University of Essex

ESTRO
Essex student research online

Contents:

Editorial

Celebrating multidisciplinarity is one of the main goals of *Estro*: the challenge is to ensure that each issue is diverse but coherent, stimulating yet accessible to a wide readership. This issue features articles that represent three of the four faculties at the University of Essex, authored by students writing at all levels – undergraduate, postgraduate taught, and postgraduate research. *Volume 2 Number 2* also retains a distinctly Essex flavour: among other things there is an interview with and review of a former artist in residence in the University Gallery, and examples of recent work from the Centre for Creative Writing.

With the twin spirits of multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity in mind, the issue's opening paper grapples with a subject that cannot be understood within a single field. In his article 'Global Constellations of Crime', Christian Kemp states that "[the] study of globalisation is deeply cross-disciplinary, but it has only recently begun to pervade into criminological discourse". His piece goes some way toward plugging the gap in the field. Crime is something that affects everyone, and we feel that this exploration of the global implications of crime will be particularly interesting to readers of *Estro*.

From the study of crime, we move to the study of a lawyer's work, albeit work outside of legal discourse. Hamada Kassam's article 'Order versus Nihilism' looks at the work of Joseph Glover Baldwin, specifically *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*. Hamada is well known in his area: in endorsing his work, Professor Richard Gray stated that the author "has already established himself as one of the half a dozen leading experts in this particular field of specialisation. He knows more about it than anyone else in the UK." Emerging from the University's specialist expertise on the subject of US Literature, this is a shining example of leading research being undertaken by early career academics.

Grounded in the same US tradition is Matilda Marro's 'The White Square of Paper'. This piece of creative writing draws heavily on *Moby-Dick*, not only in terms of the influence the work has upon the main character but also in the influence of Herman Melville in the narrative style.

While 'The White Square of Paper' explores the self-destructiveness of a fictional character, 'Cruel Intentions' by Tom Minor explores philosophical and psychological perspectives on why we harm ourselves and each other, and why it can be pleasurable. Analysing Nietzschean and Freudian approaches, his paper tackles this difficult issue while at the same time showing how Nietzsche discredited other theories surrounding this particular phenomenon of human existence.

Estro is eager to represent all written forms of academic discourse. Part review and part interview, 'The Eclectic World of Felipe Ehrenberg' introduces the work of the artist and presents the transcript of an interview with him, focusing on his

recent performance of *Xocoyotzin, The Penultimate* which was part of his residency at the University.

Continuing a different trend, for the second issue in a row we feature an article on topical issues in healthcare. 'Caring for the Terminally Ill: Nursing a Patient with Oculopharyngeal Muscular Dystrophy' is a reflective examination of the practices surrounding a particular kind of care. The inclusion of work from the School of Health and Human Sciences reflects the expansion of the department.

Moving from the extremes of real experience to fiction once again, we present a second piece of creative writing. Joshua Grocott's 'Another Day' is an example of work from this academic discipline, so for the first time in *Estro* we present a piece of creative writing with a commentary, showing the theoretical considerations that fed into the formulation of the piece, as well as the author's thoughts on the successes and failures of the writing process.

While 'Another Day' concentrates on writing processes, the next article explores thought processes. Serving as an introduction to what many consider to be a very difficult subject, 'The Letter to the Letter' attempts to explain the fundamental principles behind the Lacanian version of psychoanalysis. Lacan is a useful figure across many disciplines; while connections to psychology are obvious, many Lacanian theories, particularly mirror theory, are used in literary analysis for example.

Closing the issue and moving from a psychological and linguistic divide to a social one, we present the article 'The Social and Economic Impact of the Emancipation of the Serfs in Russia' by Louis Hobart. In the wake of the global economic crisis, it seems appropriate to look back at other economical shifts in history, with the events presented here certainly fitting the bill.

A year on from our first issue, *Estro* continues to grow and develop. Since our last publication the University's new visual identity policy has prompted a re-vamp of our logo and website, resulting in a slicker and more modern online presence for the journal, whilst our profile within the University continues to increase. Much of the credit for *Estro's* initial and continuing success must go to you, the staff and students of the University of Essex, who make the journal what it is by reading, contributing and reviewing.

The next few months will be a time of new beginnings for *Estro*, as the current editorial team move on to pastures new. We wish the journal's subsequent editors every success in taking *Estro* to volume three and beyond, and will watch the journal's development with interest.

Pete Fitzgerald, Katy Dillon, and Kimberley Marwood, Executive Editors

Global Constellations of Crime: Exploring the Economic and Socio-cultural Origins of Contemporary Forms of Crime, Crime Control and Criminalization within a Global Age

Christian Kemp

ABSTRACT:
Globalisation is a definitive force of contemporary social change that intrinsically affects all social actors as it inspires a fundamental reconstruction of the way in which we understand the modern world and our places within it. A focus upon the consistent and durable national horizons which once defined the nation state and the normative symbolic foundations of national identities, has been overstepped by the need to appreciate the impact of a complex multiplicity of global constellations which now link nations both in economic and socio-cultural terms. The study of globalisation is deeply cross-disciplinary, but it has only recently begun to pervade into criminological discourse, as crime, crime control and criminalization have been traditionally discussed as the product of distinctly national social problems and concerns. This article seeks to represent the way in which different processes of both economic and socio-cultural globalisation have reconstituted the forms that crime, crime control and criminalization now take within newly global social realities. This article explores how the most significant underlying mechanisms of globalisation affect both global and local contexts, perpetuating the creation of new inequalities, new incentives, and new opportunities that motivate the commission of crime, ultimately adding newly global dimensions to the national problem of crime and its potential control and criminalization.

Within and throughout the contemporary world, all societies irrespective of their social, economic or political character are undergoing a metamorphosis in the wake of a plethora of tempestuous social changes. Globalisation is heralded as the precursor to these deep rooted social changes, and though globalisation is not a new process, it is the sheer volume and expansive reach of new global interconnections between nation states that has no precedent (Held and Law, 2000). As proximate and distant social realities collide by virtue of high speed communications technologies, the periphery now dwells at the centre (Massey, 2005), and the proliferation of newly pluralistic and post-modern social realities within local communities evidence the growing power of rapidly expanding global networks and flows (Beck, 2006). It is within contexts such as these, that the intrinsic nature of deviance, crime control and criminalization have taken on new dimensions of complexity, as globalisation is accompanied by unforeseen risks that not only generate new forms of both 'local' and 'global' crime, but that also hinder the competency

of nation states to control and police crime within national boundaries (Findlay, 1999).

This article explores the manner in which processes of globalisation have altered the way that deviance, crime control and criminalization can be understood within newly global social realities. In order to understand how globalisation affects the forms that crime can take, and the motivations which drive it, one must differentiate between the economic and socio-cultural dimensions of globalisation. Each aspect affects understandings of crime, crime control and criminalization in a separate yet related manner. Economic globalisation and the proliferation of flows and networks of capital, goods, and persons, introduce substantial structural and institutional developments within and between states, leading to the production of new spaces, avenues, and opportunities, through which new forms of crime can be committed (Castells, 1998; Franko Aas, 2007).

Globalisation also challenges the integrity of the nation-state, depreciating the long standing primacy of one set of socio-cultural boundaries, and the persistence of a consistent, durable system of normative and symbolic collective meanings. This change pluralises and fragments the social order, leading to the potential development of high levels of instability, dysfunction and to a degree anomie. Each of these factors can be conducive to higher rates of more 'ordinary' and less 'global' forms of crime. The implications of both forms of globalisation and their impact upon deviance, crime control and criminalization shall now be examined.

Economic globalisation is centrally underpinned by three major mechanisms; the introduction of distanciating mechanisms that lift social interactions out of the confines of national spaces (Giddens, 1991), the compression of the time and space that separates distant and proximate locations (Harvey, 1990), and the proliferation and integration of neo-liberalism and neo-liberal social policy (Ohmae, 1990). Giddens explains how the development of symbolic mediums of capital, and the high speed digital transfer of capital, communications and media, between physically absent individuals, has allowed many forms of interaction to be 'dis-embedded' from the confines of national spaces (1991:102). This process of dis-embedding enables the 'distanciation' of time and space, and a stretching of social interaction across larger distances, as the frictions associated with physically negotiating places, are overstepped by a technological mastery of space. Whilst Giddens explains the character of transnational flows and networks, David Harvey refers to the genealogy of capitalism to explain how the constant capitalist drive towards more efficient modes of production, and faster exchanges of both goods and capital, has led to the genesis of network interconnections that compress the space and time between distant locations (1990:240). By virtue of the technology that allows flows of people, capital, goods, and communication to

travel at high speed between various points in a global network, more goods can be produced and transported across larger spaces in less time.

Harvey and Giddens both explain how global networks function on a transnational stage between states, but it was the integration of neo-liberal social policies on a global basis that enabled global networks and flows to actually penetrate and inter-connect nations (Ohmae, 1990). The high speed and flexible flows of capital that characterise global networks would not be as efficient if the underlying principles of neo-liberal market economics did not actively promote the de-regulation of market forces, the lowering of trade boundaries and restrictions, and the promotion of 'laissez faire' market economics. Global networks inherently require 'basing points' (Friedman, 1986), where the structural and institutional hardware that connects different points of a global economic system must be built, before global flows can truly interconnect one place to another. The global integration of neo-liberal policy reduces the limitations upon where these basing points can be built, and it inspires a 'race to the bottom' (Schram, 2000) amongst nations who compete on the basis of how quickly, and how entirely, they can reduce trade boundaries, and abandon any form of state regulation of foreign investment within their borders.

As Manuel Castells vividly illustrates, places are no longer valued in terms of the quality and character of their physical spaces, but only in terms of how well connected they are within global networks that exist in the digital and flexible 'space of flows', not the 'space of place' (Castells, 1992: 146). The ultimate effect of this process is the creation of two completely opposed experiences of a global world system, and newly global social realities. On the one hand, nations that are successfully integrated into the global world system are capable of hosting 'global cities' that form portals through which huge volumes of capital and investment can travel (Sassen, 2001). Yet, for those states that are excluded or disconnected from the global world of networks and flows, deep and severe poverty is common place, as the inequalities between core and peripheral states are stark and overwhelming (Wallerstein, 1976). Peripheral states are valuable only in so far as they can be used as the headquarters for the production of goods, that are later shipped away to be sold in western markets. Multi-national corporations select these nations as the locus of production, precisely because they are host to weakly protected labour forces, and unstable governmental and institutional frameworks.

The stark duality that characterises the global inclusion of core nations and exclusion of peripheral nations has fundamental implications for the study of contemporary forms of deviance, as these deep global inequalities lie at the heart of a continually expanding 'global criminal economy' (Castells, 1998). As Castells, explains criminal syndicates have 'taken advantage of

communications and transportational networks', in order to elevate their once localised and national activities onto the global stage (1998: 172). Through the use of networks of both capital and trade, transnational cartels are able to traffic an array of illicit goods, including arms, nuclear materials, and drugs, around the world, through mediums that are incredibly difficult to police (Findlay, 1999). This is due to the way that the gathering and processing of goods, the exchange, payment and laundering of capital, all take place in several different locations, often between nation-states. According to the United Nations Conference for the Prevention of Organised Crime in 1994, it was estimated that approximately 500 billion dollars circulated the global criminal economy during the course of one year, which was larger than the global trade in oil (Castells, 1998). Castells attributes the success of transnational criminal organisations to 'strategic alliances of cooperation' that have been formed between different cartels, in separate countries (1998: 171). In the past, each cartel would fiercely protect their monopoly over the distribution and sale of illicit goods within a given territory, but now the opportunity to export and exchange with foreign cartels on a global stage has inspired the development of networks of cooperation, built upon a mutual self interest. As a direct result 'Italian syndicates sell American Italian drugs in Europe, Russians buy stolen cars from the Japanese Yakuza, [and] Albanians move Asian heroin for Turkish drug clans (Galeotti, 2004:1).

In a fashion that mirrors the investment patterns of multi-national corporations, transnational syndicates base the production or growth of illicit goods (drugs in particular), amongst locations that are on the periphery of the global world system. Amongst peripheral states, the widespread poverty that is produced by exclusion from the global economic system ensures that cartels can locate cheap and willing workforces, within states that are host to poor governmental control, and very limited police surveillance (Franko Aas, 2007). These states are labelled 'failed states' (Global Economic Symposium, 2009) because of their inability to find their place within a differentiated global order where the fate of a national economic system rests on its ability to harvest and export goods competitively. If an export niche is not found, then the nation is ultimately vulnerable to criminogenic infiltration, and forced into a position where they must grow, or gather, illicit goods for which there is a demand. Afghanistan is a clear example of a country which has failed to integrate within the legitimate global economy, but yet has succeeded within the global criminal economy, as 'it derives its livelihood by providing 90 per cent of the world's opium production' (UNODOC, 2007 cited in Franko Aas, 2007).

Given the vast global inequalities that cause the poverty within what Castells describes as the 'black holes of human misery' (1998:162) that exist amidst the global world system, it is almost inevitable that the proportion of

migrants travelling to the western world, in search of a better standard of living has risen substantially over the last few decades. A third world migrant wishing to enter and remain within a western country is immediately categorised or criminalized as an 'illegal migrant', and as a consequence of an increased securitization of borders in recent history, the flow of illegal immigrants is not necessarily lessened, but it is instead funnelled through other routes that the migrant cannot navigate alone. Subsequently, the migrant is forced to resort to the services of smuggling networks, in order to successfully cross the border. Given the 'push' factors that encourage migrants to leave their home countries, and 'pull' factors like the demand for cheap labour, that draw migrants to western countries, there is now such a huge demand for the services of illegal smugglers that Miller and Castles deem it to be a 'migration industry' (2003:114). It becomes clear that the landmarks of progress that have marked the gradual evolution of a global world system have been accompanied by a plethora of unforeseen and unpredicted risks and new forms of crime and criminalization (Beck 1992).

Consequentially, the mobilities that free and de-bound civilians amongst wealthy western nations are the anti-thesis to the flows of illegal mobilities that facilitate illegal activities, such as human trafficking, smuggling and the illegal trade in human organs (Castells, 1998). Though the realms of both legal and illegal global mobilities may appear to be worlds apart, they are in fact branches that extend from the same tree, as both draw their power from the same distanciating and globalising mechanisms. This is particularly well illustrated when one considers the recurrent threats of terrorism that have generated a perpetual sense of fear and unease amongst the world's global cities (Deflem, 2004). This sense of fear is derived from the realisation that the historical conflicts between East and West can no longer be fought and negotiated at a distance, as trains, buses, and planes are vessels that simultaneously transport both the archetypal western consumer, and the potential suicide bomber (Hannerz, 1996). Subsequently, the policing of global flows of capital, goods and people of either a digital or physical nature, becomes implicitly difficult, as the legality and illegality of different acts is difficult to discern, amongst a global network of transnational connections, where the two are inherently intertwined.

