
Figure 2. *The Transcribe Bentham online text editor.*

Transcribers are also asked to encode their work in Text Encoding Initiative (TEI)-compliant XML, using a specially-designed 'transcription toolbar' to facilitate the straightforward addition of mark-up to the text. (The TEI is a standard set of guidelines for scholarly text-encoding, and is important for preservation purposes: TEI XML files can be converted easily to any number of formats.)

Volunteer-produced transcripts are submitted to project staff who check them for textual accuracy and encoding consistency, and those transcripts judged to be complete have two purposes. First, they are uploaded to UCL's freely-accessible digital Bentham Papers repository, and linked to the relevant manuscript image to facilitate searching. Second, the transcripts will make a valuable contribution to research and scholarship, by forming a starting-point for future *Collected Works* (transcribers will be credited for their work in the relevant volumes). Volunteers frequently transcribe manuscripts that have not been read since Bentham composed them, and can potentially make new discoveries (see inset on page 36). *TB* is thus a partnership with volunteer transcribers who, rather than merely consuming the fruits of humanities research, play an active part in its generation.

'Crowdsourcing' is a term generally acknowledged to have been coined by the journalist Jeff Howe, in his 2006 article 'The Rise of Crowdsourcing' published in *Wired* magazine. Crowdsourcing generally involves seeking assistance in solving a problem from as wide a group of people as possible through an open call for volunteers.

In recent years, there has been a movement in cultural and heritage industries, and in academia, to trial crowdsourcing. A number of successful projects have harnessed the enthusiasm of volunteers to contribute to heritage, widen access to collections, and to help generate research. Some of the most successful include the National Library of Australia's digitised newspapers programme, in which genealogists and enthusiasts have corrected tens of millions of lines of Optical Character Recogntion (OCR) software-generated transcripts of digitised historic newspapers; *Dickens Journals Online* volunteers have done the same for the full run of both *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, the periodicals edited by Charles Dickens; and, of course, *Galaxy Zoo* and its associated projects have involved innumerable 'citizen scientists' in generating scientific data for astronomical research.

There have also been attempts at crowdsourcing a more challenging task: the transcription of manuscripts. Such projects include *Old Weather*, which asks volunteers to transcribe ships' logs to map historic weather patterns; the American *Papers of the War Department* project; the *World Archives Project*, run by Ancestry.com; as well as open-source transcription tools such as *Scripto*, *T-Pen*, and *FromThePage*.

The manuscripts crowdsourced by these projects are, however, reasonably straightforward to decipher, and/or formulaic in layout, whereas many Bentham manuscripts cannot, with the best will in the world, be described as easy to read. *TB* was thus formulated as an experiment. Could volunteers – who may not have had any palaeographical training, or have encountered historical manuscripts previously – be able to read and decipher Bentham's handwriting, deal with compositional and structural features of the manuscripts and mark these up in TEI XML, and navigate both Bentham's often idiosyncratic style, and his dense and challenging ideas? In addition, would the work of volunteers be of sufficient quality to act

as a basis for the Bentham Project's editorial work, and to be uploaded to the digital Bentham Papers repository for public access?

More than two years after the project began, we are delighted to report that the answer to all of these questions is a resounding 'yes'. As of 7 December 2012, 4,728 manuscripts (*c.* 2.5 million words) have been transcribed or partially-transcribed by volunteers. Of these transcripts, 4,481 (94%) passed our quality control process, which is a real testament to the care and attention to detail paid by *TB* volunteers to their work, and is also an indication of no little skill on their part. The current rate of transcription is certainly impressive: since the beginning of 2012, volunteers have worked at a faster rate than a full-time researcher dedicated to transcription could be expected to, having submitted an average of 51 transcripts (*c.* 25,500 words) per week.

Over 2,500 people from around the world have registered with *TB*. Surveys of volunteers suggest that most are motivated to participate by an interest in history and/or philosophy, in Bentham, and by a general interest in crowdsourcing. Yet also notable are altruistic motivations: as one volunteer put it, beautifully encapsulating the ethos of the projct, *TB* 'is a literary form of archaeology', whereby 'instead of using a brush to uncover an object, you get to uncover historical information by reading and transcribing it. It leaves his legacy available for all to access.'

The following episode from Bentham's childhood is referred to briefly in John Bowring's biography of Bentham (volume X of the 1838–43 edition of the *Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham*), and the transcription of manuscript JB/027/026/004 has now confirmed where Bowring got the information from. This source describes Bentham's indiscretion in much more detail, and makes clear that Bentham considered it a formative experience in shaping his views on how animals should be treated.

I was about 4 or 5 years old when one evening I took it into my head to amuse myself with putting ear-wigs in the candle. I had no malice to the ear-wigs (poor insects): for my disgust at them if I had conceived any would have led me rather to have avoided them than to have handled them in that matter. But the writhings of their bodies, added to the little explosions made by the moisture of their juices composed a scene which amused my curiosity. A servant who had the charge of me, asked me what I thought the ear-wigs must suffer, and what I could have to say [for myself if any one that was stronger than I should] were she to serve me in the same manner. I was struck with remorse. I looked back upon the deed with horror: and from that time I have been nearly as attentive to the feelings of the brute part of the creation as of the human.

Manuscript JB/027/026/004, with a detail, right, showing the relevant portion of transcribed text.
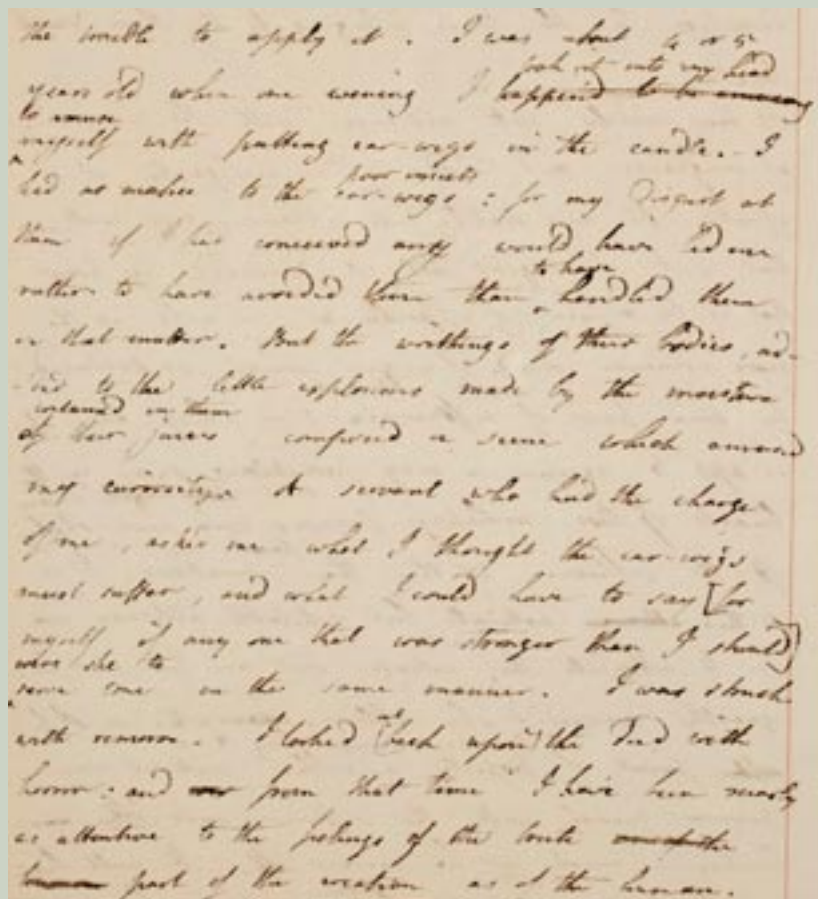
Yet, of all those who have registered with *TB*, only 318 have carried out any transcription, and most of these have only worked on one manuscript. The overwhelming majority of the work has been carried out by a core group of 15 'Super Transcribers', who submit contributions of an extremely high standard on a regular, ongoing basis. Transcribing Bentham manuscripts is always going to be of limited appeal, compared to correcting the text of historical newspapers, classifying galaxies, or transcribing ships' logs, but respondents to our survey of both regular participants and non-transcribers have offered suggestions as to what may have limited participation. Addressing these issues should enable us to increase our volunteer recruitment and retention.

Bentham's handwriting is a significant barrier to participation in itself (particularly for manuscripts written in the 1820s), while the TEI mark-up is seen as an unnecessary complication to transcription, and there are issues with identifying untranscribed material. So, while regular *TB* participants have overcome these obstacles, more work remains to be done to make participation straightforward, both for 'Super Transcribers' and those who may wish to dabble on a more irregular basis.

TB, and the work of its volunteers, has had a significant impact. It has featured in several international media outlets – including the *New York Times*, *Sunday Times*, Deutsche Welle World radio, and ORF1 radio (Austria). *TB* received an Award of Distinction in the 'Digital Communities' category of the 2011 Prix Ars Electronica, the world's foremost digital arts competition; in 2009, this same award was bestowed upon Wikileaks. The project was also shortlisted for the 2011 Digital Heritage Award, and recently came second in the *Knetworks* 'Platforms for Networked Innovation' competition. The code for the Transcription Desk is available on an open-source basis for download and re-use by others, and has been implemented by the Public Records Office of Victoria in Melbourne for their own transcription pilot project.

TB should now be able to build on its already considerable successes, because from 1 October 2012 the project is funded by a two-year grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation's Scholarly Communications programme, as part of a wider scheme of work entitled the *Consolidated Bentham Papers Repository* (*CBPR*). Under this programme, we will digitise almost all of the UCL Bentham Papers collection, as well as all of the Bentham manuscripts held by the British Library. We will address the issues with the transcription interface that have been identified by volunteers; and, in perhaps the most useful planned innovation, for participants and potential participants alike, we will introduce a What-You-See-Is-What-You-Get transcription interface – volunteers will then be able to concentrate on transcription with the TEI mark-up being hidden and not obscuring the transcript as at present.

We believe that Bentham would have heartily approved of *TB*. The project is bringing a wider audience to the life and work of Bentham, who incidentally loved technology: his house had central heating, and he experimented with refrigeration, conversation tubes, and counterfeit-proof banknotes, amongst other things. *TB* has also demonstrated that the abilities of the 'crowd' should not be underestimated, and that complex tasks and material can be crowdsourced; if we can crowdsource Bentham, then surely anything is possible!

Perhaps most importantly, the ultimate fruit of *TB* will be a digital collection of enduring national and international historical and philosophical importance, accessible to all, and which will be created through a genuine partnership between scholars and the public.

Latest editorial work on *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham*

Bentham's writings on religion and sexual morality

The next volume scheduled for publication will deal with Bentham's writings on sexual morality dating from the mid-1810s. This volume presents in authoritative form two substantial essays entitled 'Of Sexual Irregularities' and 'Sextus' (referring to sexual feelings as the sixth sense). Bentham argued that attitudes towards sexual morality in Britain had been based primarily on the Mosaic law and the teachings of St Paul, both of which condoned asceticism. More particularly, the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah provided the Biblical evidence for the view that God had issued an absolute prohibition against homosexuality, which was known as 'the crime against nature'. According to the Christian Church, sexual activity was sinful unless it involved one male and one female, within marriage, for the procreation of children. Bentham offered classical Rome and Greece, where certain male same-sex relationships were regarded as normal, as

alternative models of sexual morality. All that the term 'natural' meant in this context was 'approved by opinion' – no one sort of sexual activity was any more natural or normal than any other. The story of Sodom and Gomorrah did not condemn homosexuality, in Bentham's view, but gang rape. The key question was whether there was consent. No one, it was best assumed, would willingly consent to engage in a particular sexual practice – whether with a person of their own or the opposite sex, with more than one person, with an animal, with an inanimate object, with various parts of the body – unless they expected it to be pleasurable. Bentham argued that the Biblical record was rather more ambivalent than Christian apologists were prepared to recognise: the relationship between Jonathan and David in the Old Testament was clearly portrayed as homosexual, and he said there was evidence in the Gospels that Jesus was a practising homosexual. Bentham's argument was, in essence, that since sexual gratification constituted the most intense of pleasures, then there were no utilitarian grounds for condemning consensual sexual activity. Bentham was, moreover, persuaded by Malthus's argument that population growth tended to outstrip food supply. Hence, far from condemning non-procreative sexual activity, this was a reason for encouraging it, since it would help to reduce population growth. Bentham also has radical views on prostitution, infanticide, euthanasia, and sexual relationships between teachers and pupils. We expect that many people will reassess their view of Bentham in the light of this material.

Bentham's writings on political economy

In 2007 the editorial work began on two of a then projected four volumes of Bentham's writings on political economy, under a grant from the Economic and Social Research Council. Two volumes have indeed been edited, and significant progress has been made towards completion of a third, although the sheer amount of manuscript material has meant that a further three volumes at least will be required to complete this project. The works in the first two volumes were written between 1786 and 1795; they include previously unpublished texts, such as Bentham's marginal contents for his first systematic discussion of the subject, drafted in French for 'Projet Matière', and critical editions of texts drawn both from manuscript, such as 'Manual of Political Economy', and from printed works, such as *Defence of Usury* and *A Protest Against Law Taxes*. The second volume reflects Bentham's own focus, in the second half of 1794, on the subject of '*Πόροι*' (i.e. 'Resources' or 'Supply'). Under this head, he investigated the range of possible sources of supply for public expenditure, sought to rank them in order of preference, and drafted text for a range of proposals which he viewed as related branches of a single grand project, and which he intended to submit to government. In the event, of the nine proposals which he discussed, Bentham published only *Supply without Burthen*. It is hoped that its presentation in the context of the much larger project of which it was part will facilitate scholarship in the field of Bentham's political economy.

A failure of faith:

Herbert Grierson, Thomas Carlyle, and the British Academy 'Master Mind' Lecture of 1940

DAVID R. SORENSEN

ON 4 DECEMBER 1940, *The Times* announced in its 'Todays's Arrangements' column, 'British Academy: Annual Lecture on "A Master Mind", by Sir Herbert Grierson on "Carlyle", 3pm.' To the left of this notice appeared the ominous head-line, 'Invader in the University. Nazi Henchmen's Purge of Dutch Seats of Learning', detailing the closing of the Technical High School at Delft and the University of Leiden by the Germans. The report noted that Leiden had produced a number of illustrious scientists, including Boerhaave, Lorentz, Kamerlingh Onnes, and Einstein, and that 'its history and achievement stand for eternal values which represent all that is best in the human mind ... and which in the last resort will always prevail.' Possibly for many readers of the newspaper, the subject of 'Carlyle' – a writer dismissed in an 1932 anthology of essays on *Great Victorians* as 'much praised and seldom read'[1] – seemed strangely remote from the events of the day. But from Sir Herbert Grierson's perspective, the two subjects were intimately linked. The question of Carlyle's culpability for the rise of Nazism had preoccupied him at least since 1930, when he delivered the Adamson lecture at the University of Manchester entitled 'Carlyle and Hitler'. With a sharper sense of urgency lent by the historical circumstances, he revisited the topic 10 years later at the British Academy, determined to resolve a controversy that he himself had played a pivotal role in creating.

In the Adamson lecture, Grierson insisted at the outset that it was not his aim to treat Carlyle as a precursor of National Socialism. On the contrary, he sought to encourage a re-evaluation of Carlyle based mainly on his merits as a historian rather than as a polemicist. This distinction was important to Grierson (1866–1960), a professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, whose academic career was launched when he won a scholarship to Christ Church, Oxford, for an essay that he wrote on fanaticism. A tenacious and scrupulous editor, a subtle interpreter of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels, an accomplished linguist, a keen lecturer in rhetoric, and a self-effacing Scotsman from Shetland and Aberdeen, he was ideally suited to explicate the writings of the self-proclaimed 'paradoxical philosopher'[2] from Ecclefechan. Grierson's student and friend David Daiches recalled that he was 'one of the few men who have put together scholarship, literary sensitivity, historical understanding, verbal investigation, literary criticism and creativeness.'[3] He would need to summon all of these qualities in his attempt to unravel the riddle that lay at the core of Carlyle's writings: how the most trenchant foe of mechanistic social engineering in the 19th century was now being identified with Nazi and Bolshevik blueprints of violent social reorganisation.

According to Grierson, Carlyle was the first historian to dramatise the dangerous allure of what later came to be known as the 'totalitarian temptation'.[4] In two of his finest works – *The French Revolution* (1837) and *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (1845) – he wholeheartedly immersed himself in the psychology of political religions, imaginatively re-enacting through his primary sources the *sturm und drang* of their seductive and fatal appeal. Well before Jules Michelet and Alexis de Tocqueville, Carlyle recognised that the French Revolution was a spiritual as well as a political phenomenon. The most salient aspect of the Sansculottes' 'Gospel according to Jean-Jacques' (*FR, W* 2:4) was its absolute repudiation of the past and its messianic embrace of a purified future, worshipped and sanctified in popular public rituals, symbols, and liturgies. In *The French Revolution*, he unfolded the tragic consequences of the Jacobins' brutal attempts to harness the inchoate religious sentiments of the masses towards the creation of a 'new Political Evangel' (*FR, W* 2:128). In *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Carlyle explored political religions from a different angle. He conceived the Protector as a man who had awakened a genuine spiritual urge among the English masses, but who was thwarted by his inability to find a successor who could carry his mission forward. Carlyle

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[1] A. Wyatt Tilby, 'Thomas Carlyle 1795-1881', in H. J. Massingham and Hugh Massingham (eds), *The Great Victorians* (Harmondsworth, 1937), p. 131.

[2] *The French Revolution*, *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. H. D. Traill, Centenary Edition (London, 1896-99), 2:27. Volume and page references in the text are to this edition (abbreviated as *W*).

[3] 'Memories of Grierson. Address to the English Department Centenary Dinner on 14 October 1994', *Aberdeen University Review*, No. 193 (Spring 1995), p. 29.

[4] See Jean-François Revel, *The Totalitarian Temptation*, trans. David Hapgood (New York, 1977).

one Hero whom he accepts with his whole heart, and that is Oliver Cromwell' (*AL* 34). This choice was 'luminous, because in [Cromwell] the two strains of thought in [Carlyle's] conception of Justice, Law, combine. ... He drove through where others discussed abstract rights. But he was also the first of Heroes, because he was the soldier of God, had, as no other of the great soldiers of history, a moral and religious end' (*AL* 37). Nevertheless, Grierson believed that Carlyle went too far in his admiration. His zealous championship of Cromwell's 'moral and religious end' diminished his compassion for those who did not share the dictator's vision of the one true faith.

Carlyle's signal error of judgment in *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* was to exalt the Protector's fanaticism. He failed to see how Cromwell's ruthless inflexibility contributed to his demise: 'It is ... what Carlyle most admired in Cromwell that most distinctly marks his limitation as a Hero, his fanaticism – or if his personal fanaticism was less than his language suggests, his too great dependence on the fanatical element in his following, so that he could not free himself and the country from the tyranny of Saints and Majors Generals' (*AL* 39–40). Grierson admitted that Carlyle's primary aim was to rescue Cromwell from the charge that he was a cynical and amoral schemer who had abused religion in order to obtain power. In this respect, the biographer had succeeded beyond his expectations. The Cromwell who emerged from Carlyle's edition of the letters, despite his 'fanaticism', was considerably larger than his faults. In earnestness and commitment, he rose above Napoleon, a sincere leader who became corrupted by the cult of own invincibility. Unattractive as some traits of Cromwell's character might be, Grierson contended, no serious comparison could be drawn between him and the Austrian-born German corporal now proclaiming himself to be Germany's messiah.

Grierson was aware that Carlyle was already being used as an instrument of propaganda by Nazis and their English fellow-travellers. He carefully countered their claims by reminding his listeners of Carlyle's cautious attitudes to the prominent political figures of his own times: 'He was not quick to discover heroic traits in a contemporary. And the Hero, to-day as ever, presents the same dual aspect, good and evil. If in measuring that good and evil we may be misled ... by too abstract standards alike of goodness and greatness, the problem yet remains' (*AL* 61). Moreover, Carlyle's disillusionment with liberalism and democracy was driven by his sympathy for the poor and by his contempt for those who invoked the pseudo-scientific formulas of *laissez-faire* as a universal panacea. His impassioned demands for responsible leaders were not illogical or mystical. If anything, Grierson argued, the condition of Europe in 1930 seemed to ratify his view in *Past and Present* that 'the natural demand ... of every working man for two things, a living wage and security of employment' (*AL* 63) could not be

lamented, 'Puritanism, without its King, is kingless, anarchic; falls into dislocation, self-collision, staggers, plunges into ever deeper anarchy' (*Cromwell*, *W* 9:207).

Carlyle fathomed the elusive psychology of political religions largely because his own faith was rooted in a reverential acceptance of God's ineffability. Friedrich Nietzsche famously contended in *Twilight of the Idols* (1888) that he was 'an atheist seeking to be honoured for *not* being so',[5] but for Carlyle, such formulas were irrelevant to his personal experience of what he called 'religiosity'.[6] Grierson argued, '[H]e recovered for himself, or believed he had, a religious outlook on life, a faith that, inscrutable as is the nature of God, there is a meaning in the word God – there is justice at the heart of things.'[7] This belief led him to the hope that in the protracted battle between justice and injustice in human affairs, 'Right and Might will be found to be identical' (*AL* 27). From this vaguely Darwinian version of human progress sprang Carlyle's interest in heroes, those exceptional beings who strove to reconcile right and might through their actions. Carlyle was too observant a historian to believe that genuine heroes were an abundant species. Grierson observed, 'He touches on Mirabeau and Napoleon, and he was to write the Life of Frederick, but there is only

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[5] *Twilight of the Idols*, trans. Duncan Large (Oxford, 1998), p. 49.

[6] *Sartor Resartus*, ed. Rodger L. Tarr (Berkeley, 2000), p. 121.

[7] *Carlyle and Hitler. The Adamson Lecture in the University of Manchester December 1930 with some additions and modifications* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 17. Page numbers in the text are abbreviated as *AL*.

subordinated forever to the anarchy of the free market. Grierson's tentative opinions reflected the nuanced quality of his analysis. No one in attendance at his lecture could have mistaken his intent, which was to distinguish Carlyle's historically situated notion of hero-worship as a civic ideal from Hitler's vitriolic proclamations about Teutonic superiority and racial purity. But the distinctions that Grierson sought to develop were already in the process of being trampled on by Nazi ideologues.

Between the period of the Adamson lecture and Grierson's lecture at the British Academy in 1940, Carlyle was being systematically adopted by National Socialists as the intellectual fountain-head of their movement. In *Thomas Carlyle und Houston Stewart Chamberlain, zwei freunde Deutschlands* (1935), Wilhelm Vollrath, professor of theology at the University of Erlangen, traced the influence of the Scottish 'philosopher-king' on Chamberlain's prediction of the inescapable global triumph of the Teutonic master-race. In *Bild und Wirklichkeit bei Thomas Carlyle* (1936), Liselott Eckloff discerned in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1833-34; 1837) a pattern of conversion that prefigured the mythology of National Socialism. In *Carlyle und der Nationalsozialismus* (1937), Theodor Deimel singled out Carlyle as a major inspiration behind Hitler's ideal of Germany as an organically reconstructed superstate. Nazi ideologues writing in English were equally enthusiastic to recruit Carlyle to their movement. In *Twilight Over England* (1940), which he published in Berlin from where he was broadcasting propaganda on the Reichsrundfunk's English-language service, the Irish-American William Joyce ('Lord Haw-Haw'; 1906-46) lauded him as 'a great National-Socialist: and Germany has repaid him for his scholarship on her behalf by honouring his philosophy which is scorned in Britain.'[8]

What unified the various Nazi apologias for Carlyle was the conviction that he had espoused a radically alternative definition of individualism. In place of the atomised Utilitarian unit driven by self-interest and 'mammon worship', Carlyle envisaged a spiritual relationship between the citizen and the national ideals of the state. For Eckloff, this realisation lay at the heart of Teufelsdröckh's 'Everlasting Yea'. Since religion was the soul of a society, it followed that a state would only become an actual partnership if citizens were imbued with respect for obedience to their country, and if individual morality were tied to a national sense of duty and glory. In Eckloff's view, Carlyle's symbolism in *Sartor Resartus* suggested that national order stands in harmony with the order of nature. Germany was a living organism, 'Korper' and 'soul' at the same time, and its leader an inspired expression of this 'natural-supernatural' unity. Carlyle's philosophy buttressed the National Socialist view that genius was innate, and that upbringing and environment merely augmented racial advantages. Deimel too lauded Carlyle's attacks against the mechanistic society of his day, but he detected shortcomings in the Scotsman's outlook. Both as an historian and as a believer, Carlyle was hindered by his religious scruples. He had not yet appreciated the primacy of the racial element to the national idea. Carlyle's private doubts – he deeply distrusted all theory and theorists – prevented him from adopting a more robustly 'scientific' view of human behaviour based in eugenics. Joyce similarly berated Carlyle for his religious confusion. He had overestimated the accomplishments of Cromwell, whose decision to readmit Jews into England was a fatal one for the future health of the country. Still, Carlyle grasped 'the cardinal philosophical principle of National-Socialism', which was 'the transcendental ability of the human, non-material will, to overcome all material obstacles and to make environment the slave of human personality' (*Twilight*, 165).