Attempts to control global networks through the introduction of tighter border securitization are severely hindered as domestic economies are greatly dependent upon the translucent nature of borders, and the minimal restrictions that are placed upon the networks of tourists and capital that enter and leave the nation (Aas, 2005a). The border is designed to act like a membrane that allows 'good' global flows of capital and tourists in, but keeps 'bad' global flows like the transport of illegal goods and illegal immigrants out. The criminalization of 'good and bad' global networks is promoted by the governmental tendency to aggressively police certain global networks to a

greater degree than others (Bauman, 2000). Networks of capital remain largely unrestricted, facilitating the industrial scale laundering of vast sums of illegally accumulated capital that is re-invested within the legitimate economy. Yet, in sharp contrast, the policing of 'bad' mobilities has inspired a maelstrom of new forms of social controls that include; the militarization and securitization of borders that encase 'fortress continents', the use of heightened modes of surveillance including; 'bio-checks', 'biometric passports' (Lyon, 2003a: 72), and the introduction of tracking programs such as the 'Schengen Information System' (Franko Aas, 2006). All of these methods are designed to identify and isolate an unwanted 'other', or what Bauman labels as the 'global vagabond' (2000). The global vagabond is contrasted against the 'global tourist' who is welcome everywhere, and receives protection because of the capacity to be a productive consumer (Urry, 2002).

Despite the efforts that individual nation states have invested in the protection of domestic territorial boundaries, governments have appreciated that the arrival of drugs at customs gates, the growing numbers of illegal migrants that reside within a state, or the devastation that is caused by terrorist attacks, ultimately form symptomatic representations of a broader and potentially more harmful global criminogenic problem. Governments have acknowledged that the global causes of domestic problems can only be addressed by the widespread and concerted cooperation between nations. Subsequently, police forces have sought to internationalise investigations through cooperation with both transnational legal authorities such as the UN, and with police forces in other countries (Sheptycki, 2000a). These strategic alliances have paved the way for a new multi-cited form of policing that is competently able to track and follow the development and activities of criminal cartels, through information sharing between police forces in other nations. The UN is a highly valued source of intelligence, as it draws together and organises a comparative portrait of the seriousness of different forms of transnational crimes between states. Programmes published by the UN, like for example 'The Global Program Against Corruption', 'The Global Program Against the Trafficking in Human Beings', or 'The Program for Addressing Transnational Organised Crime Groups', consolidate the strategies and efforts of a collection of nations towards one common interest (Carrabine *et al.* 2009).

Whilst inter-state cooperation between both governments and police forces has continued to grow over the course of recent years, there is a growing tendency for a small and select group of states to form alliances that are designed to police transnational crime through warfare. The 'War on Terror' and the 'War on Drugs', are two lucid examples of military campaigns that form responses to a perpetual global threat to national security, that governments advocate is severe enough to warrant the holistic and aggressive

mobilization of the criminal justice system. Hence, the war against terror in Afghanistan is simultaneously a war against terrorism, and a war against the production and distribution of drugs to the western world. Policing through warfare is hugely controversial, as the political legitimacy of declaring war, and engaging in prolonged campaigns, has raised questions about the possible crimes that military forces commit, whilst engaging with perceived foreign threats. As these powerful states control the discourse of criminalization, and the legal differentiation between 'good' and 'bad' global networks and mobilities, there are serious concerns about how to criminalise and punish crimes committed by the state, and which authority could possibly have the power to impose such judgment (Findlay, 1999).

With these issues considered, it is clear that economic globalisation and the growth and expansion of networks and transnational flows have created a vast array of new ways in which crime, crime control and criminalization can be considered. However, as many commentators of globalisation have pointed out, globalisation is not something that solely occurs in a transient realm or 'space of flows', external to the nation state (Massey, 2005). Globalisation is a process which is intrinsically embedded within the intimate contexts of familiar domestic settings, within which distant and proximate social and cultural realities collide. Robertson conceptualises this synergy as the 'glocalisation' of national spaces (1996), as it is no longer possible to separate the local and global realms, as though they were two autonomous realities. Rather one must consider the complex ways in which the local and global are integrated within 'ethnoscapes' (Appadurai, 1996), characterised by a multiplicity of difference and diversity. Within 'glocal' spaces, especially global cities, the primacy of one identity, one set of national values, and one homogenous normative system, are fragmented and pluralized. It is now more appropriate to discuss modern identities in post-modern terms, as globalisation has fostered both a deep individualism, and consumerist identity, that call into question the idea of a nation defined by one collectively shared 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1986).

The fragmenting and diversifying nature of global processes has altered the fundamental characteristics of community life, social capital, and the bonds of solidarity which unify not only communities, but also unite larger populations across national horizons. It is increasingly difficult to discuss communities as homogenous enclaves of national citizens, who share a relatively consistent and stable body of social norms and values. In modern globalising realities, the nation is better characterised by a mosaic of communities, which are increasingly demarcated by their own distinct systems of cultural and social norms. On this basis, communities are not integrated to the same degree as they are segregated from one another. These social changes have lead to a revival and renaissance of classical criminological theories of social disorganization as pioneered by the Chicago

school. Even now, these theories retain the potential to explain how the depreciating power of social bonds and solidarities, within and between local communities, have a considerable impact upon increasing rates of deviance, especially amongst the young. As Sutherland (1924; 1934; 1939) stressed, the weakening of traditional modes of socialisation such as the family unit, and intimate communal networks, leads to a breakdown in the transmission of key values and modes of social control. These elements characterise a process that ultimately catalyses higher rates of deviance. Similarly, as Travis Hirschi (1969) explained, the social bonds and attachments that one comes to develop during childhood and adolescence, such as attachments to family and peers, a commitment to legitimate social behaviour, and the belief in a common system of values, increase the likelihood that an individual will not resort to criminal enterprise. Once these social bonds begin to loosen, an individual's 'stake in conformity' is potentially weakened, as there are fewer restraints, or controls upon the commission of an illegal act.

As Young (1999) explains, the forms of social cohesion that existed during the 'Golden Age' of the 1950s and 1960s endowed the actor with a certain degree of social integration within communities that were relatively stable. The level of value consensus that existed at this time facilitated a form of penal welfare that was built upon the principle of re-habilitating and reintegrating 'the deviant' back into the societal community. However, in the wake of pluralizing global forces and the proliferation of so many different forms of community, the introduction of welfare and policy reforms ultimately benefits some to the detriment of others. As a result, the tone of contemporary penology has changed to one that appears to have resigned to the reality that the inclusion and reintegration of the deviant, on a national level, is simply not possible. Rather, Young explains that; 'late modernity has generated both economic and ontological insecurity, a discontinuity of a personal and social narrative, and an exclusionary tendency towards the deviant' (Young cited in Franko Aas, 2006: 16). This exclusionary tendency is exemplified, within a new form of 'actuarial justice' (Feeley and Simon, 1992) that no longer adheres to the same integrative concerns of social welfare, and egalitarian priorities of the past. Rather, actuarial justice acts to isolate and segregate particular populations that pose the greatest risk to the social order, so that they may be managed and contained. The deviant is now considered to be beyond inclusion, or reintegration, and the result is the rise of mass imprisonment, within what Bauman calls 'factories of immobility'. Factories of immobility are not concerned with re-education, but simply with the 'advanced marginalisation' (Wacquant, 1999) of 'dangerous' populations where they may be kept static and contained.

These excluded populations become the focus of blame for a range of social problems that globalisation encourages; and as these problems have no clear line of causation, these groups act as 'lightning rods for the invisible threats

that are inaccessible to direct action' (Beck 1992: 75). The invisible threats that global processes produce invoke a sense of fear that precedes a cultural essentialism that has generated an increase in race related hate crimes against ethnic minorities in recent years. As Loader and Sparks explain; it is 'precisely under globalising conditions that people's sense of place and the differences between 'here/there', 'inside/outside', 'us and them' takes on renewed force (2002: 104). Both the excluded native deviant, and the stereo-typical 'deviant immigrant', are symbolic representations of a newly aggressive mode of delimiting and reaffirming the fragile and changing socio-cultural values of contemporary societies. Within what Garland terms the 'Criminology of the Other' (2001a), the classification of deviants as 'beyond re-habilitation', inherently underscores that the deviant and the law abiding individual are fundamentally different entities, unfamiliar to one another and diametrically opposed. As globalisation erodes national solidarities and one dominant national identity, Garland stresses that the criminalization of a deviant other, effectively functions as a mode of reasserting and strengthening social bonds, as moral panics create a fervour of collective support for the introduction of increasingly punitive measures to resist the unpredictable threats posed by the 'deviant other' with any force necessary.

In conclusion, the forces and processes which accompany globalisation have reconstituted the way in which crime, criminalization and crime control can be understood, both within the familiar context of local national communities, and within and throughout a wider global world system. As the preceding discussions demonstrate, it is important to appreciate the multi-faceted anatomy of globalisation, in order to understand how globalisation is at once both an economic and socio-cultural process. Both of these dimensions are causally significant and promote new forms of crime and deviance by virtue of the new opportunities for crime that reside within global networks and flows, the newly severe inequalities within a global economic system which leaves 'failed states' few other options, or within the fragmenting and pluralizing core of contemporary 'cosmopolitan' communities.

Each of these 'portraits' of globalisation are not only intertwined with a particular form of globally orientated crime, but they also have different implications for both criminalization and crime control. As nations continue to progress through a process of global change and transition, characterised by the continual negotiation of cultural and social boundaries, between and within nations, fear and uncertainty have created a tendency to criminalize global crimes using dichotomies such as 'good' and 'bad' mobilities, or the distinction between the excluded 'deviant other' (Young 1999; Garland 2001a) and the 'dangerous immigrant'. These political responses to perceived global threats actively perpetuate discrimination and marginalization, potentially worsening the problems that they seek to remedy. It is now

fundamentally important to carefully consider how globalisation has reconstituted the form and causes of deviance, in order to inform and guide the construction of future crime control strategies. Thus far, global crime control measures have advanced considerably as police cooperation on a transnational level has developed in harmony with UN guided strategies. However, within the national framework, much still needs to be done in order to construct strategies of crime control that avoid exclusionary measures, and that are competently able to manage the challenges that manifest in newly diverse and pluralized local communities (Findlay, 1999). These strategies can only be forged through a simultaneous consideration of the global causes of local forms of social disorder and deviance, and the consideration of how these causal factors change and reconstitute the applicability, efficacy and appropriateness of theories of criminology which fail to look beyond national boundaries and back again

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Order versus Nihilism: Joseph Glover Baldwin and the Projection of Whig Sympathies into the Body of Southwestern Humour

Hamada Kassam

ABSTRACT:

Southwestern humour is an exuberant body of writing which emerged in the literature of the American South in the early 1830s and fell a casualty to the Civil War. Its emergence was generated by a multiplicity of social and political changes, mainly the westward movement of the Southern frontier and the fact that the South, as a collective entity, was becoming increasingly conscious of itself and its social institutions, particularly slavery. Following the establishment of the Democratic party by Andrew Jackson in the second half of the 1820s, the South started to be under increasing pressure regarding slavery. Trying to avenge himself against an alleged "dirty bargain" which saw him lose the 1824 presidential elections, Jackson, a Tennessee slaveholder and national hero who had successfully fought the British, the Indians and the Spanish, shrewdly promoted himself as a supporter of the common man. He led Jacksonian Democracy, which won him the following race for the White House.

With the help of his "Kitchen Cabinet," Jackson devised a plan to democratise capital. By doing so, he wanted to respond to the "aristocratic parasites" who accused him and his wife of lechery. He replaced gold and silver currencies with rags (paper money), withdrew the federal funds from the Central Bank of the United States and deposited them in various state banks, mainly under the direction of supporting Democratic bankers. His controversial financial actions destabilised the national economy and disrupted the harmony of traditional social values all over America after raw inflation had taken hold and furnished a fertile ground for speculation, larceny and a full tide of litigation. Consequently, Southern aristocrats and planters supported Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, who decided to form an opposition and organised the Whig party in 1834 in order to fight what they called the "tyranny" of "King Andrew I" and his "unconstitutional behavior." The conflict between the Whigs and Democrats, which sharply escalated in 1837 as the country started to suffer a severe economic depression, reached fever pitch in the early 1850s and culminated in the Civil War.

This essay examines the work of one Southwestern humorist who embraced Southern Whiggery, Joseph G. Baldwin. An old-fashioned Virginian lawyer, Baldwin migrated to the Old Southwest in pursuit of fortune and became an Alabama planter by marriage and proslavery Whig. He wrote his books in the early 1850s in an attempt to exert influence on public matters and shout for his disintegrating party's defence of slavery and obsession with order. His gentlemanly writing style, content and arrangement of sketches can be seen as Whiggish devices employed to fictively impose order on the 1830s and '40s lawless Mississippi and Alabama frontiers. However, on a deeper level, they constitute the waning politician's last plea for striking a national compromise between the conflicting parties one decade before the Civil War.

The author of *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*,[1] Joseph Glover Baldwin (1815-1864), has long been underrated and considered "an overlooked personality in Southern life" (Farish 1935, p.41), despite the fact that he was a very successful jurist and *the* most accomplished figure in the literary school of Southwestern humour. The truth remains that none of the Southwestern humorists, and possibly nineteenth-century American writers, was a more avid reader or more consciously literary than Baldwin. Although the vast majority of the Southwestern humorists embraced in the 1830s and '40s the recently established Whig party in order to oppose Jacksonian Democracy, none of them surpassed Baldwin in defending Southern Whiggery and its support of slavery and obsession with order. None of his fellow humorists showed more clearly the hybrid nature of Southwestern humour – Baldwin always mixed humour, journalism, social history, personal nostalgia, memoir, law life, literature, essay, and frontier tall tale. He focussed more on stylistic attributes to be found in the eighteenth-century British essay and in Washington Irving, such as the gentlemanly style which employs an encyclopaedic knowledge, a moral, patronising tone, and a pedantic language full of references and allusions to a diversity of real and literary characters. On no other occasion in his masterpiece *Flush Times* is this more obvious than in the introductory paragraph of the first sketch, "Ovid Bolus, Esq., Attorney at Law and Solicitor in Chancery":

> And what history of that halcyon period, ranging from the year of Grace, 1835, to 1837; that golden era, when shinplasters were the sole currency; when bank-bills were "as thick as Autumn leaves in Vallambrosa," and credit was a franchise,—what history of those times would be complete, that left out the name of Ovid Bolus? As

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[1] Baldwin, J. G. (1853). *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi; A Series of Sketches*. New York: D. Appleton and Company. The edition used in this essay is (1987). Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, which contains a significant "Introduction" and "Notes" by James H. Justus. Subsequent references will indicate *Flush Times* in the text.

well write the biography of Prince Hal, and forebear all mention of Falstaff. In law phrase, the thing would be a "deed without a name," and void; a most unpardonable *casus omissus* [case of omission] (Baldwin 1987, p.1, Baldwin's italics).