This avalanche of testimony in favour of Carlyle as a prophet of Nazism coupled with Britain's declaration of war against Germany in 1939 prompted Grierson to rethink his previous estimate. In a review of Louise Merwin Young's *Carlyle and the Art of History* in March 1940, he was notably more critical of Carlyle as a historian. He ridiculed the American author's benign summary of her subject's poetic conception of the past. Too often, Grierson contended, Carlyle had no interest in the past for its own sake. In *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* he treated his subject self-reflexively, venerating the Protector for muzzling dissent and dismissing his brave quest to uphold liberty of conscience: 'Cromwell did not share Carlyle's preference of military to parliamentary government. His strenuous effort was to restore the government of parliament and secure the freedom to vindicate which he had taken up the sword.' It was a sign of Carlyle's rigidity that, during the American Civil War, he lauded the military exploits of Frederick the Great while he ignored the far nobler example set by Abraham Lincoln. Perversely and cruelly, he mocked and diminished 'a conflict in which a democracy vindicated its ability to govern itself, to find and follow a hero who, leading not forcing his people, brought them through the perils of a civil war with no help from suppression of criticism, lying propaganda, secret police, and concentration camps, a hero perhaps equal in ability and certainly superior in character to any of Carlyle's choice.' Grierson's closing remarks left little room for equivocation: 'To Carlyle the great event of European history in the nineteenth century was the emergence of Prussia and military power. His hero is well on the way to become a Hitler or Stalin.'[9]

Yet nine months later in his lecture to the British Academy, Grierson disputed this earlier conclusion. He vigorously denied the accusation made by the French journalist Ernest Sellière in *Un Précurseur du National-Socialisme: L'Actualité de Carlyle* (1939) that the Scottish thinker had provided a convincing and persuasive rationale for Hitler and Stalin. Grierson dismissed these 'absurd' charges and declared that '[f]rom the outset [Carlyle] had clearly seen that the relation of right to might was a problem not easy of solution. ... The essence of right is just that it is *not* might, that the idea has its source in the recognition by *homo sapiens* ... that there are things he will not do, and that not because another desire is stronger than that which prompts to the act, but because something within himself,
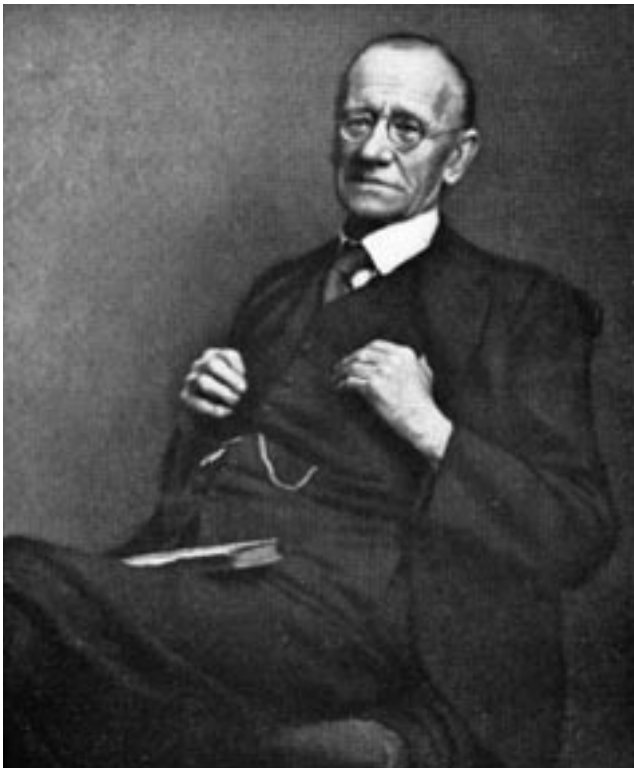
[8] *Twilight Over England* (Berlin, 1940), p. 165.
[9] 'The Hero and the Führer', *Aberdeen University Review*, 27 (March 1940), pp. 104, 105. Grierson published a second version of this review, essentially identical in content, in *English Historical Review*, 55 (April 1940), 318-21.

his practical reason, says with authority that he ought not to do what he can.'[10] Carlyle's rejection of the 'ballot-box' as a means of reform did not mean that he rejected the principle of democracy entirely. He believed 'that every man should find a place in the social organism, *la carrière ouverte aux talents*' (*BAL* 317), and his disappointment with Victorian society stemmed from the failure of its governing classes to awaken to their duties, to abandon their reckless pursuit of wealth, and to replace the 'cash-nexus' with an institutional ethos of paternalistic co-operation and development.

Seeking an explanation for Carlyle's disturbing proximity to 'fanaticism', Grierson attributed his increasing intolerance to his loss of faith and likened his predicament to that of John Milton: '[W]hat failed them was faith, faith in God and in their fellow men, and the two seem to be inextricably interwoven. Neither of them could believe that a people was capable of finding and following a leader uncompelled, if they felt, however confusedly, that he was to be trusted, and that he respected their essential liberties' (*BAL* 319). Faith in God and, indirectly, in humanity stood at the core of Carlyle's understanding of the past. History was a mysterious unfolding of humankind's aspiration to gauge its own possibilities and limitations in relation to divine authority. Faced with the task of unravelling this mystery, Carlyle frequently reminded himself and his readers of the contingency of human judgment. Yet his hardening impatience with human weakness, his disdain for contradiction, and his reverence of natural strength led him to the precipice of totalitarian logic. His apologias for Cromwell and Frederick revealed an insouciant disregard for their victims. Asked Grierson, '[O]n what ground of right can one justify Cromwell's execution of the King, his dismissal of the Parliament to which he owed his power? Frederick had a certain claim to Silesia, but had the right to invade it on the plea that he was acting for the Empress, and half conquer it before war was formally declared – and we have seen similar outrages in our time? It is a difficult question, and Carlyle could only fall back on the belief in the ultimate justice of the universe, of God' (*BAL* 322). For Grierson, Carlyle's tragedy was that he 'lost the faith which gives inspiration to what the prophet says' (*BAL* 324). Stripped of its apocalyptic trappings, his 'faith' too neatly resembled the violent creeds of those who were striving to harness humanity to their inhuman doctrines of social regeneration.

Seldom in the history of the 'Master Mind' lectures, which were inaugurated in 1916, has one talk exerted such a profound impact on the future reputation of its subject. Grierson had amply realised the aspirations of the founder of the series, the Jewish philanthropist and art collector Henriette Hertz (1846-1913), to consider 'some Master-mind ... with reference to his life and work, especially in order to appraise the essential elements of his genius'. His commentary provoked a debate that lasted well into the 20th century and had important repercussions for the study of literature, history, and philosophy. Scholars embracing a wide range of viewpoints wrestled with the fugitive problem that Grierson had outlined with such care and precision: to what extent could thinkers be held responsible for the posthumous use or misuse of their ideas? It was a tribute to the suppleness and to the subtlety of Grierson's approach that participants on both sides of the issue often unwittingly echoed his analysis. Carlyle's advocates followed him in stressing the unsystematic quality of his mind and temperament. In *The Myth of the State* (1946), the German philosopher Ernst Cassirer pointed out that to 'read into Carlyle's work ... a definite philosophical construction of the historical process ... or a definite political program is precarious and illusive.'[11] Critics less tolerant of Carlyle's confusion also found corroboration in Grierson's assessment. Jacob Salwyn Schapiro, professor of history at City College in New York, amplified Grierson's forebodings about Carlyle's illiberal leanings in *Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism* (1949). Recalling Carlyle's racist caricatures of Jews, Negroes, and Irish Catholics, Schapiro categorised Carlyle as 'as a prophet with a sinister message for our generation' whose 'views on social and political problems, divested of their moral appeal, imply an attitude of mind characteristic of fascism of our time.'[12] Dismissing Grierson's more calibrated verdict, Schapiro represented Carlyle as the chief progenitor of the vicious racial narratives that had fuelled the fantasies of the Third Reich.

Sir Herbert Grierson (1866-1960), Fellow of the British Academy. Photo: E. Drummond Young, Edinburgh.

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[10] 'Thomas Carlyle (Annual Lecture on a Master Mind, Henriette Hertz Trust)', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 26 (*1940*), p. 321. Page numbers in the text are abbreviated as *BAL*. (The text was also printed as a separate pamphlet.)

[11] *The Myth of the State* (London, 1946), p. 191.

[12] *Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism*: *Social Forces and England and France (1815-70)* (New York, 1949), p. 370.

Fortunately, the value of Grierson's humane estimation of Carlyle in the British Academy lecture was not lost sight of amidst the fractious disagreement that it had provoked. With a fitting symmetry – Carlyle would have labelled the coincidence 'a conflux of two eternities' (*FR, W* 2:134) – it was a distinguished Dutch scholar with a doctorate from the University of Leiden who memorably reaffirmed the enduring importance of Grierson's contribution. In *Debates with Historians* (1955), Pieter Geyl (1887-1966), professor of history at the University of London between 1919 and 1935, nimbly staked out the grounds for Carlyle's possible redemption in the 20th century. Imprisoned by the Nazis in Buchenwald for 13 months, Geyl fully comprehended the intellectual depravity inherent in National Socialist ideology. He refuted Schapiro's contention that Carlyle was a proto-fascist, '[b]ut by recognizing this obvious fact,' he argued, 'we have not solved the problem of the connection between [his] teachings . . . and the twentieth century anti-liberal revolutions.'[13]

The 'problem', as Grierson had demonstrated, was difficult to explicate because Carlyle's clairvoyance was so intricately and intimately tied to his inner darkness. Those who credited him with powers of insight too often failed to notice his emotional proximity to the abyss that he described. Reinforcing Grierson's commentary, Geyl asserted, 'How well ... did Carlyle foresee it all: the crisis of democracy, the crisis of capitalism, the crisis of liberty, law, stability, assaulted by passion and by power. ... It is, however, also possible to say: how much ammunition – against reason, against science, against the parliamentary method, against gradualness and compromise, humanity, and peace – was supplied by his philosophy to the powers of destruction!' In Geyl's view Carlyle's career amounted to a 'tragedy', for 'he succumbed to what was his strength; that he fell into evil because he resented the imperfect so keenly and searched for the good with so unsparing a passion, unsparing essentially also with respect to himself.' As a consequence, he was much less a 'prophet' than an 'abettor of the upheaval' (*Debates* 54, 39) that exploded in the 20th century. Having waged such an effective war against reason and the intellect, Carlyle could not be exculpated merely because he did not live to see the nightmarish repercussions of his too successful campaign.

It is illuminating, and somewhat humbling, to revisit the controversy surrounding Carlyle in the period of European civilisation's darkest hour, and in particular, to study Herbert Grierson's germinal role in this controversy. The attempts by various literary critics in the late twentieth century to cordon off the deconstructionist Carlyle of *Sartor Resartus* from the reactionary author of 'The Negro Question', *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, *Frederick the Great*, and 'Shooting Niagara', have obscured the primary role that he played in the political debates of the 1930s and 1940s. Grierson's British Academy lecture serves as a salient reminder of why the sage of Chelsea still matters, both as a prophet and a historian. The elements in his writing that have made him attractive to the architects of final solutions and re-education camps, and more recently to Islamic jihadists, should neither be ignored nor underestimated. Nonetheless, Carlyle can still speak to those who are disillusioned by the shrill certitudes that divide liberal democratic societies. As Grierson rightly asserted, he 'was to his generation, the most potent voice of the spirit in reaction against a mechanic view of society, against a too great faith in the findings of an economic science which claimed infallibility, which claimed to have discovered the laws governing both the production and the distribution of wealth' (*BAL* 324).

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[13] *Debates With Historians* (The Hague, Nijhoff, and Groningen, 1955), p. 39. Volumes and page numbers in this text are to this edition.

British Academy Schools Language Awards 2012

In November 2012, the British Academy held its first Language Week, drawing together a variety of events to explore and champion the learning and use of languages in schools, universities, policy-making and public life. One of the week's main highlights was the British Academy Schools Language Awards ceremony, where schools were recognised for their creative language teaching.

Fifteen mainstream and supplementary schools were selected out of nearly 160 applications. The winning schools represent all regions of the UK, and between them are promoting the learning of French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Mandarin, Japanese, Arabic, Somali, Malayam, Polish, Cantonese, Urdu, Punjabi, and English for non-native speakers. The winners impressed an expert judging panel with the creativity of their schemes and dedication to language learning. They were able to demonstrate that their projects are sustainable and replicable, with great potential to motivate students to develop their language skills at an important age.

At the ceremony on 23 November, the overall national winner was announced as Dallam School from Cumbria (*see inset*). The ceremony was compered by Channel 4's Cathy Newman, and awards were presented by CBBC's Naomi Wilkinson (*right*) and a representative from Arsenal Football Club. The ceremony provided an opportunity for students to display their flair for multilingualism through dancing, singing and performances. Sir Adam Roberts, President of the British Academy, extended a warm welcome to the youngest and most diverse group that has ever met at the Academy, noting that it is our hope that the awards will inspire the linguists – and indeed Academy Fellows – of the future.

Further information on the Awards and the winners, including a video montage of the ceremony can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/policy/BA_Schools_Language_Awards_ Ceremony.cfm

All the winners at the British Academy Schools Language Awards ceremony, held at the British Academy on 23 November 2012.

National Prize Winner: **Dallam School, Cumbria**
Project: **Bilingual Tutor Groups**

Bilingual tutor groups in years 7, 8 and 9 each have a form tutor who is also a language teacher. They receive Personal, Social, Health and Economic education (PSHE) and various humanities lessons entirely in another language. The language tutorials ensure students get immersed in another language on a day-to-day basis, little and often. This involves discussion of daily routines and informal banter in a busy, mixed-ability environment. Tutor time is supplemented by bilingual activities that include Europe and International Days, adventure learning, a Spelling Bee, film studies, French cookery days, visits and exchange opportunities abroad, and extra time with foreign language assistants. The judges of the awards were deeply impressed by the project's simple yet effective design. They praised the project's emphasis on developing children's language confidence so that natural use becomes the norm, and noted the parents' and pupils' enthusiasm for the programme.

Pupils and staff from Dallam School, with Channel 4's Cathy Newman (centre).

British Academy Language Programme

Prizes and events form an element of the Academy's dedicated Language Programme. The Academy has long championed the importance of languages within the humanities and social sciences as an important investment for the individual, research, economic competitiveness and society at large.

In 2011 the British Academy launched a four-year programme to support and champion the value of language learning in the humanities and social sciences. The programme, funded by the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, reflects the Academy's longstanding concerns about a deficit in languages in UK education and research. The programme is delivered through a variety of funding, policy and other activities. This includes: scholarships and research funding; policy reports and statements; conferences and workshops; prizes; partnerships and collaborations.

> **Here are some key highlights of our language work so far.**

Valuing the Year Abroad

In a joint statement, the British Academy and the University Council for Modern Languages called on Government and Universities to recognise the strategic importance of the year abroad – delivering both competitive employability advantages for the students themselves and wider long term benefits for the whole UK economy.

Inquiry: Lost for Words, the need for languages in UK diplomacy and security

In 2011, the Academy launched an open consultation, seeking to examine the role of foreign language skills within the UK government. Prompted by recent reports of declining language capacity within certain areas of government, the inquiry looks at current UK government capacity for foreign languages and how well it serves UK public policy objectives in the specific areas of diplomacy and security. The inquiry has been carried out through the process of both a formal consultation and informal interviews with officials, higher education institutions and interested stakeholders. A report of the inquiry is due to be published in Spring 2013.

Languages and Entrepreneurship

This event, arranged in association with the Higher Education Academy, explored how student international mobility and language learning can give rise to entrepreneurship and commercial success. The panel discussion was chaired by the *Daily Telegraph*'s Digital Education Editor, Andrew Marszal, and began with a video submission from *The Apprentice* runner-up Nick Holzherr. The panel was composed of entrepreneurs, including founder of Applingua Ltd, Robert Lo Bue, founder of Claire L. Grant Language Services, Claire Lucia Grant, co-founder

of Memrise, Ed Cooke and Senior Manager at Euro London Appointments, Veronica McGuinness. A video recording is available via the Academy's website.

Language Cauldron: Making the most of Multilingual Britain

This one-day conference, arranged in association with Cumberland Lodge, brought together leading academics and public sector workers, educationalists and writers in a vibrant and constructive cross-sector discussion that took a positive approach to existing language resources in the UK.

Professor Rachel Bowlby FBA speaking at the 'Language Cauldron' event on 22 November 2012.

Multilingualism and the Internet

In a panel discussion arranged in association with the Arts and Humanities Research Council, speakers considered how the spread of a high-speed global internet and increasing use of social media has changed the way in which global citizens interact linguistically. The discussion was chaired by Professor Shalom Lappin FBA, and panellists included Professor Louisa Sadler (University of Essex), Dr Matthew Stuttle (Google) and Dr Ivan Panović (University of Oxford). An audio recording is available via the Academy's website.

Further information on the British Academy's Language programme can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/policy/Languages.cfm

Recognising Excellence

THE BRITISH ACADEMY held its annual ceremony to award prizes and medals on 8 November 2012. The ceremony featured the presentation of a new award, the Edward Ullendorff Medal. Professor Ullendorff (1920-2011) was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1965. To mark his long association with the Academy, which he valued greatly, his widow has generously supported the establishment of a medal in his memory. The Edward Ullendorff Medal is awarded for scholarly distinction and achievements in the fields of Semitic Languages and Ethiopian Studies. The inaugural medal was awarded to Professor Simon Hopkins FBA (Hebrew University, Jerusalem). Professor Hopkins said, 'Edward Ullendorff was not only a great scholar, he was also a great teacher, and I was lucky enough to study with such a teacher. It is a treasured privilege to be the recipient of the first medal for Semitic and Ethiopian studies awarded in Edward's name. And it is an extra, very special privilege to be awarded the medal personally here at the British Academy by my good friend, Dina Ullendorff.'

More information on the British Academy's prizes and medals, including a full list of the 12 winners in 2012, can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/prizes/

The Ullendorff Medal

Right: Mrs Dina Ullendorff and Professor Simon Hopkins FBA. Below: the new Edward Ullendorff Medal, for Semitic Languages and Ethiopian Studies.

The Leverhulme Medal and Prize

Below: Sir Adam Roberts, President of the British Academy, congratulates Dame Marilyn Strathern FBA, winner of the Leverhulme Medal and Prize. To mark the British Academy's centenary in 2002, the Leverhulme Trust created a medal and prize, to be awarded by the British Academy every three years, for a significant contribution to knowledge and understanding in a field within the humanities and social sciences.
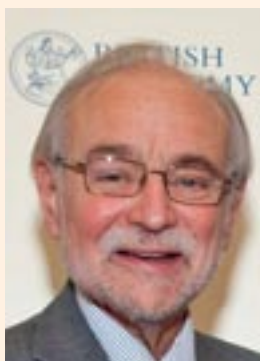
The British Academy President's Medal

Left, clockwise: The four winners of the British Academy President's Medal in 2012: Professor Warwick Gould (Institute of English Studies, University of London); Professor Lisa Jardine CBE (University College London); Professor Sir John Vickers FBA (University of Oxford, and in 2010–11 chair of the Independent Commission on Banking); The Rt Reverend Professor Lord Harries of Pentregarth. Awarded 'for signal service to the cause of the humanities and social sciences', the President's Medal is intended to complement the medals and prizes given by the Academy for academic achievement, by identifying and rewarding outstanding leadership or contributions other than purely academic.

Scholarship and international relations

*The British Academy welcomed the Rt Hon William Hague MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs to an event on 16 October 2012. Mr Hague spoke to an audience of ambassadors, Foreign and Commonwealth Office staff, and leading academics on the different kinds of expertise necessary to maximise Britain's diplomatic influence in the world. In response, **Adam Roberts**, President of the British Academy, spoke about the particular importance of understanding the languages, history and cultures of other countries, and the valuable role that research and scholarship can play in this process.*

IN RESPONDING to the Secretary of State's remarks, let me start by stating the obvious. While there is naturally a great deal on which we co-operate, it is also inevitably the case that there are some differences of perspective and interest between a government ministry and a self-governing body of scholars such as the British Academy.

I will just briefly mention two examples, the first of which relates to the laws of war. I applaud the action, which the Foreign Secretary has just emphasised, to address the crime of rape in war, and make positive moves to get actual prosecutions. But on the laws of war there is one concern about UK policy which I should raise, even though it is slightly tangential to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). In October 2010 the British Academy joined a number of other national bodies in pressing the Prime Minister to make progress on the ratification of the 1954 Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in War. As we noted, the lead on this matter is taken by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. The question of UK ratification will inevitably be mentioned in the report of the Iraq Inquiry chaired by Sir John Chilcot, due in 2013. In December 2011 the government did announce that it would 'make every effort to facilitate the UK's ratification'. I know it is a matter of finding parliamentary time, but I have to say that, after 48 years, the doctrine of unripe time is beginning to run out, and it is about time we took action on that front.

Secondly, on several occasions the British Academy has expressed concern that, from 1997 onwards, the FCO's statement of priorities did not mention the importance of understanding the history, political systems, culture and languages of the societies with which we deal. The Secretary of State has done a huge amount to address the matter, including through his strongly-worded evidence to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee in early 2011, and his memorable and important speech at the FCO on 8 September 2011.[1]

We warmly welcome the Foreign Secretary's commitment to restore the central importance of diplomatic skills, especially the in-depth understanding of other countries. Research, especially in humanities and social science disciplines, plays a vital part in developing this kind of understanding.

A good example of a contribution by a Fellow of this Academy was the work of Charles Webster, who was our President between 1950 and 1954. Early in 1943, he joined the Foreign Office group that was working on plans for the United Nations, and with the other members of that group he played a critically important part in shaping and drawing up the UN Charter. Academics can play a useful role in policy-making.

The British Academy's contributions

Today, the British Academy has some special contributions to make in regard to Britain's roles in the world. First, it forms links with other academics around the world and keeps in touch with them. One of the Academy's traditional international activities is to create opportunities for UK researchers through its sponsorship of a number of overseas research institutes, whose work contributes to historical knowledge, cultural debate and international understanding.[2] They also do wonderful archaeological and historical work.

A second area in which we have a contribution to make is language. Language learning, as we have heard, is central to the understanding of and respect for different societies. The Academy has, alongside the education and business communities, long been an advocate of strengthening this country's language learning. We have been trying to stop a very worrying downward trend in the

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[1] The full text of William Hague's 8 September 2011 speech at the FCO is at www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-best-diplomatic-service-in-the-world-strengthening-the-foreign-and-commonwealth-office-as-an-institution

[2] For a list of organisations abroad that are currently sponsored by the British Academy, see www.britac.ac.uk/institutes/orgs.cfm

Sir Adam Roberts, President of the British Academy, and Foreign Secretary William Hague, at the event on 16 October 2012.

teaching of languages in schools and universities. In July 2012, we launched an inquiry entitled *Lost for Words*, which is looking at just how important languages are in meeting UK public policy objectives, especially in the areas of international relations and security.[3] We have consulted key stakeholders on the front line in public policy, including your own office and many others, and the full report of our inquiry will be published in the spring. We are already encouraged by the increasing recognition throughout Government of the importance of languages.

A third area of British Academy activity concerns 'soft power' – a not uncontentious term that was coined by the Harvard academic and Fellow of this Academy, Joseph Nye. We are launching a project on the subject led by the Academy's own Foreign Secretary, Dame Helen Wallace. This project will seek to assess how the UK's assets in such areas as culture, values, heritage, law, media services and education have made a long-lasting global impact, and will analyse the implications of these findings for future policy priorities.

These are but glimpses of a few areas in which the British Academy – and the great subject areas of social sciences and humanities that we represent and advance – have a significant international role to play. Others could point to areas where we have difficulties of one kind or another, with one part of Government or another – not least over the question of visas for overseas students.

People could remind us of the way in which our universities – though far from perfect – have done a better job than some national institutions that I could name in the last decade, as evidenced by their continuing capacity to attract overseas students.

But, whatever differences there may be, as an Academy we warmly welcome the emphasis on strengthening diplomatic skills, languages and the historical work of the FCO. We should be ready to explore ways in which, in addition to those I have mentioned, we can make a positive and independent contribution to the long and interesting story of the United Kingdom's engagement with the rest of the world.

Sir Adam Roberts is Senior Research Fellow, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, and Emeritus Fellow, Balliol College; he is President of the British Academy.