"Flush Times" is a phrase coined by Baldwin himself in reference to the "general spirit of speculation and the conduct of business on credit in the years just *prior* to the national economic collapse of 1837" (Justus 1987, p.xxv). The entertaining description of the "Flush Times" era (1835-1837), besides the early comparison between Ovid Bolus and Shakespeare's comic character Falstaff, creates a humorous, albeit gentlemanly, tone. It also generates a nostalgic impulse which, deriving power from the narrator's obvious monetary interest in the period, sets itself strongly against the more serious impulse of narrating social history. In *Flush Times*, Baldwin uses the services of an authorial persona as genteel narrator and social historian. Through this fictive persona, Baldwin extensively employs and tirelessly sells his encyclopaedic knowledge of history, law, literature and languages. He occasionally uses legal Latin in an attempt to indicate his aristocratic Virginian background and legal education, and prove his membership of the Alabama plantation class to which the freshly licensed lawyer lifted himself shortly after migrating from Virginia in 1835 to the rawer Old Southwest. It was the allure of fortune that drew the twenty-year-old to the recently opened areas on both sides of the Mississippi River, then known as the "Southwest."

Baldwin was only twenty-one when he first showed an interest in politics and delivered his first speech in support of the Whig party, which was organised by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster in 1834 to oppose the controversial economic practices of Democratic President Andrew Jackson (Watson 1992, p.259). Baldwin's marriage in 1840 to the daughter of a noted Alabama judge and planter was actually a cleverly taken step that lifted him to the plantation class, established him as a respected attorney, and got him elected as a Whig member of Alabama legislature in 1843. The political recognition he received continued to be local until he was elected a delegate to the Whig National Convention of 1848, which met in Philadelphia to name the Whig candidate for the presidency. Although Baldwin left Alabama with Henry Clay in mind, he and other Alabama delegates eventually changed their minds and voted for Zachary Taylor, due to reasons of expediency and availability. The all-of-a-sudden "fully *whigged*" Taylor won the South the presidential elections of 1849 (McMillan 1959, p.370). The honour Baldwin received from his delegation increased his Whig prestige, and in 1849 he was nominated the Whig candidate for Congress.[2] However, his

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[2] The Mobile *Weekly Advertiser*. (1849). June 12th, as cited by McMillan (1959, p.367) said of Baldwin: "Mr. Baldwin is one of the first men of his age in the State. Shrewd, intelligent, and powerful in debate … We rejoice at his nomination and trust he may be elected. No man in this State is more worthy of a seat in

loss to his Democratic opponent by only a narrow margin disheartened him a great deal and proved to be *the* turning point in his personal life and professional career. He could not easily reconcile himself to his first political disappointment, which was amplified by Taylor's death after one year in service. Baldwin's consequent actions were marred by instability, rashness and lack of concentration. In 1850 he dissolved a fourteen-year successfully running partnership, drawn by a more lucrative one. Dissolving partnerships became a pattern in 1853, one year before Baldwin permanently left Alabama for California, following the outbreak of the Kansas-Nebraska conflict which instantly resulted in the disintegration of the Whig party. It should be emphasised, however, that Baldwin had been trying between 1850 and 1853 to compose himself and consciously deal with his Congressional loss as the end of his political career in Alabama. He did not manage to do so until he eventually decided to find other mediums through which he could exert influence on public matters and continue promoting himself as a fervent defender of Southern Whiggery. He realised that nothing would better serve his purpose than reaching the peak of his legal profession – to which he now devoted all his time – and reviving his interest in writing, a pastime he had adjourned fifteen years before.

Baldwin did have a quick and decent return to writing although he wrote "in haste, under the pressure of professional engagements and amidst constant interruptions" (Baldwin 1987, p.vi).[3] He did not bother to look for subject matter because the chaotic Flush Times, which he had experienced firsthand upon his arrival on the Southern frontier fourteen years before, had all but passed, consequently lending themselves to Whig analysis and agenda. Desiring that their memories not be lost and aspiring to be "the Macaulay of his age" (Current-Garcia 1952, p.123),[4] Baldwin decided to recreate the moment in writing, motivated by his Whig sympathies, personal nostalgia, and the interest of a social historian who adopted the republican belief that history is the great source of political wisdom (Grammer 1993, pp.10-11). Thus, in 1850 he began to pen his experiences in the legal profession as humorous autobiographical and pseudo-biographical sketches, historical essays, short anecdotes, and serious biographical essays on leading Whig politicians. Seventeen of these items were among the twenty-six pieces collected in *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*, a hodgepodge now considered "the most heterogeneous single work of Southwestern humor [which] documents the fitful and often futile attempts of lawyers and, to a

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Congress than 'Joe Baldwin.'" See also Garrett, W. (1872). *Reminiscences of the Public Men in Alabama for Thirty Years*. Atlanta.

[3] The context is a sneaking apology Baldwin made in his "Preface" to *Flush Times* for not having enough time or opportunity to correct and revise "many errors and imperfections of his work."

[4] This description was made in a letter which Baldwin's brother and biographer Cornelius sent from New York City to Baldwin's wife, dated 21 July 1854.

The reference here is to Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1st Baron Macaulay (1800-1859). For more information, see "Notes to the essay" at the end.

lesser extent, politicians to impose order upon a chaotic frontier" (Flora & Mackethan 2002, p.847). *Flush Times* ended up the most richly textured volume and the last significant example of the Whig manner in Southwestern humour. The memoir truly deserved to have been considered a classic a few decades after its publication.

In the course of writing *Flush Times*, Baldwin accumulated huge debts and held fictive dialogues with his proslavery Whig fellows in Southwestern humour. By building on their numerous and various literary efforts and consciously altering them in a way that involved his legal perspective and Republican vision, Baldwin endeavoured to avoid being classified as another rollicking frontier humorist. This is manifest in his historical and nostalgic motifs, his moralistic tone, his self-satire and comedy of frustration, his opening up to the vernacular, his pecuniary interest in the "Flush Times," his fanaticism about slavery, and his comic depiction and treatment of the Old Southwest as a social and legal circus. In attempting to capture the idiosyncrasies of a region undergoing the toilsome transformation from mayhem to civilisation, Baldwin produced a riveting memoir of a lawless and colourful era in American history, painting a "gallery of daubs" (Baldwin 1987, p.284): dishonest lawyers, unlettered judges, incompetent prosecutors and ruthless confidence men. He also raised intriguing questions of identity and verisimilitude, which enhanced the book's immediate appeal. It remains true that the popularity of the collection is mainly attributable to the success of the authorial narrator, who undoubtedly has the most complex and powerful presence in *Flush Times*. His elegance and sophisticated allusiveness, besides the moral transformation he achieves by the middle of the book, serve as a kind of redemption for the "Flush Times" and his dubious involvement in it. It is interesting to observe how Baldwin introduces and treats his authorial persona. In the pseudo-biographical sketch "My First Appearance at the Bar," Baldwin's persona, who is shown as an enthusiastic young lawyer, draws himself as a butt of court humour and is meaningfully introduced at the end of the sketch as a sugar planter named J.C.R. (Baldwin 1987, p.46), a set of initials Baldwin never accounted for. He concludes the sketch by describing with tongue in cheek how he reluctantly started taking part in the collective chaos, following an irrelevant embarrassing situation in court, which revealed his dubious involvement in writing a love poem and sending it to a sweetheart.[5]

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[5] Baldwin's persona says:

> Reader! I eschewed *genius* from that day. I took to accounts; … got me a green bag and stuffed it full of old newspapers, carefully folded and labelled; read law, to fit imaginary cases, … dunned one of the wealthiest men in the city for fifty cents; sold out a widow for a twenty dollar debt, and bought in her things myself, publicly (and gave them back to her secretly, afterwards) … looked wise and shook my head when I was consulted, and passed for a "powerful good judge of law;" confirmed the opinion by reading, in court, all the books and papers I could lay my hands on, and clearing out the court-house by hum-drum details, commonplace and statistics, whenever I made a speech at the bar—and thus, by this course

It was in 1852 that Baldwin sent to the prestigious magazine *Southern Literary Messenger* his first sketch, which he made the opening sketch in *Flush Times* a year later, "Ovid Bolus, Esq., Attorney at Law and Solicitor in Chancery." The title character is introduced as a handsome lawyer who had many vices, but the leading one that gained him most notoriety was the fact that he "was a natural liar, just as some horses are natural pacers, and some dogs natural setters" (Baldwin 1987, p.3). Bolus, the Whiggish persona/historian continues, was a "great *Ly*ric artist" (Baldwin 1987, p.14), who lived and moved in a sphere of poetry and "had long since settled all disputes with *his* conscience … A lie never ran away with him, as it is apt to do with young performers: he could always manage and guide it; and to have seen him fairly mounted, would have given you some idea of the polished elegance of D'Orsay, and the superb *ménage* of Murat" (Baldwin 1987, p.15). Clearly, Bolus's lying is dignified by contrasting him to young passable liars and, more importantly, bestowing elegance on his art via connections made to widely celebrated artists.

"Ovid Bolus" is the best chosen name for the best-known and most versatile character Baldwin ever created in *Flush Times*. The forename is a conscious allusion to the Roman poet Ovid – an attempt to establish that this quintessential fraud is a master of metamorphoses. The surname, which implies a throw of the dice in Latin, conjoins verbal excess (hyperbole), gambling and speculation (Schmitz 1977, pp.473-4).[6] Although Baldwin's is a didactic form of humour, his authorial persona regards his dangerous con artist humorously. The narrator is not only hideously fascinated by the financial boom of "Flush Times" but also charmed by Bolus's artistry. However, at one point in the sketch, the prevailing humorous tone of admiration suddenly turns into one of scorn and moralising which, though conveyed under a veil of humour, succeeds in anticipating a moral ending to the sketch. This is when the narrator relates an incident in which Bolus stole a tract of land worth $1600 merely by means of law and without employing his genius.[7] Despite this volcanic moral eruption, Baldwin's narrator continues to regard this frontier liar with ambivalence because the likes of

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of things, am able to write from *my sugar plantation*, this memorable history of the fall of *genius* and the rise of solemn humbug! J.C.R. (Baldwin 1987, pp.45-6, Baldwin's italics)

[6] The narrator makes it clear that Bolus was an established gambler, who used to get people to play by giving them the chance to win at the beginning (Baldwin 1987, pp.8-9).

[7] The narrator says:

One thing in Ovid I can never forgive. This was his coming it over Ben O. I don't object to it on the score of the swindle. That was to have been expected. But swindling Ben was degrading the dignity of the art. True, it illustrated the universality of his science, but it lowered it to a beggarly process of mean deception. There was no skill in it. It was little better than crude larceny. A child could have done it; it had as well been done to a child. Fie! Bolus, Monroe Edwards[7] wouldn't have done that. He would sooner have sunk down to the level of some honest calling for a living, than have put his profession to so mean a shift (Baldwin 1987, pp.10-11).

Bolus had to lie in order to vanquish the cruel reality of existence which marked the early days on the frontier (Schmitz 1977, pp.474, 478). On one occasion, he subconsciously attempts to do Bolus some justice.[8] Baldwin's humorous treatment of Bolus is largely a cover for his emotional engagement; the writer sympathises with his character and still remembers how shrewdness was a prerequisite to live in the "Flush Times" society.

We are told that despite all his vices, Bolus always succeeded in drawing the new country's loose population around him "as the magnet draws iron fillings" (Baldwin 1987, p.7). This is because his lying is not only lingual; he acts lies as well, taking advantage of his charming figure, striking conviviality, fluent diction, humour, shrewdness, Homer- and Ariel-like ubiquity,[9] and free-handed manner, which impress the population "as the bounty of Caesar the loafing commonalty of Rome" (Baldwin 1987, p.7). Nothing, the Whiggish authorial voice continues – beginning to intimate solutions – could stop Bolus from having golden days in the so-called 'society' around him:

> What pious joy it gave him to see the days of the good Samaritan return, and the hard hand of avarice relax its grasp on land and negroes, pork and clothes, beneath the soft speeches and kind promises of future rewards—blending in the act the three cardinal virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity; while, in the result, the chief of these three was *Charity!* (Baldwin 1987, p.5)

Baldwin's intricate, richly decorated style enables him to construct the sketch skilfully and draw Bolus as a very complex character, a medium which is cleverly and carefully charged with a multiplicity of symbolic, historical, religious and political significances. Metaphorically speaking, Bolus is intended to stand for the figure of Raw Inflation which took hold of the national economy prior and during the "Flush Times" and subsequently led to the financial panic of 1837, which made the nation suffer a severe economic depression. This was the result of the controversial fiscal actions President Andrew Jackson executed during his two terms (1829-1837). The Whigs, as Baldwin attempts to demonstrate in *Flush Times*, were particularly incensed by Jackson's decision to "*democratize* capital" (Baldwin 1987, p.82) by replacing gold and silver currencies with rags (paper money) and placing

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[8] Baldwin's narrator says:
> Dickens and Bulwer can do as much lying, for money too, as they choose, and no one blame them, any more than they would blame a lawyer regularly *fee'd* to do it; but let any man, gifted with the same genius, try his hand at it, not deliberately and in writing, but merely orally, and ugly names are given him, and he is proscribed! Bolus heroically suppressed exultation over the victories his lies achieved (Baldwin 1987, pp.17-18).

[9] The narrator says, "Ovid had already possessed the faculty of ubiquity. He had been born in more places than Homer. In an hour's discourse, *he* would, with more than the speed of Ariel, travel at every point of the compass" (Baldwin 1987, p.8).

federal funds in the vaults of so-called pet banks, mainly under the direction of Democratic bankers, rather than with the more reliable Bank of the United States.[10]   Jackson also launched, in 1832, a forceful war against the Second Bank of the United States, which he accused of servicing the "aristocratic parasites" only.

Baldwin, who shared with many contemporary historians and politicians the belief that the actual effect of President Jackson's banking policy was to destabilise the nation's currency and to provide help and comfort to bankers friendly to Jackson, soon embraced the Whig party, which formed in 1834 in order to fight what Henry Clay and his followers called the "tyranny" of "King Andrew I" and his unconstitutional behaviour.   Jackson did remove the federal deposits from the Central Bank and distribute them in various state banks.   By doing so, he broke forever the periodic solidity and careful balance, and disrupted the harmony of traditional social values all over America after Raw Inflation had taken hold and furnished a fertile ground for speculation, fraud and a full tide of litigation (Schmitz 1977, pp.474-5). Thus, somewhere between 1835 and 1837, the Jacksonian mistake/lie as Baldwin and others saw it, created Ovid Bolus, who symbolises not only Jacksonian Inflation but also the existence of numerous parties in the 1830s and the tragic impact this had had on 1850s America.

Schmitz (1977, p.474) has rightly argued that although Baldwin was harshly critical of Jacksonian politics, he appears to have been seduced by the very things he condemns in the sketch: flushed prose, flush times, the Jacksonian mistake and the lie.   Baldwin does look divided against himself in attacking Jacksonian inflation; his language appears to be lenient to some extent. However, he never takes in his book a conciliatory line toward the figure of Jackson and the Abolitionist North.   Following his Whig fellow in Southwestern humour Johnson Jones Hooper, Baldwin establishes connections between his confidence man's fornication and Jackson's conduct, so that Bolus's lying be seen as the epitome of Jacksonian speech (Schmitz 1977, p.478).   First, he uses Bolus to mock the North for its relentless support of the Abolitionist movement.   Baldwin's narrator says, "[Bolus's] bills at the groceries were as long as John Q. Adams' Abolition petition, or, if pasted together, would have matched the great Chartist memorial" (Baldwin 1987, pp.7-8).   In the same context, the only time Bolus is seen to be genuine about something is when the Whiggish narrator recounts an incident in which Bolus truly demonstrated a profound, unmoved loyalty to the Southern Cause.   We are told that Bolus once courted a girl whom he wanted to marry but broke up the match when her father, an old sea captain from Boston, Massachusetts, insisted on Bolus's setting his slaves free and taking five thousand dollars apiece for the loss.   But

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[10] Anon. (2001). Jackson, Andrew. In: Menon, L. (ed.) *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, The World English Edition*. Volume 1 [CD-ROM] Redmond: Microsoft Corporation.

"Bolus's love for the 'peculiar institution' wouldn't stand it. Rather than submit to such degradation, Ovid broke off the match, and left Sallie broken-hearted" (Baldwin 1987, p.10). It should be emphasised that Baldwin was similar to Hooper in being a proslavery Whig and planter, who thought of slavery as a prerequisite to maintain order in what both writers saw as a feudal society in the South.

Baldwin's forceful diatribe against Jackson climaxes in "Ovid Bolus" when the Whiggish persona ironically elevates Bolus to the prestigious national level to which Jackson had risen after successfully fighting the British, the Indians and the Spanish. Bolus, we are told, established himself in national and international politics and conflicts: "The Florida war and the Texas Revolution, had each furnished a brilliant theatre for Ovid's chivalrous emprise ... He was intimate with all the nobilities of the political circles" (Baldwin 1987, pp.9-10). Having endowed Bolus with Jackson's national celebrity, Baldwin starts to treat his elevated character as Jackson's peer. As a result, Bolus's lies are successfully juxtaposed with Jackson's and his deputy Martin Van Buren's conduct. In other words, Baldwin is attempting to spotlight the basis on which Jacksonian Democracy was engineered and founded. In what can be seen as the climactic incident in the sketch, Bolus is shown to have visited Cuba and fallen in love with Jackson's niece after he had been invited by her brother, an intimate friend whom Bolus had met at a Kentucky Catholic college and whose life he had saved from a mob in Louisville. The careful reader soon realises that the actual purpose of sending Bolus to Cuba is to establish a connection between Bolus's art and Jacksonian Democracy in order to denote the falsity of Jackson's and Van Buren's Democratic pretensions:

> There was a history to the commonest articles about [Bolus]: that book was given him by Mr. Van Buren—the walking stick was a present from Gen. Jackson ... the cigars, not too fragrant, were a box sent him by a schoolmate from Cuba, in 1834—*before* he visited the Island ... The Don had a sister of blooming sixteen, the least of whose charms was two or three coffee plantations, some hundreds of slaves, and a suitable garnish of doubloons, accumulated during her minority, in the hands of her uncle and guardian, the Captain General (Baldwin 1987, pp.11-12).

Bolus is then tactfully brought to the scene to reveal the truths which the Democratic politicians had hidden from the nation in being slaveholders and launching needless wars in the name of national security.[11] In a similar way,

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[11] Schmitz (1977, p.479) argues:

Baldwin is brutally specific in attacking this lie. It is the felonious (symbolic) possession of Alabama and Mississippi by the dictate of paper that does such violence to the land, sends whole nations of Indians "howling into the Western wilderness to the friendly agency of some sheltering Suggs duly empowered to receive their coming annuities and back rations" and opens a consternating chasm between what is and what is said. But tall talk, the pursuit

when Bolus suddenly puts an end to his quickly developing relationship with Jackson's niece by pretending to be a passionate Protestant who is never willing to convert to Catholicism, he echoes Jackson's pretension in being a Democrat who could never be a slaveholder. The connection is achieved skilfully by Baldwin, who cleverly hides his satire on Jackson and Van Buren under the cover of a tale about love and courtship in Cuba, which is in itself another attack on Democratic expansionism.

Having fulfilled his political agenda in bringing Bolus face-to-face against Jackson in Cuba, the Whig writer realises the necessity of taking immediate action against Bolus, who remains a dire threat to the increasing stability in the frontier society. Baldwin seems to have strained and taken great pains to find a stylistic way that could enable him to symbolically impose order upon the chaotic Mississippi and Alabama frontiers and inventively loosen, to some extent, the tie of admiration that has occasionally brought his narrator so close to Bolus. It should not be forgotten that in addition to being a planter and Whig politician, Baldwin was, by the time he wrote the sketch, a very successful lawyer, for whom it was very necessary to maintain order and punish such hopeless flouters as Bolus. It is, then, not strange that Baldwin finally chooses to intensify and artistically blend his Whiggish tone and moral sensibility, and project into the sketch his legal verdict. This explains why toward the end of the sketch moral/Whiggish statements suddenly exist in profusion, gaining dominance over the humorous tone of admiration. For example, the Whiggish historian records that no matter how dull and lazy people are anywhere, they are destined to get sharp enough after a while "to whatever concerns their bread and butter" (Baldwin 1987, p.18). Given this and the fact that Bolus continues to violate natural and moral laws, his art, we are eventually advised, was destined to be discovered, although the handsome lawyer was never "destitute of the tame virtue of prudence" (Baldwin 1987, p.13).[12]

In revealing the reality about Bolus's art, Baldwin sets the stage for himself to pose as a judge of law and deliver his verdict, which entails banishing outlaws the likes of Bolus as remotely as possible from every society striving for order. This judicial treatment becomes a pattern in the book when Baldwin arrives at the same verdict in another sketch depicting the nihilistic life and

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of a lie under difficulties, is in some sense a commentary on this lie, a magnification of an already inflated tale.

[12] The narrator says:

Alas! for the beautiful things of Earth, its flowers, its sunsets—its lovely girls—its lies—brief and fleeting are their date. Lying is a very delicate accomplishment. It must be tenderly cared for, and jealousy guarded. It must not be overworked. Bolus forgot this salutary caution … The denizens of this degenerate age, had not the disinterestedness of Prince Hall, who cared not how many fed at his cost;" they got tired, at last, of promises to pay. The credit system, common before as pump-water, … began to take the worldly wisdom of Falstaff's mercer, and ask security; and security liked something more substantial than plausible promises (Baldwin 1987, p.18).

adventures of a more wicked con artist, "Simon Suggs, Jr., Esq.; A LEGAL BIOGRAPHY." Given Baldwin's involvement in the judicial system, it seems appropriate that he concludes his sketches by sending such unmanageable characters away to unmanageable frontier places – Bolus is banished to the foot of San Seba mountains, and Suggs Jr. to Rackinsack, Arkansas, which is described in the 1853-set sketch as "a community of litigants" and "bright land, of murders and felonies innumerable" (Baldwin 1987, pp.132-3). However, Baldwin's humorous indulgence and nostalgic tone help give the impression that it is Bolus and Suggs Jr. who have decided on their voluntary exile. The writer's irony suddenly sharpens toward the end of "Ovid Bolus," but he simultaneously endeavours and succeeds in sustaining the decorum of the sketch. His mocking farewell to Bolus involves another effort at mythicising the confidence man, who is likened to Charles II in being polite and considerate about the feelings of his friends, whom he spared the pain of a parting interview (Baldwin 1987, p.19).

It is ironic that Baldwin was totally marginalised, while Bolus became the centre of literary and critical attention. Nevertheless, the concluding paragraph of "Ovid Bolus," which carries equal weight with the opening one, reminds us of the established writer Baldwin was, knitting together his moral and lawyerly sensibility, proslavery Whig sympathies, nostalgic and historical impulses, didactic humour and encyclopaedic knowledge of history and literature:

> Poor Ben, whom [Bolus] had honoured with the last marks of his confidence, can scarcely speak of him to this day, without tears in his eyes. Far away toward the setting sun he hied him, until, at last, with a hermit's disgust at the degradation of the world, like Ignatius[13] turned monk, he pitched his tabernacle amidst the smiling prairies that sleep in vernal beauty, in the shadow of the San Seba mountains. There let his mighty genius rest. It has earned repose. We leave Themistocles[14] to his voluntary exile (Baldwin 1987, p.19).

The gentlemanly style, content, language and judicial treatment which Baldwin employs and demonstrates in "Ovid Bolus" and subsequent sketches in *Flush Times* can be thus seen as Whiggish techniques employed to fictively impose order on the 1830s and '40s chaotic Mississippi and Alabama frontiers. However, on a deeper level, they constitute the waning politician's last plea for striking a national compromise between the conflicting Democratic and Whig parties ten years before the Civil War. The conflicted, heterogeneous sketches we are offered by Baldwin's narrator in *Flush Times* denote the author's unusual eloquence and uncommon subtlety of mind.

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[13] For information on St Ignatius of Loyola (Spanish Inigo de Oñez y Loyola) (1491-1556), see "Notes to the essay" at the end.

[14] For information on Themistocles (527?-460? bc), see "Notes to the essay" at the end.

Not only did they capture the anxiety felt by many sons of the plantation class in the "Flush Times;"[15] they also brought together many traditional subjects of Southwestern humour. In "Memoir of Jo G. Baldwin," Cornelius wrote that had his brother lived another decade, he would have documented the Civil War.[16]

To conclude, *Flush Times* is meant to express a serious message through the device of humour; it is only ostensibly a humorous description of legal and financial conditions on the frontier. The imminent crisis of the Union was very much on Baldwin's mind whilst writing his 1853 book. Thus, by attempting to fictively create a stable, orderly society in the 1830s and '40s Alabama and Mississippi frontiers, the Whig author was calling for self-control in the early 1850s and making an urgent plea for national pacification at such a pressing time in American history. To achieve this, he applied his Whiggish viewpoint to these humorous accounts, "placed his faith in the well-to-do gentleman, a pillar of law and order, rather than in the unruly common man" (Watson 1992, p.259), and underscored the vital part which social institutions (family, church and school) could play in inculcating order. Moreover, he posed as a judge of law, employing a motif of exile, a just punishment for the violators of order, and repeatedly hailing the containment of social anarchy in Tennessee and Alabama. It is crystal clear that Baldwin firmly believed in the power of classical language to construct a strong argument, to define and determine the nature of things

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[15] This sense of anxiety and restlessness is strongly felt in the conflicting comments which the Whiggish narrator/planter (J.C.R.) makes about the period throughout the book. For example, the "Flush Times," which is described as "jolly times" in "The Bench and the Bar" (Baldwin 1987, p.52) and as an "abundant harvest" in "The Bar of the South-West" (Baldwin 1987, p.239), paradoxically becomes "the reign of humbug, and wholesale insanity" in "How the Times Served the Virginians" (Baldwin 1987, p.91) and a period that unjustifiably furnished a "criminal docket" as illustrated in "The Bar of the South-West." In the latter sketch, J.C.R. becomes his creator's mouthpiece when the Whig author/judge ventures into one of his most volcanic moral eruptions in the entire book:

> What country could boast more largely of its crimes? What more splendid role of felonies! What more terrific murders! What more gorgeous bank robberies! What more magnificent operations in the land offices! Such McGregor-like levies of black mail, individual and corporate! Such superb forays on the treasuries, State and National! Such expert transfers of balances to undiscovered bournes! Such august defalcations! Such flourishes of rhetoric on ledgers auspicious of gold which had departed for ever from the vault! And in INDIAN affairs!—the very mention is suggestive of the poetry of the theft—the romance of a wild and weird larceny! What sublime conceptions of super-Spartan roguery! Swindling Indians by the nation! (*Spirit of Falstaff, rap!*) Stealing their land by the township! (*Dick Turpin and Jonathan Wild! tip the table!*) Conducting the nation to the Mississippi river, stripping them to the flap, and bidding them God speed as they went howling into the Western wilderness to the friendly agency of some sheltering Suggs duly empowered to receive their coming annuities and back rations! What's Hounslow heath to this? What Carvajal? Who Count Boulbon? (Baldwin 1987, p.238).

[16] As cited in (Current-Garcia 1952, p.141), Cornelius wrote in his unfinished "Memoir":

> And had [Baldwin] lived, what better subject could he have desired for his philosophic mind and graphic pen than the tremendous war between the United States and the Confederate States, in its causes and its consequences, not yet half-developed, with its grand battles and romantic episodes, and with our illustrious chieftans, Davis, Lee, Jackson, Johnson, Stuart, as central figures?

and to question and establish the facts, but this belief is "at once everywhere stated and dismayed" (Schmitz 1977, p.478) due to his ambivalence about what he was writing about. He largely succeeded in recording the victory of civilised society over disorder, yet that success was not unambiguous because his persona – and subsequently Baldwin himself – appear to have been tempted by the financial chaos which Jackson's "mistake/lie" had brought about.