An audio recording of the event, plus a link to the full text of William Hague's speech, can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/events/2012/mhir.cfm

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[3] www.britac.ac.uk/policy/Lost_For_Words.cfm

A registration crisis?
History and policy

In October 2012 the British Academy published a volume of essays on 'Registration and Recognition', looking at how the individual has been documented in different periods of history and in very different societies across the world. In the following extract from their introduction, editors **Simon Szreter and Keith Breckenridge** *consider the implications of post-9/11 approaches to identifying and registering citizens, and explain how their volume contributes to the debate.*

THIS VOLUME provides an intellectual resource of comparative historical knowledge with which to judge whether there may, indeed, currently be a crisis of registration approaching and what form that crisis will take. Biometric identification systems originated as ways to create a non-archival register of criminal identification with tattooing, branding and amputation. Fingerprinting for sub-sections of the population defined as criminal became the first biometric archival method. Using the pretext since 9/11 of defence against global terrorism, it is proposed, through iris-recognition technology, to apply a fully archival biometrics comprehensively to democratic and non-criminal populations across the world, to confer upon them a security from external threats and also, with the emergence of basic income grants, their internal social security and positive rights. The interaction of this official registering technology with the application of computerised searchable and potentially linkable database information systems, and also with the emerging trend of commercial supply and delivery of these systems to states, has created an extraordinary conjuncture in the history of identity registration that should be of concern to all citizens.

Questions

The interaction of these technologies with both state security interests and commercial logics poses significant questions about the necessary regulations required, which citizens, their elected governments and their judiciaries should wish to consider. Is there, for instance, a question of 'ownership' that should be considered in relation to the right to use information about a person's identity, once that information has been created and verified as authentic? The popular notion of 'identity theft' would appear to suggest that there is such a sense in common understanding, but does this also amount to a legally defensible concept in practice? If 'ownership' is not quite the appropriate concept for legal purposes, what perhaps of a law reflecting principles of permissive 'informed consent' governing the use of such identity information

Photo: Laitr Keiows, 2004 (Creative Commons).

by third parties or commercial organisations (including those companies increasingly bidding for and charged with the contracts to collect the information in the first place)? If such a right can be defended against a commercial corporation, can it also be defended against a sovereign state, in particular the state which also provides the institutional resources and the authorising and verifying procedures for the registration system itself? What is the relationship between the individual and the state over the question of the right to control or change a registered identity? The individual cannot be a self-authorising and self-verifying agency in relation to his/her identity. The state and its archiving and legal systems are ultimately necessary to provide this verification and authorisation role. There are therefore irreducibly at least two distinct parties with an approximately equal, or at least complementary or reciprocal, stake and claim in creating what we refer to as a legally-valid and enforceable personal identity: the individual in question and the verifying and recording state – or, at least, its devolved legal registration agency. Each such state currently issues passports, for instance – documents which epitomise this duality. If it is considered important that an individual is to have the right to exercise personal choice in changing aspects of his or her legally-recognised identity (gender for

instance), then there would need to be agreed and easily-accessible (though secure) procedures for doing this, which could satisfy the state's function as guarantor of the registration of identities. Some states deny or resist the possibility for individuals to vary by choice their identity once the state has made an original determination, which is then treated as permanent. Is this rule simply for the convenience of the state, or because it is claimed to uphold an ethical, legal or security principle of vital importance?

History

Can history assist with providing a perspective on these current predicaments concerning the future of registration, due to this intense set of international, technological, commercial and political developments that have all come together during the last 10 years? At the moment we face these issues as a citizenry and set of experts who are equally uninformed of the rich and deep comparative history of the technologies of representation and recognition. This book provides a set of empirically-researched historical resources with which to address these contemporary problems. There are chapters here which uncover the rich but previously largely invisible histories of the evolution of these important infrastructures of

social rights in European, American and Asian societies. There are many chapters which explore the history of registration in Africa, as well as in India and China, the three greatest population centres of the poor in the world today, where registration is a highly contentious issue affecting a large proportion of the world's populace. There are chapters which explore the curious absence of direct relationship between the modern history of identity registration and the emergence of the international human rights agenda. And there are several contributions which explicitly link the diversity of historical information presented to the highly contemporary policy questions of the future of identity registration in a biometric and commercialised global context preoccupied with internal and external security.

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Registration and Recognition: Documenting the Person in World History, edited by Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter (*Proceedings of the British Academy,* 182), was published in October 2012. Further information can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/
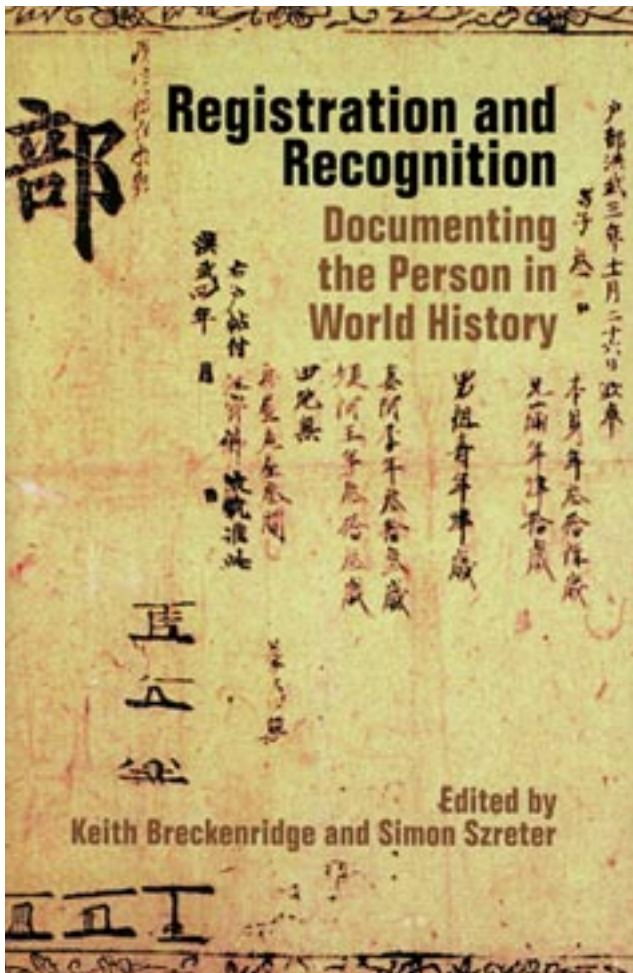
Civil society in Russia:

Rural clubs and a *new popular education*

W. JOHN MORGAN and GRIGORI A. KLIUCHAREV

Introduction

A civil society is fundamental to a democracy. It provides a framework for citizenship participation autonomous of state authority and control. It creates conditions through which citizens, associations, societies and other group interests achieve a voluntary, legal and harmonious but not subservient relationship with the state. The countries that comprised the Soviet Union emerged from the control of a political system which regarded civil society as a challenge to its authority.

This article introduces a fresh dimension in the concept of a *new popular education* as a response to social change and the re-emergence of civil society in post-Soviet Russia. The term is derived from *narodnoe obrazovanie* or *popular education* which was used commonly in Russia from the 1920s until at least the 1960s. We have coined the term *novoe narodnoe obrazovanie* or *new popular education* to describe current practice. The article discusses the potential it has for social and human capital formation, for shaping civil society, and for developing active and responsible citizens. However, the concepts of adult and non-formal education, and of informal and lifelong-learning, on which the *new popular education* is based, have undergone significant changes in recent years. They evolve as fresh groups of people discover new educational objectives, and as new methods of participation become available.[1] The context in which education and learning take place is crucial to form and to content. This article examines a specific aspect of the growth of civil society in the Russian Federation since the end of the Soviet Union. It focuses on the practice of a *new popular education* as provided by

autonomous clubs and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in rural Russia.[2]

A new popular education?

All states have formal education systems which are significant examples of economic and social modernisation. Such formal education systems are agencies through which states achieve their ideological and hegemonic goals. It is true that, in some societies, formal education may be provided privately i.e. separately from the state, but this is usually regulated and licensed by it. Such formal education is characterised also by institutional instruction, approved curricula, length of course and the award of credentials.

However, there are other ways for individuals to acquire knowledge and skills. These do not depend on formal structures, nor do they lead to an award. Instead, such learning is voluntary and determined by the specific needs of the individual or group. In post-Soviet society and the transition from authoritarianism, which is still under way, a *new popular education* of this type has emerged. It is provided by the many voluntary associations, clubs and other learning NGOs, which are authentic examples of civil society in Russia. We will focus on clubs in rural Russia.

Rural Russia and its clubs

There are several thousand clubs throughout the vast area of rural Russia. A club is a typical means of communication and social engagement in these remote areas. They are sometimes located in well-built houses, with libraries, organised classes, a gym-hall and even a swimming-pool.

Figure 1. *A club-house in rural Russia: Berendeevo, Jaroslavl' Region.*

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[1] A. Rogers, *What is the Difference? A new critique of adult learning and teaching* (National Institute of Adult Continuing Education: Leicester, 2003).

But usually they are small clubs, situated two to three hours drive from the local regional centre. They are the only places for communal activities by local residents, and provide very basic amenities – such as opportunities for company and conversation, a library and reading-room, communal television, access to the Internet, public heating during the winter, facilities for games and sports, and local concerts during holidays. They are islands of informal learning, contributing to the maintenance of local knowledge and what may be described as a 'cultural ecology'.[3] This is crucial to maintaining the social identity, self-esteem and civic self-confidence of local populations and minorities in contemporary rural Russia.

Quite recently, a new form of club has emerged, established by small business or, interestingly, social entrepreneurs. This is the so-called *Klubok* (small club). It is run on a personal initiative or by NGOs, and provides non-formal education, skills training and an introduction to the concepts and technologies of business and entrepreneurship, which are useful and yet relatively inexpensive.

The problem of financing clubs and their activities is quite acute. Only 2.5% of the club leaders say there is enough money to work effectively. (Fees for club membership and participation remain a relatively small contribution to finances, especially given the low average income levels of the rural population.)

Figure 2. *Orel Rural Club.*

The facilities of rural clubs

There are limitations and difficulties, especially in the availability and quality of club facilities. These may offer a modern club building, with a hall of 360 seats, classrooms for study circles, a library, television and computer rooms, central heating, a buffet, and clean toilets. In others, there will be only a wooden structure with stove heating, 'amenities' outside, and the only room a place where a few locals go to collect their pension, warm up and chat over a cup of tea during the cold season. The availability of equipment is one of the most important conditions for the effective pursuit of culture and leisure in a rural club, and the situation is extremely varied. In some regions the means have been found to buy relatively expensive items – sports and games equipment, professional sewing machines with software, music centres and equipment for discos. In other clubs, all that is available are black and white televisions, board games and a few books.

It is important whether or not a club has computer facilities. However, it is surprising that the demand for computers is still lower than the demand for audio equipment for discos, mass celebrations and festivals. As it stands, two-thirds of the clubs have no computers and therefore no Internet access and, according to club leaders, they 'will not have such a possibility in the near future'. This is one of the factors hampering the development of modern recreational and information-based education. This may be compared with urban and metropolitan Russia, where the population has easy access to the neighbourhood computer clubs or Internet cafés.

However, there are some recent trends which are positive for the further democratisation of Russian public life.

- The financial autonomy of clubs, as a result of a slow growth in private donations and in local foundation grants. In some cases the local authorities provide a friendly tax climate, which is a result of co-operation between the club and the local state.

- The extensive use of volunteers as well as club leaders who are qualified professionally. This strengthens the autonomy of the clubs and gives them flexibility in programme organisation, timing and provision.

- The active competition with other providers of recreational and educational activities for local people, based on a monitoring of the cultural and learning needs of the rural population.

- The focus on the family as a whole. Each club member, independent of age, can participate in a variety of activities.

- The consideration of those with specific needs – vulnerable and at risk groups of the population: people with special needs and limited opportunities, the elderly, minorities and migrants.

Local knowledge and community

The development of the *new popular education* is a significant element of the programmes of rural clubs. This is found among all ages and is often a family learning activity. An example is the educational association *Native Pomor'e* in the republic of Karelia in northern Russia. It combines

[3] W.J. Morgan, 'Local Knowledge and Globalisation: Are they compatible?', in C. Cullingford and S. Gunn (eds), *Globalisation,* *Education and Culture Shock* (Aldershot and Burlington, VA, 2005), pp. 35-47.

theoretical education with practical learning activities, which are focused according to the different ages and interests of members. At first, students are organised in several different groups which conduct studies of the traditions and life of northern coast-dwellers, and become acquainted with the history of the locality and region, through classes, reading and visits. This is followed by practical training: students learn to sew sails, construct and tar boats, navigate and survive at sea. Finally, the most 'interactive phase of the study' – voyages are made in sea-fishing boats to the skerries (islands), to visit remote villages and their inhabitants in the north White Sea region. As noted by one participant: 'I learned to make the bread recipes of native coast-dwellers, when an electric or gas stove was not available. The bread was not only delicious, better than what we buy in the city shops, but it also gave me a taste of childhood and of local traditions and their meaning for us today.'