Notes to the essay:

1 - Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1st Baron Macaulay (1800-1859): British historian, essayist and statesman, best remembered for his five-volume *The History of England.* Macaulay's vast wealth of material, his use of vivid details and his brilliant, rhetorical, narrative style combined to make the *History* one of the greatest literary works of the 19th century, though criticised for its Protestant and Whig bias.[17]

2 - Monroe Edwards (1808-1847): an accomplished Texas slave smuggler, forger and swindler. He became involved in smuggling slaves to Brazil from Africa and soon made a profit of $50,000. Through his mistress's husband, a Mexican official, he obtained a large land grant in Brazoria County. He called his property Chenango Plantation and used it as a base for continued slave smuggling to Texas from Cuba. Christopher Dart, who later bought a half interest in Chenango, also joined Edwards in financing the smuggling of slaves. On March 2, 1836, Edwards took about 171 slaves up the Brazos River and drove them overland to Chenango, where they were to be kept for sale after the Texas Revolution ended. When Dart began pressuring him to sell the slaves and split the profits as they had agreed, Edwards conceived a different plan. He altered a letter signed by Dart so that it seemed to be a bill of sale to himself. Dart, of course, cried foul, and filed a civil suit. Although Edwards retained two distinguished lawyers, the forgery was discovered during the trial in Brazoria. Dart obtained judgment in 1840 for more than $89,000 plus interest and court costs. In addition, Edwards was indicted and jailed. After making bond on the criminal charge, Edwards fled to Europe, where he posed as a wealthy veteran of San Jacinto and an abolitionist. He left Europe after a threat of exposure by the Texas envoy to England and returned to the United States, where he engaged in several large-scale forgeries. He was finally arrested and placed in the Tombs prison in New York. His trial was a celebrated one, with lengthy reports of each day's testimony printed in the New York *Daily Tribune* and other newspapers. Edwards again retained celebrated lawyers but was found guilty. He was sentenced to Sing Sing prison. After an escape attempt in 1847 he was severely beaten by prison authorities and died.[18]

3 - St Ignatius of Loyola (Spanish Inigo de Oñez y Loyola) (1491-1556): Spanish ecclesiastic who founded the Society of Jesus, the Order of the Jesuits. Loyola entered military service under Antonio Manrique de Lara, duke of Nájera, and was seriously wounded in 1521 at the siege of Pampeluna (now Pamplona). While recovering, he read a book of lives of the saints, with the result that he resolved to devote himself to a spiritual life.

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[17] Anon. (2001). Thomas Babington, 1st Baron Macaulay. In: Menon, L. (ed.) *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, The World English Edition*. Volume 1 [CD-ROM] Redmond: Microsoft Corporation.

[18] Jones, M. B. (n.d.). Monroe Edwards. In: *Handbook of Texas Online in TSHA Online: Texas State Historical Association* [Online]. Available from:
http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/EE/fed7.html [Accessed: 24 January 2008]

In 1522 Loyola retired to a cave near Manresa, in Catalonia, and lived and prayed in great austerity for ten months, after which he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[19]

4 - **Themistocles** (527?-460? BC): Athenian general and statesman who commanded the Athenian fleet at the Battle of Salamís against the invading Persians. The battle resulted in a crushing defeat for the Persians, and Themistocles was acclaimed one of the foremost men of his time. However, Themistocles eventually became less popular, his embezzlement and arrogance provoking the anger and resentment of the citizens. He was ostracised in 471 and retired to Árgos, subsequently gaining favour at the court of Artaxerxes I, king of Persia. The town of Magnesia was appointed to supply him with bread, Lampasacus with wine, and Myus with other provisions. He lived at Magnesia until his death. In spite of the conclusion to his career, Themistocles was a statesman of outstanding ability, and his strong naval policy laid the foundations of the Athenian Empire.[20]

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[19] Anon. (2001). St Ignatius of Loyola. In: Menon, L. (ed.) *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, The World English Edition*. Volume 1 [CD-ROM] Redmond: Microsoft Corporation.

[20] Anon. (2001). Themistocles. In: Menon, L. (ed.) *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, The World English Edition*. Volume 1 [CD-ROM] Redmond: Microsoft Corporation.

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The White Square of Paper

Matilda Marro

'You have to find your own whale. You are the captain and you are sailing through your own life. You have dreams, you have goals; you need to find a whale, your own whale. Leave Moby-Dick alone, and think about your own. What is your deepest fear, my Captain?'

It all started like this, when she asked me about my deepest fear. Well, I thought I was fearless. But now I know. Now I know that my deepest fear was to lose her. Now I know. I know because I have lost her. I left her behind. Or maybe she left me, I can't remember. I woke up that morning, and she was gone. I opened my eyes and faced the darkness of the morning. Alone. I was alone. She was gone. She sank the ship and could not save the captain. My whale. Yes, she was my whale. But when I found out about her, I found out about my dreams, about my life. They were no more. Vanished, impossible to remember. She stole everything I had; and turned herself into a letter. That letter.

Whales, Wellinda, and whisky, that was all. That was all I needed. But after twenty years, only the whisky remains. I exhausted *Moby-Dick* years ago. There is nothing more I can learn about it. I could have been Melville himself. She gave me something else to focus on. After twenty years, I still have things to discover about Wellinda. I thought I knew her, now I know. Now I know her through her absence. I know her through a letter.

I have always loved whisky. I don't drink because she left me: I drink because I feel thirsty. Whisky tastes like water. I feel cold inside. I drink because I'm cold. But whisky tastes like water. Whisky feels like water. Cold water. I want to be drowned in cold water. Wrap my body in white linen, and throw me overboard. Blue, dark water. Cold water. Whisky feels like ice. I find it hard to swallow. I find life hard to swallow. I find her absence hard to digest.

And what does it mean, leaving me one morning with just this letter? Why didn't she talk to me? I wasn't drunk. She could have talked to me. I was not drunk, no, I was not drunk... She was afraid of me. She said she was afraid of me. I remember she said she was afraid of me. But I loved her. I still do. I can't love her through a letter though. I don't love the letter.

I drink because I'm alone. I drink because whisky is the only 'W' that remains in my life. I drink because. I don't know why I drink. I know that I drink. No, I don't drink because she is gone. I have been drinking for ages. I was drinking when she was not even born. She loved me when I was

drunk. She loved me when she was drunk. Yes. She loved me when she was drunk. And now all I have is a sober letter; this white letter, challenging me under the door. It looks at me defiantly. It thinks I am not strong enough to open it. It is laughing at me. I can hear it laughing at me. It is filling my ears like whisky is filling my throat. But I am fine. I do not feel anything. I am fine. I am fine because I am numb.

I wish I were a squid. But then, no. Do you think squid suffer three times more because they have three hearts? Or do you think they use them one after the other? I mean, maybe when one is broken, they use the second one, so that they never grieve, they do not feel the pain. Do you think squid have broken hearts? Do they break hearts like we do? Like she did? If not, then why do they have three hearts, and we only have one? Are we meant to suffer? Does pain help us to write? Do you think squid could write? What do you think they would write? And why do they have all this ink if they cannot write? Squid would be great writers. They have infinite ink, and they have many arms; they just need paper. I wish squid could write. They would tell us about deep oceans, strange fish and whales. Whales. They would tell us about whales. They would tell us how to replace a heart when it is broken. I wish I could teach squid how to write. I wish I were a squid's teacher.

And this bottle is almost empty. I would rather say I am almost full. No, I'm empty. I'm an empty bottle of whisky. She drank me, sip by sip. And now I am an empty bottle, floating without any messages inside, waiting to be drowned by the waves. I want to rest in an ocean; an ocean of whisky. I need to open another bottle. I need to rest in an ocean. I wish I were a forgotten bottle of whisky, stored in a dry, cool place. Covered with dust. And full of whisky. I wish I was a bottle of whisky. And I would not drink it. I would keep it safe for ever. I would not drink; I would keep the whisky safe in me. And she could keep me on a shelf, on a kitchen shelf. And she would see me without seeing me. But I would be with her. And she would never empty me.

She doesn't like whisky. She wouldn't keep me in her kitchen. She walked away from my bedroom. She would not keep me in the kitchen. She would bury me in the garden, and forget about me. She would leave me there, like she left that letter, lying on the floor. I am a bottle. She left a message for the bottle. But she forgot to throw me in the sea.

The message cannot fit in me. She could not leave it in me; she had to leave it under the door. When I am sober, when I am dry, I will put the message in the bottle, and I will float endlessly on the ocean. It's always too late when someone finds one of those bottles. They will not find me, not in time. I am a bottle of whisky. I am a bottle of whisky and I am sinking. I

am sinking down, down, down. I am touching the ground. And I am reaching it. I am reaching this white square. It is moving. The white square is moving. There she blows! The white whale! I am deep, deeply sinking. The white whale, the white square, I am reaching it. It is not moving. It is small; it is not Moby-Dick. It is… it is… what is it? I have the letter. But she did not leave any letters. This letter came by itself. My whale is not a letter. The letter is not a whale.

She left without leaving a letter. She left me with a doctor; she changed herself into a hospital. She disappeared. She took the colours away. I am surrounded by white walls, white people. I am a bottle of whisky with a white tag. And I am thirsty. They broke my bottle; I can see my whisky filling plastic pockets. They are taking my whisky away from me. They broke my bottle, they broke my body. I am bleeding; I am losing my whisky. They are watching me bleed, why don't they do anything? I am bleeding! Do not take my whisky away from me! I am a good bottle; I promised I would keep my whisky safe. Give my whisky back! I am bleeding. My whisky is filling their bottles. I do not feel anything. But they broke my bottle. And the four walls are white. And the curtains are white. And my skin is white. And everything is white.
And in this darkness, I am no more.

Cruel Intentions: An exploration of cruelty in Nietzsche's model of human psychology

Tom Minor

ABSTRACT:

Cruelty as an expression of the 'will to power' is discussed in relation to an opposing theory of human motivations, which states that the ultimate goal of all human endeavours is the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain. The battle line is drawn between Nietzsche and the psychological hedonists and consists of an analysis of sadomasochistic subjectivity. Based on the superior explanatory prowess of Nietzsche's will to power, I argue that although the hedonists are not wrong in their model of sadomasochism, their model fails to explain *why* people derive enjoyment from the infliction of pain either upon themselves or others. The will to power is Nietzsche's answer to why people enjoy pain and for this reason, his psychology is deemed more inclusive than the hedonist's.

As part of his philosophical project Nietzsche prescribes the controversial thesis of a 'will to power' as the universal and psychological principle underlying *all* human motivation and behaviour. Scholars vary widely in their interpretations of the will to power, but for the purposes of this paper, I am working under the assumption that it is a central tenet of Nietzsche's psychological theory of man. The will to power is defined by Nietzsche as 'the truly basic life-instinct, which aims at *the expansion of power* and in so doing…risks and sacrifices self-preservation…the will to power…is simply the will to life.' (Nietzsche, 1882, §349) The concomitant notion of cruelty implicit in Nietzsche's theory elevates the will to power above and beyond the major opposing theory of human strivings that captivated the nineteenth century imagination and still beguiles the minds of psychologists today; the theory of psychological hedonism.

Psychological hedonism purports that all action is motivated by the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain. Jeremy Bentham, an eighteenth century Utilitarian philosopher and hedonist, proposed that nature governed mankind with two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure* (Gregory, 1998, p. 308). In Bentham, we find a precursor to the Freudian division of the human instincts into *Eros* and *Thanatos*. [21] Nietzsche, however, confronts the hedonists with an inadequacy in their account: positing the pursuit and enjoyment of pleasure alongside the avoidance of pain does

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[21] In classical psychoanalytic terminology, man is beset by the fundamental conflict of the *life* and *death* instincts, which can be seen in the earliest libidinal strivings of the infant (exquisitely portrayed by Melanie Klein) and was thought to be the root problematic in the various manifestations of psychopathology.

not allow for the many instances where people actually enjoy inflicting pain upon themselves or others.

Nietzsche goes to great lengths to reveal examples of human relations that first and foremost typify his notion of the will to power, and that highlight the shortfalls of peering through a purely hedonistic lens when analyzing the human psyche. We can trace the development of these observations back to Nietzsche's early philologico-philosophical writings, such as *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872), evolving through his middle works *Human All-too-Human,* (1878), *Daybreak,* (1881), and *Beyond Good and Evil,* (1886) and into his later writings, of which *On the Genealogy of Morality* (1887) features prominently. Principally, I will consider the dispute between Nietzsche and the hedonists; the battle-lines will be drawn around the notion of sadomasochistic subjectivity. The character studies in Nietzsche's portrayal of man's psychology will be examined in relation to the phenomenon of cruelty, which is strongly reinforced by classical Freudianism. Such an overview of the role of cruelty in Nietzsche's psychology is unlikely to remain true to the complexity of his thought. Nevertheless, what Nietzsche has to say on the matter is too important to neglect on that basis. That we are inherently cruel, either to ourselves or to others is for Nietzsche an expression of an innate will to power, which we therefore ought to harness in the service of our own self-expression and the expression of higher cultural goals. Freud coined this 'sublimation', though Nietzsche emphasised the ascetic ideal: the necessary deprivation of the individual by the individual himself, a kind of self-directed cruelty that looks like masochism, through a psychological lens.

Essentially, Nietzsche is questioning an Epicurean claim: that the avoidance of pain is the *highest* motive of human endeavours. The hedonist's second claim, that human beings concurrently seek pleasure as well as avoiding pain, would seem to be intuitively coherent: pain is not pleasurable, *unless* it is someone else's pain and not my own. Pleasure is sought after and may well result from my infliction of pain on someone else, but Nietzsche also questions this. The primacy of the 'pleasure-principle', does not rule out the possibility that someone may enjoy seeing, or making another suffer: as long as pain is avoided, pleasure may prevail, but this account fails to explain the principle that Nietzsche so expertly identifies.

Sadomasochistic Subjectivity

Self-inflicted cruelty is the definition of the 'ascetic ideal' for Nietzsche. Initially we are faced with a paradox: how can something be both painful *and* pleasurable? With an analysis of the paradox embodied in the characterology of the ascetic priest, Nietzsche manages to do something that the hedonists cannot. He tells us that the avoidance of pain is not primary in the

psychology of sadomasochism where pain is actively sought as a source of pleasure. Although this is accounted for by the hedonists under the programme of the pleasure-principle, they cannot explain *why* it is so pleasurable to be cruel. To say that beating another person in the head is pleasurable or that abusing oneself can be pleasurable does not explain *why* these cruelties are pleasurable. This is where Nietzsche's theory of the will to power surpasses the hedonistic account: it tells us *why* people enjoy being cruel. According to Nietzsche, the deepest motive of all human behaviour is the primary pleasure resulting from the acquisition, increase and exertion of one's power over and above the power of the other and/or oneself.

The phenomena of cruelty do not represent a challenge to psychological hedonism *per se* but they do beg the question as to *why* people take pleasure in cruelty in the first place. No one will deny the existence of cruelty, but from a hedonistic viewpoint, cruelty is seen as an aberration or perversion; a deviation from the norm in which the desire for one's own happiness comes at the expense of causing pain to others. As long as we can avoid these disruptions, we may return to a benign existence where cruelty and pain can be banished and pleasure will reign. Nietzsche takes an opposing viewpoint and tries to convey that cruelty is not an aberration, but *a derivative of a central human drive,* rooted in the most primary impulses of human nature: the will to power.

Ressentiment/Resentment

The vicissitudes of the instincts and their expression in human nature is not a homogenous state of affairs for Nietzsche and there are at least six characters that can be deciphered in his *Genealogy* (1887). Ridley (1998) offers a valuable study of these characters, most pertinently, the 'Noble', the 'Slave', the 'Philosopher' and the 'Priest'. The dynamic interrelations between these characters are complex and sometimes contradictory, the noble types are stronger than the slaves, powerful, dominant and good. The slaves on the other hand are traumatized as their instincts and freedom are denied: what is repressed, i.e. the aggression underlying the resentment felt towards their captors, turns inward and becomes a source of unassailable suffering. This burgeoning subjectivity of '*ressentiment'* felt by the ignoble types culminates in the 'slave-insurrection', which sets an important precedent in Nietzsche's thematization of morality and the will to power, and could be viewed as a prototype of the sort of re-evaluational project he attempts with his *Genealogy* (1887). Ridley (1998) called this slave-revolt in morality the verbal revenge against the powerful, which, he adds, does not resolve the core problem of the slave's suffering. The priest seizes the opportunity to exploit the slaves' *ressentiment* by convincing them of their sinfulness and reminding them of the possibility of their redemption in the eyes of God and by virtue of his

humility. There is an allusion here to the prospective divine-retribution to be dealt against the proud and noble types who are responsible for the suffering of the slaves. The question of what to do about this inescapable suffering, however, invokes many responses other than the asceticism of the priest.

The prescription of the philosopher and arguably of Nietzsche himself is that we must attempt to hold our suffering to account and value ourselves, and our lives, *because of it.* With this move, Nietzsche performs an ascendant revaluation of cruelty within the libidinal economy of man's psyche. Exposing the tensions in the libidinal economies of a diverse ensemble of characters, Nietzsche offers a more powerful explanatory theory of human strivings than the hedonists. Nietzsche recognized that there is no singular configuration of the human personality, and demonstrated how people, in varying socio-historical circumstances, have different ways of managing the will to power. He nonetheless implies that cruelty is something of a ubiquitous phenomenon, common to all types, only exacted or experienced uniquely according to the limitations of each character's position in the rank order of society. We can conceive of the cruelty of the noble types in enslaving the weak; the thwarted cruelty of the resentful slaves that the ascetic priest cruelly subverts to his cause; or the cruel realisation of the philosopher's prescription to exonerate our suffering. It is of course, the self-directed cruelty, resorted to by the ignoble types and prescribed by the ascetic priest, that stands out as the most interesting example that Nietzsche gives of a manifestation of cruelty within human psychology. This sets his analysis in contradistinction to that of the hedonists.

The Metaphysics of Tragedy

Paying close attention to the second and third treatises in the *Genealogy* (1887), which deal with guilt and bad conscience, and the ascetic ideal respectively, we are able to elucidate the notion of inwardly directed cruelty as it is employed by Nietzsche. These treatises explain how and for what purpose a physiological quantum of affect, i.e. cruelty, can be turned against oneself. Nietzsche establishes a sense of guilt and a bad conscience, which can later function as the agent of one's suffering. David Owen (2007) points out that the second treatise constitutes a psychology whereby cruelty is found in an archaic substratum of the psyche, indelible to human culture and where conscience is expressed as the instinct for cruelty turned back on itself, once it can no longer find exogenous satisfaction. Within the contractual relationship of the creditor and the debtor, Nietzsche ventures to offer a genealogy of the sense of guilt and the need for punishment:

these relationships…will be a place where one finds things that are…cruel. In order to instil trust in his promise of repayment…the debtor…pledges to the creditor in the case of non-payment something else…for example his body…his wife…his freedom or even his life…the creditor could subject the body of the debtor to all manner of ignominy and torture, for example cutting as much from it as appeared commensurate to the magnitude of the debt…"*si plus minuse secuerunt, ne fraude esto.*[22] (Nietzsche, 1887, II §5)

Nietzsche uses the creditor's participation in the 'right of the lords' to literally carve away at their debtors' flesh, as evidence of there being a 'warrant to cruelty', as seen in the carnal delight of another's suffering. It is the *suffering* of the debtor that satisfies the creditor as compensation. The will to power is expressed in the creditor's inclination to punish and bask in the punishment of his indebted subjects. Critically, society endorsed the creditor's right to hold his debtors in contempt and to forcibly retrieve compensation through cruelty. According to Nietzsche, it is the internalisation of this social value judgment that creates a feeling of guilt in man. Owen interprets Nietzsche's portrayal of 'the spectacular economy of punishment' as a suggestion that punishment in ancient societies was based on: 'a logic of equivalence between damage and pain that (i) emerges in the basic creditor-debtor relationships…and (ii) expresses the basic human instinct for cruelty.' (Owen, 2007, pp. 93-96) It is important to clarify that it is only the noble types who may enjoy this compensatory function of cruelty whereas the priests, slaves and philosophers may resort only to asceticism, i.e. to venting their cruelty on themselves.

Henry Staten draws a sharp distinction between the earlier Dionysian and later 'tyrannophilic' metaphysics in Nietzsche's economy of the will, noting 'the profound continuity…of the transcendent will…beyond either power or suffering.' (Staten, 1990, p. 88) Self-enjoyment, Staten proposes, is a central problematic in Nietzsche's thought, and he recognizes that for Nietzsche, 'pleasure in the deepest sense includes displeasure [and that]…power [is]…the essence of pleasure.' (Ibid. p. 89) A further exemplification of the evolution of Nietzsche's thought around the notion of self-enjoyment and sadomasochistic subjectivity is mapped out in Staten's text. He identifies Nietzsche's 'protomasochism' in *The Birth of Tragedy* (Nietzsche, 1872), where pain begets joy and ecstasy wrings sounds of agony, as a representative of the Dionysian metaphysics of tragedy, which Nietzsche celebrated in his earlier writings. A passage from a later work *Daybreak* is quoted at length and an 'unspeakable happiness' at the sight of torment is seen as an ironic distanciation 'from the type of self-enjoyment that transforms pain into pleasure' (Staten, 1990, p. 101), which could be construed as a hedonistic

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[22] '*si plus minuse secuerunt, ne fraude esto*' – if they secured more or less, let that be no crime.

conception, but we already know that Nietzsche opposes this view. By the time Nietzsche's *Genealogy* had been written, Staten says that 'this ironic distance has split into a condemnation of ascetic masochism and a celebration of barbarian cruelty.' (Ibid)

Nietzsche's formula thus becomes: self-enjoyment *qua* the feeling of power and power *qua* cruelty *sine* masochism. This ascendant cruelty somewhat contradicts Nietzsche's earlier 'glorification of Dionysian martyrdom.' (Staten, 1990, p. 102). Staten understands the Nietzschean notion of 'self-enjoyment' – which includes the ascetic-masochistic enjoyment of self-directed cruelty – as a description of a 'primitive form of affect' *within* the will to power itself, which is thus identical with the feeling of power: 'whenever we see power, we know there must be self-enjoyment, by the collocation of the two.' (Ibid, p. 90) Furthermore, Staten conceives of 'the inward turn of the ascetic [as]…a type of will to power [even though]…it seems to be a perversion or pathology…self-overcoming…self-domination.' (Ibid, p. 91) Nietzsche can thereby be seen to be constructing a pre-Freudian 'profound analysis of sadomasochistic subjectivity and transcendental ressentiment' (Ibid, p. 92).

Nietzsche and Freud: A Hybrid Model of Sadomasochism

Sadomasochistic subjectivity is not only a critical point whereby Nietzsche's analysis supersedes the explanatory prowess of the hedonist's, but it is also a point of intersection whereby the closest isomorphism with Freud can be illuminated. Freud is often thought of as an exemplar of the hedonistic theory, though this somewhat ignores his ineluctable pessimism. What, for Freud, were sadism and masochism, correspond to Nietzsche's cruelty and asceticism respectively. It is through his use of the notions of cruelty and asceticism that Nietzsche achieves his goal of highlighting a critical failing of the hedonist's 'avoidance of pain at all costs' account; where sadomasochism is confined within the programme of the pleasure-principle. If human beings are innately averse to any expression of cruelty, save for hedonistic outbursts at other peoples' misfortune, how can we explain the ubiquity of not only cruel acts in the world, but the pervasive enjoyment by a sizeable portion of the species, in inflicting cruelty upon themselves? This is where the battle line is drawn between Nietzsche's will to power and the hedonist's exclusive appeal to the pleasure-principle. How can we conceive of such pleasure-in-cruelty, without engaging with some kind of exegesis, as Nietzsche does, of the power dynamics at play in all such perpetrated cruelty? For the hedonists, cruelty is merely sadistic satisfaction in the suffering of others. Nietzsche on the other hand, manages to show that the will to power allows for a more complete account of the different forms of cruelty that can be

observed as constitutive of human existence: in so doing, he appeals to an even more primary and ontological drive.

Adopting the Freudian mien for a moment, we can say that in his positing of the primacy of the will to power, Nietzsche is discovering the fundamental mechanism of the pleasure-principle (*Eros*), which has in its service what Freud would later institute as the counterpart to the erotic drive: the death instinct. Nietzsche's will to power, has a close affinity with Freud's death instinct (*Thanatos*) – the impulse toward the expression of aggression and destruction, originally directed at objects and parental authorities in the external world and later internalized and introjected. Psychoanalytically, this inversion of the aggressive drive is a function of the superego and is relative (in its severity towards the ego) to the intensity of the original levels of aggression felt *and* prohibited towards external objects. Freud therefore establishes the masochistic agent of human suffering *qua* the superego, which develops out of a primary sadistic-egoism, and this ties in neatly with what Nietzsche says about the transcendence of the will beyond power and suffering, and towards the less objectionable pleasure of asceticism.

Nietzsche's anatomisation of cruelty in his lesser known middle work *Human All-too-Human* (1878), along with his crucial remark in *Daybreak* (1881), which both touch on the unfolding of sadism, and form a 'genetic sequence of self-reflections by which sadomasochistic subjectivity is elaborated' (Staten, 1990, p. 97), are mirrored in Freud's investigation into the 'Instincts and Their Vicissitudes' (1915). Freud can be seen as exploring sadomasochistic subjectivity, whereby an: 'original non-erotic heteroaggression [evolves into]…a phase of reflective- or auto-aggression [such as]…self-torment and self-punishment [which then seeks]…an external agent…as the inflicter of torment [and finally]…a reversal of this structure, in which the subject becomes sadistic inflicter of pain, which he nevertheless enjoys masochistically.' (Staten, 1990, pp. 95-96)

Staten admits, however, that whereas Freud is concerned with the genesis of erotic sadomasochism in childhood, Nietzsche explores the more Hegelian 'quasi-historical phenomenology of sadomasochistic spirit.' (Ibid, pp. 98-99) There is also reason to believe that both thinkers were attempting 'a redefinition of the roots of subjectivity…that replaces the moral problematic of selfishness with the economic problematic of what Freud would call narcissism.' (Ibid) A crucial difference being that Nietzsche's will to power omits an analysis of the erotic nature of the libido, whereas Freud focuses primarily on this psychosexual dimension.

In the introduction to *Civilisation and its Discontents* (Freud, 1930), Leo Bersani summarises Freud's thesis that man suffers because of the libidinal prohibitions placed on him by civilization, which suppress his ontological

necessity to satisfy his aggression. This surely lends support to the efficacy of Nietzsche's will to power account. Freud too, believed that the 'conscience' is internalized, in order to be attacked; whereas this is the priestly doctrine fed to the ignoble types in Nietzsche, Freud universalizes this sense of guilt as the price we all pay for cultural progress. We can decipher a putative psychoanalysis of the ascetic priest in Freud's genealogy of discontent, when he discusses the economic task of human existence as the sublimation and satisfaction of our drives. What for Freud then, is the anal character, whose pre-Oedipal interest in excretory processes has evolved into excessive thriftiness and obsessive fixations with order and cleanliness, has an affinity with Nietzsche's characterology of the ascetic priest. There are many uncanny resemblances in the metaphors used by Nietzsche and later by Freud. Aside from instigating a debate about the originality of Freud's ideas, this suggests that with the Nietzsche-Freud hybrid model of sadomasochism, we are compelled, to an extent, to entertain the more complex ideas about human nature than either author would have achieved so illuminatingly in isolation.

Both thinkers appeal to the ontological aggressiveness of man as evidence of his unavoidably cruel nature, and both see religion as one of the most successful methods by which man can renounce his drives for a higher goal. One final difference between these two post-enlightenment thinkers, who mutually posited the necessary plight of man, is that Freud's inquiry reveals a lot less about the role of cruelty in the psychology of man than Nietzsche's. Beyond its function as a representative of the death instinct, Freud delineates little variation in the role of cruelty in man's psyche, whereas with Nietzsche it is possible to examine the operational minutiae of cruelty not only in man *per se* (as in Freud), but in several different types of historical man.

Insensible Nostalgic Naturalism

In *Beyond Good and Evil,* Nietzsche refers to the festive joys in the cruelty of the Greek *agon*[23], the glorification of violence in the Roman arena and the bloody tragedies of the Parisian revolutions, thus further pursuing his mission to naturalise cruelty within the psychology of man:

> One ought to learn anew about cruelty, and open one's eyes…Almost everything we call higher culture is based upon the spiritualizing and intensifying of cruelty – this is my thesis…That which constitutes the painful delight of tragedy is cruelty; that which operates agreeably in so called tragic sympathy, and at the basis even of everything sublime, up to the highest and most delicate thrills of metaphysics, obtains its

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[23] *agon* – contest

sweetness solely from the intermingling ingredient of cruelty (Nietzsche, 1886, §229, pp. 97-98)

We are hereby presented with a further requisite for the positive analysis of cruelty in the pre-sublimated history of mankind, and the indivisible link between man's cruel psychology and the development of his morality. Nietzsche wants us to recognize the essential nature of cruelty and appreciate it as a valuable outlet for the immanent will to power. But, he says, man is ashamed of his harsh nature, which is why the ascetic turn has become so painfully necessary: 'man has grown ashamed of man.' (Nietzsche, 1887, §7, p. 43).

In *The Gay Science*, Nietzsche says 'pain always raises the question about its origin while pleasure is inclined to stop without looking back' (1882, §13). If we take the idea that a will to power is central to human psychology and consider the ways in which people may impress their power upon others, it is reasonable to say that from an economical perspective, being cruel is a better investment than being kind, in terms of how violently one impresses oneself upon the other. At the same time, one can almost hear the outraged response to this statement in that many would prefer to think in terms of an economy of love and affection. Staten see the 'pathos of distance and the distinction of rank order in Nietzsche as 'variants of this striving to impress one's being violently on the substance of the other' (Staten, 1990, p. 103). Clearly, for Nietzsche, and for his philosophical project, cruelty is the preferred mode of satisfaction for the will to power. With this affirmation of cruelty, Nietzsche 'slides insensibly into a nostalgic naturalism' (Ibid, p. 105); he tries to erect the drive to dominate and acquire power as a normative model, that pre-dates civilization and is thereby unconvincingly unique or singular to our modern existence. Ivan Soll, however, is at pains to say that Nietzsche's psychological account is in no way a justification 'but rather an explanation of the attraction of cruelty, and consequently of its prevalence in human life.' (Soll, 1994, p. 108) It is easy to see how Nietzsche's attempt to demonstrate the ontological necessity of cruelty could be construed as a vindication of cruel phenomena. Notwithstanding, Nietzsche's analysis of cruelty is far from wholly approving.