The active connection of rural people with clubs also provides an effective framework for an autonomous civic education and for the development of public democratic consciousness. For example, the rural clubs are used to create informal networks to discuss local issues and solutions – road construction, landscaping, maintenance of personal and community security, control over the environment, local schools and health care, and so on. During such local discussions, information is exchanged and people become more critically aware of the resources and choices available to their particular settlement to resolve the problems that fall within the competence of local governments, what questions should be addressed to higher authorities, and how local interests should best be represented. As another participant said, 'Look, local authorities here very often

break their word. Last year we elected our new representative to the regional council and he promised the reconstruction of the central road in our village and three new wells. It is well known that there was a line in the budget to do this, but now there is no more money, no new road, no wells. What happened? You will see! Come to the club tonight where it will be decided by the village people.'

Conclusion

Our hypothesis is that clubs, together with other local voluntary associations, are providers of democratic values in contemporary Russia. Indeed, one can say that they form and sustain the cultural space of rural communities, drawing on a combination of folk traditions, local knowledge, and a concern for the contemporary needs of the population and its local environment. The problems of local cultures are many and various, including earning a living, the environment, life-styles, community decision-making, and dealing with external authorities. Such informal communication and learning as we have described are crucial to the civic competence of a Russian population which has hitherto experienced either authoritarianism or political turbulence.

Such a *new popular education* is an important aspect of clubs and, in turn, of the social and economic survival of rural Russia. It is to some extent a reconstruction of the Houses of Culture of the Soviet era.[4] An important difference is that clubs today are not under ideological direction, while they look increasingly to function as associations autonomous of the State. Through a consideration of the cultural constructs underpinning the social networks of communities in Russia much can be learned about the health of its civil society.[5] Despite difficulties, the clubs contribute significantly to the social capital of rural Russia and to the democratisation of the country as a whole. They are authentic examples of an emerging Russian civil society.

Figure 3. *Rural club members display traditional crafts.*

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[4] B. Donahue and J.O. Habeck (eds), *Reconstructing the House of Culture: Community, Self and the Makings of Culture in Russia and Beyond,* (Berghahn Books: New York and Oxford, 2011); Miljusha Galeeva, *Clubs as a factor of self-realization in modern conditions* (Kazan, 2010) (in Russian).

[5] W.J. Morgan and G.A. Kliucharev, 'Non-formal education and civil society in post-Soviet Russia: What is the relationship?' *Policy Futures in Education*, 9:5 (2011), 628-30 .

How did we become unprepared?

Emergency and resilience in an uncertain world

MARK DUFFIELD

Ideas of 'resilience'

The origins of this talk lie in the discussions, spanning a year or more, that fed into the creation of the Cabot Institute at the University of Bristol in 2010. The Cabot Institute brings together the natural, physical and social sciences around the issue of environmental uncertainty. For someone working on the politics of disasters, it was the first time I had engaged with colleagues from the natural and physical sciences.

The discussions were fascinating, mainly because of the overlaps and convergences they revealed, rather than the expected differences, especially in relation to emergencies. It quickly became evident, for example, that the idea of 'resilience' now operates as a *lingua franca* of preparedness, adaptability and survivability across the natural, the physical, and the social. Definitions vary, but if resilience is understood as a basic ability to withstand shock and survive disaster through adaptation, one can talk about the resilience of simple organisms, entire ecological systems, or built structures, including cities and critical infrastructure – as well as the resilience of social institutions, communities and lone individuals.

If nothing else, resilience-thinking has encouraged a range and depth of dialogue across the disciplines that, even a generation ago, would have been difficult. As a platform for exchange and cross-fertilisation, resilience has much potential.

And in less than a decade, resilience-thinking has also risen to dominance in the popular media, in social policy, and in political discourse generally. Resilience is everywhere, especially now at a time of austerity – we're all expected to be resilient. However, if we are to extract something from this new ability to communicate, it is necessary to address the more hidden and troubling dimensions of resilience. My concern is with how resilience has been used, especially in translation from ecology, to understand the human condition.

Since resilience is inseparable from emergency, I will tease out these concerns by first considering how our understanding of disaster has changed since the 1980s, I will then use the international aid industry as a brief example.

Ideas of disaster and security

The difference in understanding lies between seeing disasters as accidents arising *outside* of normal society and against which society could and should protect itself, and today's belief that disasters are *internal* to society and against which protection is not only difficult but may well be harmful. This fundamental difference lies between, what could loosely be called, modernist and postmodernist conceptions of disaster.

Compared to the certainties of Cold War nuclear stalemate, it is argued that we now live in a different world, where security is increasingly challenged by the growing radical interconnectivity of contingent global events. The idea of 'national security' is now based upon the principle of radical uncertainty. Since the past has not equipped us to deal with today's new emergent, unforeseen and networked threats, we are constantly finding ourselves exposed and unprepared.

Security now struggles to assert itself in a risk-terrain made dangerous by the immanent possibility of systemic failure and hence catastrophe. Dangerous climate change is a good example of emergent uncertainty. As an unpredictable force-multiplier of the various drivers of global poverty, and thus something able to increase the chances of conflict, displacement, refugee flows, transnational criminality and even terrorism, climate change has morphed seamlessly into a threat to global security.

Historically, the logic of security within liberal states has been to seek *freedom from* danger and surprise. The logic of resilience is different. Since disasters are uncertain and unpredictable, rather than protect or secure against them, resilience urges us to accept the immanence of disaster and, in learning to adapt in order to survive, to see in disaster a new meaning of life. Resilience has called forth, allegedly for our own benefit, a historically novel, *post-security* condition. It is a condition where being unprepared is not so much an oversight or act of neglect, for many – especially the world's poor and marginalised – it is rapidly becoming an officially sanctioned way of life.

1970s' approaches

If we could teleport the disaster experts of the 1970s into the present, today's complexity and resilience-thinking would appear rather fanciful, if not morally dubious. The dominant approach to emergency was then based upon modernist assumptions and their corresponding technologies of protection and rescue. Disasters were not seen as a necessary outcome of the functioning of society and the social-ecological interface. Natural disasters were more or less random accidents or unusual occurrences that originated outside of normal society. The aim of

humanitarian rescue was to separate, to quarantine, or otherwise to place a protective barrier between the disaster, including its victims, and normal society.

The modernist approach to emergency had three main assumptions. First, geo-physical processes and their human impacts could be predicted by science; huge amounts were consequently spent on prediction and large-scale responses. Second, it was possible to plan comprehensively and respond managerially to contain or minimise these impacts. This included the relocation of populations; redirecting rivers; the building of flood or avalanche defences; cloud seeding; the quarantine of cities; and camp-based refugee regimes. Finally, you could create a centralised rescue capacity based on a hierarchy of relief organisations, including the logistical and managerial capacities of the military.

This modernist approach was reflected in the organisation of civil defence against nuclear attack, especially in the Soviet Union, together with the emergence of comprehensive all-hazard command and control institutions from the 1970s in America and Europe. In the Third World, the main modernist technology of rescue and protection was the refugee camp. The refugee camp operated to wall-off the disaster, including its victims, from society and its politics.

During the 1970s, however, the modernist belief that disaster lay outside normal society began to break down. Rather than random Acts of God, the socio-economic context in which disaster occurred became increasingly significant. Importantly, ideas of vulnerability emerged to explain why some societies or communities were more prone to disasters than others. For illustration, I will say a few words on how our understanding of famine has shifted.

Famine

Until the end of the 1970s, it was still common to regard famine as a macro-economic phenomenon, as an absolute shortage of food. The work of Amartya Sen helped change this view. Sen shifted attention towards micro-economic questions of unequal social capacities and differing degrees of market inclusion, factors which define an individual's ability to access the food that, invariably, is available in the market place. Vulnerability to famine was redefined in relation to an individual's choice-making abilities, social capital and degree of market inclusion.

From the end of the 1970s, the refugee camp also attracted increasing criticism: they created dependency, prevented refugees using their skills, undermined government capacity, and made market integration difficult. The discovery that cultivating individual choice was important justified the emptying of the refugee camps. The camps that inevitably remain have been progressively securitised and militarised.

Disaster management shifted from saving lives to supporting livelihoods. Rather than providing relief as such, it privileged the promotion of coping strategies and improving market access; it shifted to supporting individual choice and collective self-help. Rather than

calling-forth traditional security-based – *freedom from* – technologies of protection, the direction of travel favours more – *freedom to* – approaches, which involve accepting the inevitability of disaster. Rather than disaster and its victims being removed from society, since the 1980s they have been effectively (re)absorbed within it.

Adapt to survive

Within the past decade, resilience-thinking has colonised and expanded this, essentially, *neoliberal* turn within disaster management, indeed, within social policy generally. The recent discovery of the *Anthropocene* as a new geological age, for example, takes the (re)absorption of disaster within society a step further; humanity itself has blurred into the environment as the author of its own *permanent emergency.* Humanity has exchanged its subjectivity to become a bio-human force of nature.

Drawing on departures within ecology, especially the finding that non-human species exist dynamically on the edge of extinction, resilience-thinking regards landscapes of uncertainty and surprise as an intrinsic part of the bio-human condition. History from the Ice Age to Climate Change has become a series of catastrophic and violent events to which humanity, as a force of nature, continuously adapts and evolves in order to survive. I'm thinking here of Andrew Marr's 2012 television series, *The History of the World*, which took just this line.

Within the Obama administration, rather than try to make major cities disaster-proof, some security advisers argue it is better to accept that they are 'built to be vulnerable' – the proviso being to stop demanding protection and just learn to adapt. Within the gaze of national security, the global debt crisis is now comparable to a hurricane or earthquake; they blur together as different examples of the same permanent emergency. If politics can be defined as the ability to solve root problems, post-security landscapes are also post-political. Rather than solve root problems, taking our lead from nature and the behaviour of non-human species, we must now endlessly and uncritically adapt to survive.

Neoliberalism

When one sees the global debt crisis being compared to a natural disaster, as a force of nature made worse by human folly, it is perhaps time to begin questioning the political agenda underlying the conversation between resilience and neoliberalism. In particular, while resilience-thinking has called forth disaster as a new ontology of life, the policy implications of this are far from being applied equally or fairly across society.

Resilience underpins a new biopolitics that differs from what shaped the great modernist project of the Welfare and New Deal states. In order to work, resilience needs populations, communities and people that are free of any interposing historical, institutional or cultural legacies of social protection. Resilience requires a *pre-existing* state of exposure. Closed, protected, or even reluctant, communities have to be opened-up to risk and

contingency, so that they are free to reinvent themselves anew as leaner and more agile versions of their bloated selves.

Examples of this opening-up or social abandonment are clearly evident in current policy responses to austerity in Europe. However, we should not forget that, in the shape of structural adjustment, the global-South has been undergoing its own austerity-based shock-therapy for decades. From the modernist plateau of the Welfare State, our collective direction of travel, in the name of economy and freedom itself, has been one of deregulation, privatisation and, not least, *that well known force of nature*, globalisation.

However, the populations that are being politically exposed to disaster in order to become resilient *are not elites*; they are those hapless groups now revealed as especially vulnerable to uncertainty; in particular, the global poor and, in the North, those people and occupations that find themselves surplus to requirements.

Elite bunkers

Elites themselves are moving in a different direction. They are withdrawing from the post-security and post-political landscapes of permanent emergency; they are occupying and staking-out the world's proliferating privately secured gated-complexes and cultural walled-gardens. Elites are withdrawing from degraded and dangerous public spaces to the safety of private spaces. While the squeezed middle and working poor are expected to be resilient, urban environments are fragmenting as elites bunker themselves. Unsurprisingly, the international aid industry is not only a good example of this wider spatial and logistical diagram, it is also an important site of experimentation and innovation.

Resilience-thinking has blurred the boundary between those requiring short-term emergency relief, and those needing long-term development assistance. Since emergency is now permanent, teaching the global poor to be resilient in the face of uncertainty presents itself as an essentially developmental act. For policy makers, the developmental properties of disaster mean that communities are not only expected to be able to bounce back from disaster, in the words of the Department for International Development, the aim now is to enable them to '... bounce back better'.

When one looks at the behaviour of international aid workers and donor representatives, however, one sees something different; rather than practising what is preached, there is a widespread retreat from risk and uncertainty. Since the 1990s, in response to the belief that aid work is becoming more dangerous, international aid managers have retreated into the aid world's proliferating Green Zones, the iconic image of which is the fortified aid compound (Figure 1). The result has been a deepening *paradox of presence.* While aid agencies have declared themselves willing to continue expanding within challenging environments, international managers themselves are becoming increasingly remote from the societies in which they work, presence is becoming progressively virtual.