To say that Nietzsche sanctioned cruelty, outright would do violence to the complexity of his thought. His ideas about the notions of pain, pleasure, cruelty, asceticism, and the will to power, along with the place these concepts take in his psychology, can be read in any number of ways. By tracing the linear themes through the corpus of his work and referring to some classic secondary sources, I hope to have outlined Nietzsche's valuable contribution to the long-standing debate about the primacy of the pleasure-principle or the primacy of the will to power. I conclude that Nietzsche succeeds in

discrediting the completeness of the hedonistic account of human striving; that cruelty takes a central place in Nietzsche's psychology; and that the isomorphism between Nietzsche's thought and classical Freudianism lends credence to Nietzsche's complex and at times contradictory philosophical meditations. It is not that the hedonists are wrong, but that Nietzsche convinces us that they do owe us an explanation if they are to dispute the Nietzschean thesis that a will to power better explains the basis of human motivation than the pleasure-principle. The hedonists have a long way to go in order to supersede either Nietzsche or the more powerful Nietzsche-Freud hybrid model of sadomasochistic subjectivity. The pleasure-principle may well be at work within man's psyche, but for Nietzsche, an accurate analysis of the various manifestations of cruelty in human existence demands an appeal to a more fundamental mechanism than merely the avoidance of pain. In so many ways man looks for and creates his pain. Paradoxically, man also enjoys his pain and thus, the will to exert power, even over oneself is a primary tenet of Nietzsche's psychology. Cruelty can therefore be conceived of as one of the major vehicles through which we begin to understand the truth, as Nietzsche conceives it, behind man's deepest strivings.

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The Eclectic World of Felipe Ehrenberg

Zanna Gilbert

ABSTRACT:

This interview with Felipe Ehrenberg was carried out by email in November 2009, prior to the artist's visit to Essex, where he performed his newly commissioned work *Xocoyotzin, The Penultimate*. By way of introduction to the interview, I introduce some of Ehrenberg's early work examining the importance of process and his beliefs about the role of art in society. By looking at his artistic production, I hope to show how Felipe Ehrenberg seeks to create new meanings, question received ideas and open up new ways of thinking about the world. Indeed, Ehrenberg calls himself a neologist - a maker of new words. Born in 1943 in Mexico City, his output spans graphic design, artists' books, mail art, film, murals, sculptural projects and performance. He was one of the first conceptual artists to emerge in Mexico in the late 1960s. By the late 1960s, as a result of mounting political oppression of the student movement in Mexico, the artist moved to England in 1968, remaining there until 1973. In London and Devon, Ehrenberg established many of the interests that continue to preoccupy his activities. These include alternative printing, publishing networks, Fluxus activities, mail art, anti-institutionalism and political activism.

Felipe Ehrenberg's residency at the University of Essex was organised by Arts on 5, UECLAA and the International Office, working in partnership with Tate and with the support of the University of Essex Knowledge Transfer Fund.

Converting all the Systems into Poetry

Felipe Ehrenberg's *Telegraphic Works* (1970) provide a paradigm for understanding how he conceived the fusion of art and life through creativity. The works were telegrams that transmitted information far removed from the customary brief and impersonal messages of the business world. Consider the statement:

LET'S CONVERT/ALL/THE/SYSTEMS/IN TO/POETRY/
AND/VISIONS/AND/LET THEM REMEMBER/THAT/CREATION/
IS ENERGY/WHILE/ART/MEANS/POWER/
I REPEAT/POWER/END/OF/MESSAGE
/FELIPE/

Ehrenberg's call to 'convert all the systems in to poetry' is at once a promotion of the use of technological systems for art, and an appropriation

of that system, the telegram, usually used for the efficient communication of information for business. However, more significantly, the brief message hails the opportunity for art to become life, not by representing reality but by infiltrating it.

Ehrenberg spent about two years in London before moving to Devon in 1971. There he enacted a number of happenings, events and exhibitions and recorded a 16mm film (Benítez Dueñas, 2007, p.25). The film, titled *La Poubelle: It's a Kind of Disease*, documented the mounting rubbish during the dustbin workers' strike in 1970. The film was post-produced at Francois Reichenbach's studios in Paris, where French lab workers tagged it 'la poubelle' - rubbish, garbage (author's correspondence with the artist, March 2009). Ehrenberg sprayed the peripheries of the piles of rubbish in the streets of London as they grew and spread, like the 'kind of disease' suggested by the title of the work. Ehrenberg documented what he called the 'way we can get used to anything', recording peoples' nonchalant progress through the increasingly disordered streets. Throughout the film, amidst a dystopian soundscape, the role of art is debated; Ehrenberg states that art is 'anything that breaks your programmations, that jolts you, pushes you, catalyses you, outside a mode of behaviour'. He insisted the film was not a work of art but a process of understanding both the strike and the role of art. As he commented later: 'after using many rolls of film and lots of spray paint, the strike was settled...what we exhibited was not art but our capacity of comprehension' (quoted in Benítez Dueñas, 2007 p.25). Rather than a didactic revelation of social reality *La Poubelle* interrogated the possibility of knowing, experiencing and imagining. Later Ehrenberg further elucidated his ideas, saying:

Creation and art are two completely different concepts for me. Creation is organic, it is internal matter. Art is a historic definition – a solidifying element. The trash should point to a way out of this ossification, and therefore I'm in agreement with not converting this into an artistic activity but into an activity, into an act of creation, but not into an art work. (Quoted in Benítez Dueñas, 2007, p.25)

Ehrenberg's hope that 'the trash should offer a way out of this ossification' offers us a way of interpreting all actions and creations as aesthetic.

Ehrenberg is clearly a politically motivated artist; his involvement with the Independent Salon in Mexico began in 1968 and was a protest against excessive control of the art market through state governed institutions. By the third and last Salon in 1970 Ehrenberg was in England, having left Mexico after the brutal suppression of the student movement in 1968, which culminated in the death of 300 student protestors murdered by police and military forces at Tlatelolco just a few days before the beginning of the

Olympic Games in Mexico. Ehrenberg's postal entry to the Salon was conceived of as a conceptual puzzle sent from London to Mexico. The work, *Upwards and Onwards…Whether you like it or not*, was a reference to Luis Escheverria's presidential campaign slogan during the 1970s elections. It was a kind of mural constituted by 200 postcards sent to the University Museum of Science and Art, where the exhibition would be installed. In Ehrenberg's own physical absence the assembling of the postcards required a collaborative collective action. The uncertainty of its passage mirrored the precarious political situation.

Ehrenberg asked that the postcards were mounted on a red backing so that any failure in the (governmental) postal system would be represented by a red gap, stimulating a visual equation between government carelessness and inefficiency and government violence and intentionality. The gaps would also resonate critically with the Mexican government's modernisation-project slogan 'Upwards and Onwards'. The image, taken from a soft-porn magazine printed in England to celebrate the 1970 World Cup appropriates the official promotional material for the event, parodying the bureaucratic and commodified image of Mexico. Queen Elizabeth's profile on each stamp is overwhelmed in stature and undermined in authority by Ehrenberg's erotic figure that evokes the personal and intimate against the impersonal realm of nation-building and political machinations.

Ehrenberg considered the process and circulation of his work to be part of the finished product. The conceptual intent of *Upwards and Onwards…whether you like it or not* relies on its own passage and the collaborative act of its reconstitution on site. Fragmentation and reassembling are a constituent part of the work which is explicitly political in both its subject matter and in its appropriation of a bureaucratic system. The reconfiguration of the artistic processes of production, transportation and exhibition and the consideration of its possible censorship contain the work's meaning. Ehrenberg wrote in the accompanying instructions: 'I hope that this work is allowed to hang in the exhibition. If not, let's see what type of a stink can be raised.' This statement recognises that the transformative power of this work is in its actions, processes and provocations.

Ehrenberg's use of the postal system was an early act of engagement in alternative ways of distributing and exhibiting art as a kind of activism. It involved creating networks that were not censored or co-opted by government and implied freedom of information and expression in an atmosphere of the intense suppression of information. This desire to promote artists' networks outside of galleries and museums led Ehrenberg to set up the Beau Geste Press (BGP), an independent publishing company founded to publish artists' books and promote the *Fluxshoe* exhibition that

toured England between 1971 and 1972. In Devon, the Ehrenbergs moved in to an old farmhouse with David Mayor and a number of other artists.

At the Beau Geste Press artistic collaboration was a way of life. In one event staged by the Press they travelled from London to Edinburgh by train, taking their Gestetner with them. During the journey fellow passengers were asked to contribute to a collaborative magazine with poems, drawings or stories. By the time they arrived in Edinburgh a copy had been printed for all the contributors. The processes had become more important than the content; Ehrenberg envisioned it as 'a new way of life' and a 'community of duplicators' (Debroise, 2007, p.157), enacting something akin to Benjamin's notion of the democratisation of art through mechanical reproduction.

During this time Ehrenberg made the work *Time Heals All Wounds*, 'thanks to a pack of remnant pre-printed forms … found in some printing shop'. (Author's correspondence with the artist, March 2009) These found objects provoked Ehrenberg to diligently record the daily healing of a cut on his left thumb. The very literal interpretation of the English saying 'Time Heals All Wounds' provokes questions about time, exile, language and cultural adaptation. The conciliatory and simplistic cliché is at once disproved by the implicit dislocation of the author. The futile exercise of recording daily thumbprints emphasise the loss of power associated with exile, while clearly demonstrating that time doesn't heal all wounds. Ehrenberg parodies the officious nature of state apparatus, the use of the thumbprint affirming his physical presence while evoking the spectre of state violence over the body, the bodily trace and the absent or disappeared body. Without any resolution apart from the literal healing of an inconsequential wound, the metaphorical meaning remains unresolved.

When Ehrenberg returned to Mexico in the mid 1970s he established a movement of alternative small-press publications called Neográfica. In the 1980s, acting on his belief in social and political activism, he ran for congressional election. Later that decade he coordinated relief support after Mexico's 1986 earthquake. Ehrenberg has variously identified himself as teacher, politician, cultural attaché, artist, critic, neologist, editor, actor, filmmaker and living art work. For Ehrenberg these roles are all part of his ideological inclination that does not recognise the separation of art from life, and by extension artist from teacher, or politician from actor. As Jorge Alberto Manrique comments: 'his life work as an artist is a result and at the same time, a part of his work as a person', life and art are a 'sole indivisible unit…not a specialised task but a manifestation of life' (Manrique, 2000, p.1). Ehrenberg considers the potential of art to be through its enactment, its engagement with participants and as a way of engendering new ways of conceiving social reality and behaving.

Ehrenberg continues to question the assumptions of the art market and its classifications, particularly those of 'folk' or 'indigenous' art. He also concerns himself with the problems of historical memory. In December 2009, Ehrenberg performed *Xocoyotzin, The Penultimate* at the University of Essex's Lakeside Theatre. The work responds to the way Moctezuma Xocoyotzin has been remembered in Mexico, and deals with questions of national memory. Moctezuma's death at the hands of the Spanish Conquistadors, led by Cortés, marked the beginning of the colonisation of present-day Mexico. The performance was narrated by a Witness, Ehrenberg himself, while the graphics and sound was designed by Macario Ortega. The pre-modern setting of the temple stage had as its backdrop visuals of contemporary Mexico accompanied at points by the voice of Nicolás de Jesús speaking in Nahuatl, a lament of sorts. Ehrenberg posits an alternative version of Moctezuma's death that makes explicit his murder at the hands of the Spanish; this account goes against the popular version of events in Mexico, propagated by what Ehrenberg calls 'Official History' that holds that Moctezuma was a traitor and offered his kingdom to the conquistadors. Opting to capture the senses with a heady mixture of visuals, sound and smell, the performance sought to reclaim Mexico's history from the clutches of its colonial past.

An Interview with Felipe Ehrenberg

ZG: As you are returning to England, where you lived between 1968-1973, I would like to start by asking you about your experiences here. How did this time affect you and how do you feel about coming back?

FE: 'Coming back' is a wonderfully poignant phrase, especially when you're 64 (and more!). While browsing the Internet one afternoon I came across a photo of Langford Court, our home, the home of the Beau Geste Press (BGP), a community of printers, beautifully restored and converted into a Bed & Breakfast. I felt very touched by the wonder of cyber technology. At the BGP we relied both on highly labour intensive practices – collating, book binding and such, and state of the art technology, such as table-top mimeo machines, electronic stencil scanners and photocopiers. This made it possible for us to pioneer the field of mail art and more importantly, book art, or book objects or artists' books or whatever the genre is being called at present. At the same time, I couldn't help but think about the process of gentrification, indeed, about how poverty stricken artists (we were young, thus poor) have served real estate speculators, the curator-controlled art market and related phenomena.

Anyway, many of the conditions I faced at the time, as a struggling artist in tune with both the political upheavals tearing Latin American countries

apart, the shifting paradigms in the arts, and at the same time, an exile having to care for a family of four; all this changed radically when I returned to Mexico in 1974. In that context, all the ideas and experiences I had developed in Europe took on radically different meanings and applications. The small press experience, for instance, an exercise in unfettered, intimate artistic experimentation, morphed into a crusade, an experience that continued for nearly a decade. This led to the founding of over 800 collective community presses throughout Mexico, and even in Nicaragua, which at the time, had just toppled the dictator, Somoza, and was barely beginning its reconstruction. Small, portable press communities were a necessity, a *real* need!

ZG: Although your work seeks to have no recognizable style, repeated practices and themes are noticeable throughout your career. For example, printing projects and book design. What is the attraction of books, publishing and printing methods for you?

FE: Mayhaps I have just answered this question. I grew up in a family of readers ('book of the month' clubs and all). But the fact is that I trained in a printing workshop run by Catalunyan anarchists, who were exiled in Mexico during Franco's rule. In the mid 1960s, I became deeply involved with Margaret Randall and Sergio Mondragón, the prodigious poets who founded the legendary *The Plumed Horn (El Corno Emplumado)*. This was a bilingual, highly politicised and far-reaching magazine which gathered the most prominent and meaningful poets, writers and artists in Anglo and Latin America. People such as Bob Creely and Ernesto Cardenal and Jerry Rothenberg and Nicanor Parra and William Carlos Williams and Cecilia Vicuña and Phillip Lamantia were contributors. *The Plumed Horn* suffered a violent ending late in 1968. Actually, I've always insisted that I don't 'make' books ... books *happen* to me!

ZG: Your work shifts between styles, from paintings in the style of Mexican 'folk' embroidery to conceptual works. How do you feel about these artistic labels?