Among international aid workers, ideas of resilience are associated with the therapeutic psycho-social and care-of-the-self aspects. Faced with landscapes of uncertainty and

Figure 1. *UNHCR security-compliant compound, Yei, South Sudan. Photo: Mark Duffield.*

Figure 2. *UNHCR residential compound, Juba, South Sudan. Photo: Mark Duffield.*

surprise, the basic argument among aid managers is that you cannot maintain constant vigilance and preparedness without taking care of the inner-self. Subjective resilience training, which is spreading from the military and emergency responders to international aid workers, has been likened to putting on mental armour. It tends to be formulaic, placing emphasis on things like healthy living, learning to recognise stress, the need for supportive social networks, and, importantly, developing emotional distance.

From this perspective, the fortified aid compound is more than a defensive structure; it is a therapeutic refuge that both separates international aid managers from outside uncertainty, and encloses the supportive social networks and cultural props that allow for narcissistic forms of care-of-the-self.

Dystopias

It is in relation to the bunker as a therapeutic refuge, that one can see another attribute of resilience-thinking – its basic post-Utopian credentials. In seeking refuge from uncertainty, today's social and economic elites are unlikely to imagine Utopias that involve a better future for all. Futures are more likely to be imagined in terms of the *exclusivity* that bunkered-life vainly promises. The post-

political is matched by the replacement of Utopianism with the dismal ability to imagine only social Dystopias and the frightening future threat landscapes to come.

If we are to extract something useful from the ability that resilience provides to talk across the sciences and disciplines, we must first dare to dream of a better collective future for humanity than the nihilistic prospect of permanent emergency; we must have the courage to demand protection for all.

Mark Duffield is Professor Emeritus, Global Insecurities Centre, University of Bristol. He is currently heading a research project on risk management among aid agencies working in the challenging environments of Southern Sudan and Afghanistan.

A panel discussion on 'How did we become unprepared? Emergency and resilience in an uncertain world' was held at the British Academy on 7 November 2012. An audio recording of the discussion can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/events/2012/

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Historians of science

Since its earliest years, the British Academy has published extended obituaries (memoirs) of deceased Fellows of the British Academy. Collectively the biographical memoirs of the British Academy make up a chapter in the intellectual history of Britain, and are used as a source by biographers and historians.

The latest collection of memoirs, available as an open access resource via the Academy's website, includes portraits of four scholars who in their different ways were pioneers in writing the history of science. The following extracts give a flavour.

Rupert Hall (1920–2009) and Marie Boas Hall (1919–2009)

Frank James tells the transatlantic love story of Rupert Hall and Marie Boas. Their marriage proved to be a formidable scholarly partnership, but they individually earned election to the Academy's Fellowship. They died within three weeks of each other. Poignantly and uniquely, they share a biographical memoir. Frank James concludes:

As so often happens with successful pioneers, the very success obscures the magnitude of the achievement. Some of the things that we now take for granted simply did not exist when they started their careers. For the Halls, perhaps the two most significant changes they contributed to bringing about were making history of science a proper branch of history and emphasising, both by their historical writings and by their practice, the value of studying and publishing manuscripts. Both these are now so taken for granted that it requires considerable historical imagination to understand that in the 1940s and indeed into the 1950s such views would have been generally regarded as perverse and that the Halls were both historiographically radical in their day. Both Hall and Boas would have undoubtedly enjoyed successful careers individually. But by bravely defying the prevailing social conventions, by having confidence in their joint future during the very difficult and emotional closing years of the 1950s, Hall and Boas created the formidable partnership in the history of science that has been outlined in this memoir. Their passionate love, respect and admiration for each other surely produced historical work of a quality and influence much greater than anything they might have done separately.

Rupert Hall (elected FBA 1978) and Marie Boas Hall (elected FBA 1994), at their retirement in 1980.

Margaret Gowing (1921–1998)

*Margaret Gowing, who had the distinction of being both a Fellow of the British Academy and a Fellow of the Royal Society, was the historian of the nuclear age. The following edited extract, from the lengthy appreciation by **Roy MacLeod**, describes how she produced her first publication as archivist and historian at the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority (UKAEA).*

In Gowing's day, writing nuclear history meant navigating uncharted seas. As her colleague Lorna Arnold recalled, 'there was no secondary material, and the subject, which had been wrapped in wartime secrecy, was still largely secret'. Gowing also had no scientific training ('I didn't know an atom from a molecule', she liked to say). And she knew nothing of the history of science. But she did have several advantages, whose value she understood from her years at the Cabinet Office. The UKAEA would let her work with the minimum of interference. There were few strings attached – no deadlines, no designated methods of work, or periods or themes to be covered. She was given secretarial support, a salary, and she reported directly to the Chairman of the Authority. She was free to get on in her own way, at her own speed. Thanks to an early Authority agreement with the Cabinet Office, she had access to all departmental, Cabinet Office, Downing Street, and Foreign Office records, however secret, except for an undisclosed quantity of intelligence material. An advisory committee was mooted, but apparently not appointed.

All Gowing wrote, of course, would be subject to vetting, but within the Authority there was the presumption that some form of publication would ensue. Above all, she had the inestimable advantage of writing on a subject of intense national and contemporary interest, about which little was publicly known, but for which there was a growing audience, eager to learn, and likely to respond well to a lively narrative. Her only competition came from American historians, and their account of the nuclear story, in her eyes, needed a British companion.

From the early 1960s, Gowing set out to apply to Britain's nuclear history the methods she had learned from [Sir Keith] Hancock and the Cabinet Office – that is, begin at the top, and work your way through the people who actually made the history. In this, she was fortunate in writing at a time not long after the events she was describing, and could command the help of many who knew these events at first hand. She played by the rules – she produced drafts, and sent them for comment to senior officials. As during the war, she excelled at asking awkward questions of senior scientists and officials. The first time they met, Sir Christopher Hinton gave her two hours, and 'bared his soul'. Sir James Chadwick, the Nobel-Prize-winning physicist who had refused to co-operate with a Cambridge historian sent earlier by the Cabinet Office, pursued their conversation with 'a glow of warm letters'. She became good friends with the physicists Nicholas Kurti and Sir Rudolf Peierls, both now at Oxford. In France, she met Bertrand Goldschmidt, and in the United States, J. Robert Oppenheimer and General Leslie Groves. She got on so well with Nils Bohr, the distinguished Danish physicist, that he invited her to Copenhagen.

Margaret Gowing (elected FBA 1975). Photo: Billett Potter.

Within the Authority, the competing roles of archivist and historian were not always well understood, and for the latter Gowing had to fight for support. Revealing sentiments that she made more vocal over time, Gowing reflected:

> I suspect that people think I collect files together and then sit down in an academic calm so enviable compared with the administrative hurly burly and, with a bit of [luck] and inspiration, write a chapter. In fact it is a gruelling intellectual job which requires intense concentration and involves very difficult problems of analysis, judgement and selection, as well as literary skill. Quite apart from this, I have had to cope with very eminent, sometimes very difficult people. If I had put a foot wrong the opprobrium on the Authority might well have been considerable.

Fortunately, Gowing's relations with the Authority improved when [in 1964] – after just two years and two months, without research assistance, and amidst difficulties at home – she researched, wrote and published her first work in nuclear history, *Britain and Atomic Energy, 1939–1945*. This was the first civil official history to appear outside the Cabinet Office series. As such, publication could not be guaranteed – certainly not if it contained footnotes, even if they were to documents that other historians could not see for the next thirty years. However, once Gowing had submitted her manuscript for vetting, few changes were suggested, and opposition melted away. The UKAEA retained copyright and, with a nod to security,

removed her footnotes. But they let the book be published by Macmillan, with an eye to a wide potential readership. It was a canny decision, profitable to publisher, agency, and author.

Conceived by Gowing as the first of three chronological volumes, '*BAE*' was a triumph. Hancock, who had read the text in draft, pronounced it 'first rate'. Its success inspired Mark Oliphant, FRS – the distinguished Australian veteran of the Manhattan Project, and Hancock's former colleague at Birmingham, now returned to Australia – to seek the appointment of an historian to work with the new Australian Academy of Science in Canberra. Stephen Toulmin, the philosopher of science, then exploring new frontiers at the Nuffield Foundation and Sussex University, thought that 'No better example of contemporary narrative history of science has yet appeared ...'. The media played a similar tune. Even the Cabinet Office was impressed, and in 1966 decided to sponsor a new series of peacetime official histories, which took Gowing's readable book as a model. To a degree unusual among academics, and remotely rare among civil servants, Gowing was suddenly launched into the limelight, and proclaimed a national treasure.

The reason was simple. *Britain and Atomic Energy* told a story that was unfamiliar to the British public, and little known even to many in senior government circles. Working from documents and interviews, Gowing charted Britain's heroic contributions in Cambridge, Manchester and Birmingham, through the Military Application of Uranium Detonation (MAUD) Committee of 1941, preparing the way for the Manhattan Project. At a time when the United States was keen to monopolise the story, Gowing reminded the world what Britain had contributed to its success. Her point was clinched by an appendix that, for the first time, reprinted the original February 1940 memo sent by Otto Frisch and Rudolf (later Sir Rudolf) Peierls to Mark Oliphant, showing that, contrary to Heisenberg's calculations, a uranium bomb was technically feasible. The story that Gowing came across this priceless paper in an old cornflakes packet may be apocryphal, but its retelling had an instant appeal that heavyweight official history could not match. Suddenly, there was an interest in the contemporary history of science, and in preserving archives on both sides of the Atlantic. In Gowing's phrase, the bomb had 'drawn a line across history'. A new age of science had begun. If scientists had 'the future in their bones', as C.P. Snow put it, the nuclear scientists were in charge of reading the auguries.

In retrospect, Gowing was both lucky and inspired in her timing. '*BAE*' appeared just as Harold Wilson's newly elected Labour Government pronounced its determination to lead a 'white hot technological revolution'. Here was a textbook showing what Britain could do. But this was not the only attraction. Amidst the grey precincts of official history, traditionally dominated by worthy accounts of transport policy and export controls, hers was possibly the most *interesting* book to trace its origins to Hancock's benevolent influence. Although she escaped becoming a

'tele-don', in an age that coined the art form, her mail now included invitations to join government committees, and to write for the literary press. That her contributions relied upon a thin background in science did not diminish her influence, or her reputation, which in any case was augmented by displays of secret documentary knowledge that few, if any, could match. Overall, the response of the UKAEA was gratifyingly positive. Public acclaim had won the Authority a rare form of kudos that politicians admired and administrators understood.

Roy Porter (1946–2002)

In her appreciation of a prolific career cut short, **Ludmilla Jordanova** *reveals Roy Porter's influential contribution to the history of medicine, and his flair for reaching out to public audiences. The following extracts give a flavour.*

Roy was a brave scholar. It is hard for most of us to grasp his range or to fully appreciate his boldness. An excellent example is his massive tome *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, first published in 1997. My understanding is that he intended the main title to terminate with a question mark. Its subtitle, *A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present*, suggests a breadth of understanding that is truly formidable. He knew how to tell a story, how to paint big pictures, trace patterns and conjure up the textures of the past. He found patterns and made generalisations with enviable verve. Roy was also happy to comment, to sum up with a tinge of scepticism. As he pointed out in the last two sentences: 'Medicine has led to inflated expectations, which the public eagerly swallowed. Yet as those expectations become unlimited, they are unfulfillable: medicine will have to redefine its limits even as it extends its capabilities.'

Roy Porter (elected FBA 1994). Photo: Wellcome Images.

The volume focused on medical thinking and medical practice, about which he could be ironic and critical. Indeed much of his work was from 'the patient's perspective', a notion that will be linked forever to his name. This particular enthusiasm stems from his commitment to social history, and more particularly to a form of it that does justice to the lives of so-called ordinary people. It was nurtured by his wide reading – fast, voracious, and open-minded – in all genres. In fact his interest in how patients viewed their conditions and those they employed to help them was all of a piece with his interest in every form of medical practice, no matter how kooky it appeared in retrospect. He possessed the most lively sense of the range of medical activities, of the importance for historians of being sensitive to the diversity of health-seeking behaviours. His concern with patients and with the varied practices of those from whom they sought assistance were two sides of the same coin.

*

Roy delighted in reaching wide audiences, as the wonderfully readable *Blood and Guts* shows.[1] He practised public history long before the term was common in the United Kingdom. Indeed I think he saw it in moral terms. We, those of us who are privileged to work in universities, should share our knowledge and enthusiasm with anyone who is interested. This is why, early in his career when it was possible to do so, he travelled extensively to schools, associations and societies to speak about his work. His recognition of the potential of satirical prints to engage audiences and afford fresh historical insights reinforces these points.

Those encountering him for the first time could not help but be struck by his distinctive personal style, with his open shirts, rumpled trousers and jackets, gold jewellery and stubble. They would quickly be won over by his charm, erudition, and cheerfulness. I have heard it said that a distinguished American academic – a woman – considered him the sexiest man in London. No memoir of Roy would be remotely satisfactory without a discussion of sex, a subject that was, if I may put it this way, close to his heart. His writings on the history of sexuality were innovative and influential. It was a subject he could tackle

with wry humour and without a shred of prudery. In this, as in other respects, he was a liberated man. Roy genuinely liked and appreciated women, nurtured their careers, and took immense pleasure in their achievements. These qualities cannot be taken for granted, and it is greatly to his credit that he applauded all success, and did so much to ensure that others enjoyed as much of it as possible.

Everyone who knew Roy has a favourite anecdote about him. One of mine comes from the time I stayed with Roy and his first wife, the writer Sue Limb, as a despondent and somewhat lost Ph.D. student. Getting up in the middle of the night to go to the bathroom, I discovered Roy, hard at work at the kitchen table. This occurred 40 years ago, but I seem to remember he was reading Aristotle. His capacity for work is deservedly legendary. But so is his capacity for many kinds of fun. We can be entirely confident that he would have greatly enjoyed knowing that if, a decade after his death, you google 'Roy Porter', a butcher in Lancashire and an American jazz drummer also come up. What might surprise him, however, is how many of his books can still be obtained from the Amazon website, how many students read and appreciate his work, and how deeply he is missed.

Frank A.J.L. James is Professor of the History of Science at the Royal Institution.

Roy MacLeod Roy MacLeod is Professor Emeritus of (Modern) History at the University of Sydney.

Ludmilla Jordanova is Professor of Modern History at King's College London.

The 23 obituaries in *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy, XI* were posted on the Academy's website in November 2012, and can be found via www.britac.ac.uk/memoirs/

Charles Wakefield and the British Academy's first home

For the first 25 years of its life the British Academy had to make do without a permanent home. Instead, it lived a hand-to-mouth existence totally dependent on other organisations for rooms in which to hold its meetings and lectures. However, in 1927, the Academy finally received the news it had been awaiting from government; responding to the latest petition from the Academy's President, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill, wrote: 'I am so glad to tell you that what you wish has been arranged, and … in recognition of the position of the British Academy and its services to the nation, the Government has decided to assign it free quarters in Burlington House.' The President was able to announce the good news to the Fellowship at the British Academy's Twenty-fifth Anniversary Dinner, held on 14 July 1927.[1]

The Academy was allocated space in the east wing of Burlington Gardens where the University of London's lecture theatre had originally been situated.[2] This area required considerable adaptation which the Academy could not afford. Fortunately, 'a friend of Sir Israel Gollancz', Secretary of the Academy, came to the rescue as an anonymous benefactor and building work was able to proceed. The architect, Arnold Mitchell, redesigned the space so that the Academy could have 'a large and a small Lecture Room (capable of being thrown into one), a Council Chamber, two rooms for secretarial purposes, and (on an upper floor) accommodation for a library'.[3]

The formal opening of the Academy's rooms on 24 July 1928 was to be an occasion of some significance, and had attracted some advance press attention. On 22 July the *Observer* offered its readers the following description: 'The Council Room is a particularly handsome apartment, panelled to the ceiling with walnut. The centre of the ceiling is domed and elaborately ornamented, and has screened lighting and ventilation. The Chamber opens into a large lecture and conference room, which can be used either as one or two rooms, with galleries occupying one side.'

But the name of the benefactor was still not public knowledge. The day before the opening, Gollancz received a letter from Sir Charles C. Wakefield, Bart., formally consenting to be identified as the donor (Figure 1). Charles Cheers Wakefield (1859-1941) was a Liverpool-born
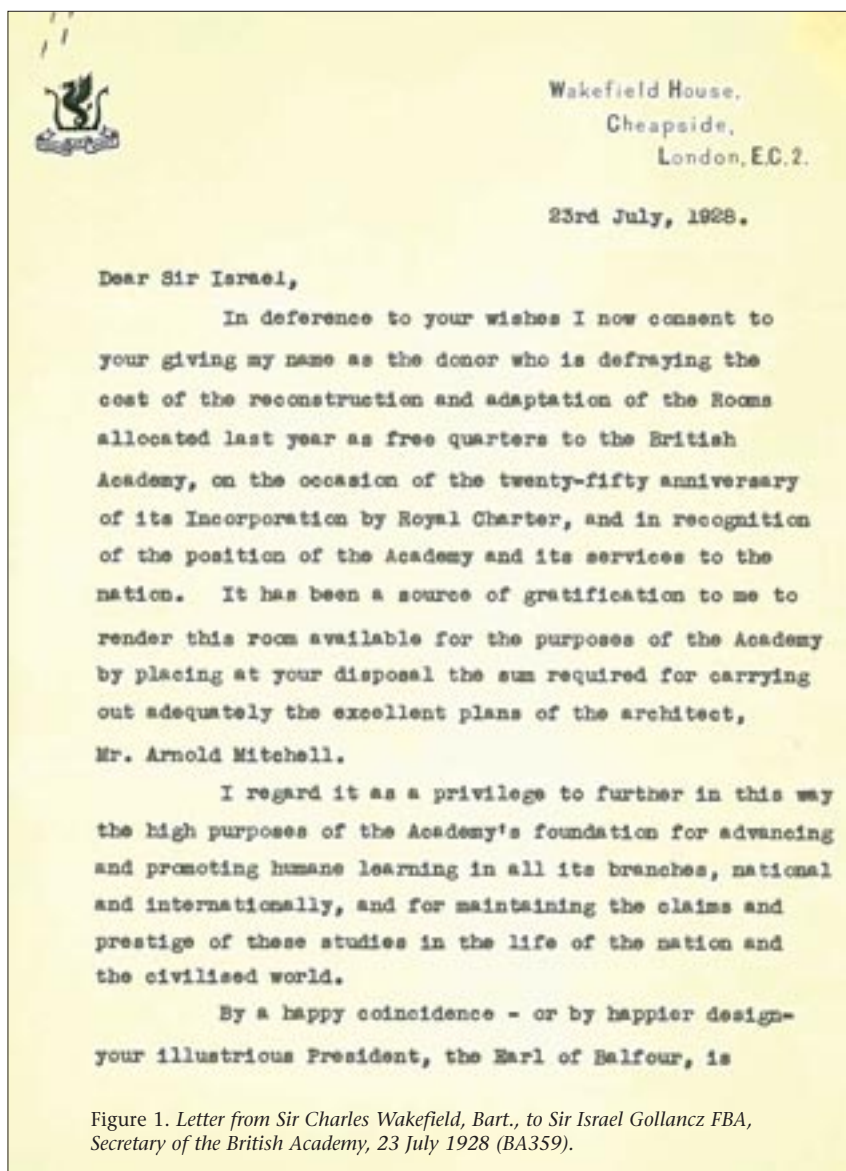

Figure 1. *Letter from Sir Charles Wakefield, Bart., to Sir Israel Gollancz FBA, Secretary of the British Academy, 23 July 1928 (BA359).*

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[1] 'Annual Report, Session 1927-8', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 14, p. 19. See also 'Winston Churchill and the British Academy', *British Academy Review*, 20 (Summer 2012), pp. 45-7.

[2] A picture of what this lecture theatre looked like in the late 19th century can be found in *British Academy Review*, 12 (January 2009), p. 59. The British Academy had hired this venue for its own public lectures.

[3] Frederic G. Kenyon, *The British Academy: The First Fifty Years* (1952), p. 32.

Figure 2. *The opening of the Academy's new rooms on 24 July 1928. Standing from left to right in the Council Room: Dr J.W. Mackail (future President 1932-36); Sir Frederic Kenyon (past President 1917-21, and future Secretary 1930-49); Sir Charles Wakefield (benefactor); Arnold Mitchell (architect); the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Mayor London; Lord Balfour (President 1921-28); H.A.L. Fisher (future President 1928-32); Sir Israel Gollancz (Secretary 1902-30). Photograph from 'The Times', reproduced in Mortimer Wheeler, 'The British Academy 1949-1968'. Above the fireplace is the portrait of Balfour, by Sir William Orpen, donated by Wakefield – shown here on the right.*

opening the Rooms on the eve of his eightieth birthday, when our deep-seated sentiments of profound esteem and gratitude for all we owe to him may well find special expression. I beg leave to suggest that, with his approval, the Council Room in which will hang his portrait by Sir William Orpen, which it has been my pleasure to present, may be henceforth associated with his name and be known as the Balfour Council Room, in remembrance of this occasion, in token of his enduring place in the history of the Academy, and in hope of his abiding inspirations in its deliberations.

I am, dear Sir Israel,

Yours very truly,

Sir Israel Gollancz, Litt.D., F.B.A.,
The British Academy,
6, Burlington Gardens,
LONDON, S.W.

entrepreneur, and was the man behind Castrol lubricating oil. The Academy had already benefited from his largesse. At an event to mark the tercentenary of the death of Sir Walter Raleigh in October 1918, Wakefield had offered the Academy 'the sum of £500 per annum for at least five years as the nucleus of a Raleigh Fund for History':[4] the Academy's annual Raleigh Lecture on History is an enduring reminder of this generosity. And as a guest at the Academy's Twenty-fifth Anniversary Dinner, Wakefield had announced that he was presenting the Academy with a portrait of its President, Lord Balfour, by Sir William Orpen, RA.[5]

The Academy's new rooms were formally declared open at noon on 24 July 1928 (Figure 2). The ceremony was followed by a lunch at the Prince's Hotel. The lunch, attended by HRH the Prince of Wales, also celebrated Lord Balfour's 80th birthday.

[4] 'Annual Report, Session 1918-19', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, [9], pp. 15-16.

[5] 'Annual Report, Session 1927-8', p. 19.

[6] The tablet was designed by Macdonald Gill. 'Annual Report, Session 1928-9', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 15, pp. 15-16.

On 1 May 1929, a tablet to record Wakefield's generosity was unveiled in what was the Academy's large Lecture Room, where it can still be seen (Figure 3).[6] This room at 6 Burlington Gardens is shortly to be demolished to make way for new refurbishments by the Royal Academy, but it is hoped that the tablet can be moved to the British Academy's present home in 10-11 Carlton House Terrace.

In 1938, Wakefield (now Viscount Wakefield) was elected to be an Honorary Fellow of the British Academy.

Figure 3. *Tablet in 6 Burlington Gardens commemorating Sir Charles Wakefield's generous donation.*
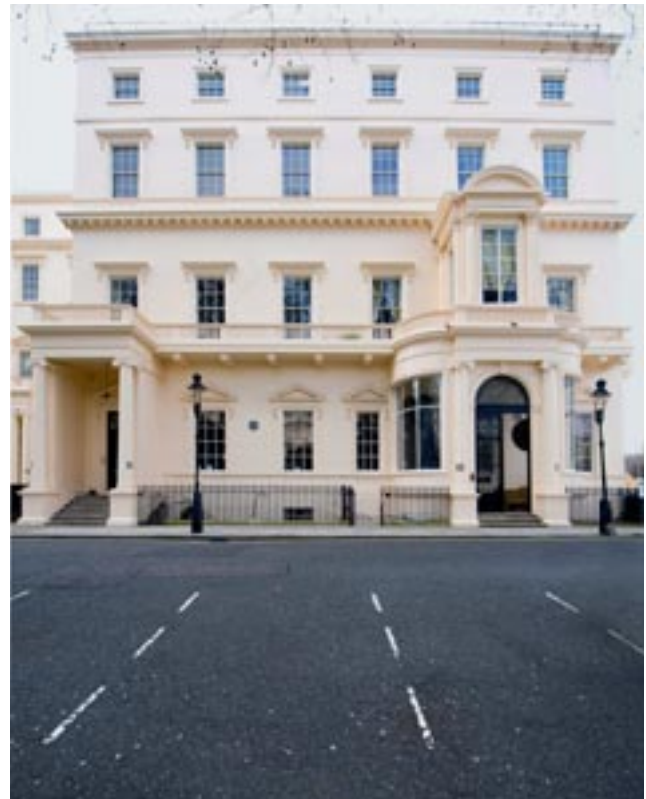
The British Academy

The British Academy, established by Royal Charter in 1902, is the United Kingdom's national academy for the promotion of the humanities and social sciences. It is funded by a Government grant, through the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills.

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- Increasing the scope and impact of communications and policy activity, and creating events and publications that communicate new research and encourage public debate

- Strengthening opportunities for Fellows to contribute their expertise to the intellectual life of the Academy and the country.

Further information about the work of the Academy can be found on its website at www.britac.ac.uk, or by contacting the Academy at 10-11 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AH, telephone 020 7969 5200, email chiefexec@britac.ac.uk

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