I guess life, for an artist of my time, could be divided in two. Art teachers, who were 'modernists', insisted on the need to "find your voice", that is, to develop a recognizable style *and keep to it*! This of course has a lot to do with the need to be distinctly recognised in the art market. Then there's the 'anti-matter' of conceptualism…

You know, I'm not a graduate of an art school. I was formed under the apprentice system, learning from older artists in their studios; a totally eclectic array of great people. Matias Goeritz, founder of the School of Altamira (1948); muralist José Chávez Morado, a powerful nationalistic artist; Feliciano Béjar, an experimental sculptor who used metal, crystal, plastic, and stained glass. I very much enjoyed and was influenced by my

mother's marvelous collections of what people call 'folk art'. Folk art is in fact a continuum of the various aesthetic systems which are still cultivated by various modern and contemporary First Nation artists in Mexico (Meshica, Mixtec, Zapotec, Maya, Pur'hépecha) as well as Rufino Tamayo, Francisco Toledo, Nicolás de Jesús and Germán Venegas. Being of European stock but very interested in and familiar with these aesthetic systems, I began questioning the reasons behind such deeply etched distinctions that Western art makes between 'itself' and non-Western expressions and/or ethnicity. In Mexico, this issue is a terrifying consequence of our racism: anything created by artists of European stock is *art*, whereas anything produced by brown-skinned First Nation artists is *craft* or folk art. I´ve always liked to insist that a Norwegian born in Norway is an *Aboriginal* of Norway, that a Roman born in Rome is a *Native* of Italy, and so on… And at the same time, that painters who use oil paint in their works are even more traditional craftspeople than a Quechua basket weaver. Tongue-in-cheek? Not at all, deadly serious!

ZG: Your multifarious activities have, among other things, seen you run for congressional office; establish crisis support after the earthquake in Mexico; work as a cultural attaché; and create a national network of print workshops. What is the driving force of your activities?

FE: Caramba, dear!! Is *joie-de-vivre* good enough for you? I can't conceive myself *making art* (just think of John Baldessari's 1971 piece) without enjoying doing so, without experiencing the deepest possible feelings, pleasure, fear, without being adventurous and unfettered (perhaps contemporary art accumulates the largest brunt of dogmas that art has ever had to bear). Anyway, if Penguin publishes acclaimed authors that have been "dishwashers, war correspondents, circus clowns, POWs, foreign ministers and college teachers", who can question an artist for seeking out source information … who knows?

ZG: Your new performance questions the way the Aztec leader Moctezuma has been remembered. Can you explain the significance of this historical figure for you? Why did you want to use performance to revisit this subject?

FE: Funny you ask why I chose to create a performance piece to deal with The First Major Encounter on Continental Land Between Two Widely Differing and Powerful Civilizations (caps not accidental). Truth is, both were suggested to me by the University of Essex. I accepted the invitation not only because I'm the only contemporary artist in Mexico to use the distant past as reference, but because no one in Mexico would even dare think of paying homage to this personage: the history of Mexico we're taught in school is the Spanish version, and this version disclaims any responsibility in the ruler's death.

Montezuma II, or better, Motecuzohma Xocoyotzin, was the antepenultimate ruler of an empire which was *not* called Aztec (the name was coined by Baron Alexander von Humboldt). He was *not* killed by his own people but was treacherously murdered by the Iberians he had grandly received as guests in the Palace Of Axayacatl. Learning about this, dealing with issues like this one, which is about the lies of Official History, strikes me as a fascinating possibility to understand the exponential forces of minute events. What if he had survived? What if the Europeans had come simply as traders, like the Chinese who first arrived 300 years before? The "what-ifs" of life are a major mystery; they lead to revolution and evolution.

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Caring for the Terminally Ill: Nursing a Patient with Oculopharyngeal Muscular Dystrophy
Claire O'Neill

ABSTRACT:
OPMD is one of the Muscular Dsytrophies (MD); inherited conditions, characterized by progressive weakness and degeneration of skeletal muscles (Lovering et al 2005). OPMD is an autosomal dominant form, of adult-onset, presented by progressive eyelid ptosis and dysphagia, followed by involvement of other muscles of the head and neck, and eventually proximal limb weakness (Emery 1998). This essay demonstrates advanced understanding of the impacts of OPMD on the physiological, social and psychological functioning of individuals, their family and society. The essay identifys the needs for nursing intervention and, informed by current best available evidence and in conjunction with members of the multi-disciplinary team, formulates effective methods of care with OPMD patients to promote comfort and functional ability.

Whilst working on a Gastroenterology ward at the local general hospital, I nursed a patient with Oculopharyngeal Muscular Dystrophy (OPMD). To preserve anonymity of the patient, they will be referred to as 'patient X' or 'the patient' throughout the essay. OPMD is one of the Muscular Dsytrophies (MD); inherited conditions, characterized by progressive weakness and degeneration of skeletal muscles (Lovering et al 2005). OPMD is an autosomal dominant form, of adult-onset, presented by progressive eyelid ptosis and dysphagia, followed by involvement of other muscles of the head and neck, and eventually proximal limb weakness (Emery 1998). Patient X was a 72-year-old gentleman who had been diagnosed with OPMD 20 years previously. The patient was now bed-bound, virtually paralysed, and had severe dysphagia. As a result of these disabilities the patient had an indwelling tracheostomy, and a Radiologically Inserted Gastrostomy (RIG). This essay reflects on the nursing interventions implemented to promote comfort and functional ability with the patient, as well as demonstrating advanced understanding exploring the multifaceted impacts that OPMD has on Patient X, his family and society.

Whilst eliciting a full medical and social history (see Appendix A) from the patient and his family, one of the main themes that emerged was the severe effects that OPMD had not only on patient X but also the family. Although patient X was aware of a clear family history of the inherited disease, the patient had declined genetic testing for the disorder when he was younger, and only two of his three sons had opted for a diagnostic blood test. This reflects research that has found a huge diversity in reactions from children of OPMD sufferers and their decisions on whether to have genetic diagnostic tests (Bradbury et al 2009). One of the patient's sons had read extensively

about OPMD, and often offered clear direction on how it may be best to help his father. Whilst nursing patient X, at times, I remember feeling unsure of whether to follow such advice. However, Cooper (2008) reiterates that in the cases of rare diseases often the carers and families become the experts.

Patient X's positive mental attitude towards the disease was another theme that emerged from his medical and social history. Patient X was always keen to have surgery and treatment that would improve his comfort or functional ability, even if it did not improve the long-term prognosis. This attitude is reflected in the Krause-Bachand and Koopman (2008) study where most OPMD patients sought medical intervention to address their droopy eyelids and swallowing difficulty and expressed thoughts of 'living for today', and 'making the most of their situation'. The only surgery patient X was not happy about having was his RIG insertion, perhaps because the realisation that he would no longer be able to eat food directly challenged his positive attitude towards the disease. Watt and Whyte's (2003) qualitative study found a link between low mood and worsening dysphagia, as a result of a progressive absence of 'decent food' and the association of food with pain. Patient X was currently being prescribed mood enhancers, whereas on previous reviews, before the RIG insertion, the patient had described his mood as 'placid' but not depressed. Patient X's mood may have thus progressed from placid to depressed in line with his worsening dysphagia, and as the opportunity for interventions to enhance his quality of life declined.

The Physiotherapy Team suggested that the patient would benefit from wearing a palm-protector on his left-hand, at two hourly intervals, due to a joint contracture. The aim of the regime was to prolong functional use of the patient's hand for as long as possible. Lovering et al (2005) suggest that physical therapies, such as palm-protector regimes, offer the most promise in maintaining the best level of health for the majority of MD patients, due to unlikely advances in gene therapy significantly altering their clinical treatment in the near future. Patient X, however, sometimes expressed mild discomfort when wearing the palm-protector, and concern that being disturbed whilst sleeping at two-hourly intervals was affecting him psychologically. Krause-Bachand and Koopman (2008) found people with OPMD are often affected more by the psychological aspects than the physical aspects of the disease. Further, although Lovering et al (2005) provide evidence that such protectors prolong function, I suggest this is not the same as promoting health. Health is a holistic entity, linked with quality of life, encompassing the multiple dimensions of physical, functional and psychosocial well being (Aaronson 1990). As a result of the patient's complaints, the decision could have been made not to put the palm-protector on at all, however as Horgan (1958) reminds us, until science finds a cure for the MD, the nurses job is to help the patient to cope with the disease and

keep as active and alert as possible. Therefore, in consultation with the physiotherapists, taking into account the patient's wishes and available evidence, it was decided that the patient should only wear the palm-protector for four hours a day, with the aim of achieving an equilibrium between the patient being physically active and psychologically well, thus promoting the best level of health possible under the circumstances.

As a result of the patient's malfunctioning pharyngeal muscles, an indication of OPMD, the patient experienced progressive dysphagia (Krause-Bachand & Koopman 2008). The dysphagia had become severe, and consequently large volumes of secretions often accumulated in his trachea and thus required frequent suctioning to prevent aspiration of fluid into the lungs. As a result of this, the patient had an indwelling tracheostomy. Positively, the patient's tracheostomy tube contained an inner cannula, enabling removal and cleaning of this inner tube to prevent blockages (Russell 2005). I cleaned both the inner cannula and stoma site using normal saline as per instructions from the Respiratory Nurse Specialist. Although a literature search yielded no research in the United Kingdom on the incidence of the use of normal saline in this procedure, a review of hospitals in Australia and New Zealand found that the use of normal saline was common practice to prevent infection around the stoma site (Keogh et al 2008). This is surprising as Trundle and Brooks (2004) identify that neither hydrogen peroxide nor normal saline are required for the cleaning of the inner tube and that cleaning a tracheostomy tube with tap water is sufficient. Further, there appears a large amount of evidence which suggests there is no clinically significant increase in the risk of wound infection in wounds irrigated with tap water compared to sterile normal saline (Bee et al 2009; Whaley 2004). Therefore, I would suggest that there is little proven advantage in using saline for cleaning the tube or the site compared to tap water. Indeed, careful attention to the stoma site has been suggested to decrease the risk of infection, and it appears that it is the frequency of the tube and dressing changes as well as cleaning that reduce the risk of infection rather than the liquid used (Yaremchuk 2003).

Scase (2004) suggests that careful cleaning underneath the tracheostomy sponge is required as there is a risk of skin damage from a tube neck plate constantly resting on the peri-stomal skin. Patient X had his tracheostomy site changed daily, with careful attention paid to the skin resting under the neck plate. Serra (2000) recommends that the stoma site be cleaned at least twice daily, and that increased cleansing is dependent on the individual patient's needs and the amount of secretions. Patient X was often noted as having 'large, thick secretions', which would indicate that his stoma site might have benefited from more frequent cleaning. Russell (2005) identified that although a purpose-made brush will assist with removing debris from within the inner cannula, these brushes may then contain micro-organisms, and should therefore be disposed of daily. I did not witness the brush being

changed whilst on long-day shifts. As the stoma dressing was due daily, it would have been efficient to dispose of the brush at the same time.

Socially, a tracheostomy may present problems both practically (with eating and communication) and visually (they may look unattractive) (Benner 1984; Barnett 2006). Literature exists on how the psychological effects of a tracheostomy (Barnett 2006). However, there appears little evidence regarding society's perceptions of tracheostomies and how this affects society from a psychological aspect. I noticed that staff would often talk over the patient, and even when they did talk to the patient they failed to place their hand over the tracheostomy which would have allowed a clear response. The current author suggests that people were scared of the tracheostomy. This is particularly socially disadvantageous to patients who have MD as they are not able to use their own hand to cover the tube to propel their voice. I always spoke directly to the patient and placed my hand over the tube to allow the patient to speak, thus limiting some of the negative social effects a tracheostomy presents.

As a result of suspected pleural effusion, the doctors requested a thoracentesis, otherwise known as a 'pleural tap', procedure. It is well documented that patients are worried about pain and the anaesthetic associated with medical procedures, as well as the procedure itself (Mitchell 2000). Therefore, as part of my explanation to the patient on what to expect regarding the thoracentesis, I suggested that that the procedure would be pain free, as a result of a local aesthetic. Coll et al (2004) suggest that it is more beneficial to suggest that such a procedure will be comfortable rather than pain free, as pain is a subjective construct and multidimensional. I have, also, witnessed patients visually and verbally expressing pain during this procedure. Further, it appears widely documented in the research on surgery and similar procedures that giving information to patients and explaining that a painful procedure may be painful reduces the amount of pain that the patient reports, consequently also reducing their anxiety levels (Clements & Melby 1998; Mitchell 2000).

I used well validated communication skills, such as paraphrasing and summarising, to try and maximise the patient's understanding of the procedure (Epstein et al 2004). After describing the procedure to the patient I asked if the patient had any questions, a method found to be effective in achieving patient understanding and thus patient satisfaction (Baker et al 2007). Reflecting on how I explained the procedure to the patient, I could have perhaps written down my explanation, as the air humidifier in his room appeared to make it difficult for the patient to hear at times. Mitchell (2000) argues that, the level of information people need and how they retain it varies, so information provision should be appropriately tailored to individual need. Patient X had been in hospital a long time and had

undergone many investigative procedures, therefore he may not have needed as comprehensive an explanation. However, due to documented findings of patient's complaints about insufficient information provision regarding forthcoming procedures it might be good practice to always provide clear, detailed explanations (Gilmartin 2004; Rhodes et al 2006).

It is clear that OPMD is a complex disease, with complex physical, psychological and social consequences, for the patient and the patient's family. Through reflection on nursing patient X, I have learnt that the incurable aspect of the disease does not make a nurse redundant in improving the patient's health. A nurse's role, with a patient who has a condition that cannot be treated from a physiological perspective, merely shifts to focus on maintaining and improving the patient's social and psychological well-being. Through multi-professional communication, (with physiotherapists and respiratory specialists in this particular case), a nurse can be the patient's advocate to achieve equilibrium between the different aspects of the holistic entity known as 'health'.

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Appendix A: Medical and Social History of the OPMD Patient

Reason for Hospital Admission
- Chest Infection due to OPMD and Gastroenteritis.

Medical History
- Diagnosed 20 years ago with OPMD, after signs of OPMD started to appear.
- Patient experienced a gradual deterioration with his mobility, due to OPMD, eventually he ended up in a wheelchair and is now bed bound.
- Gradually worsening dysphagia and ptosis.
- No known allergies.

Current Medications
- Diclofenac, Solpadol, and Paracetamol for aches and pains.
- Adolat for Hypertension..
- Fluoxetine for depression.
- Eye and Ear Drops.

Previous Surgery/Procedures
- Right phacoemulsification for removal of lens with lens implants as had bilateral cataracts- patient had been keen to have this.
- Blepharoplasty 'eyelid surgery' for ptosis.
- RIG insertion.
- Urinary catheter insertion.
- Tracheostomy.

Family History
- Patients mother, maternal uncle, one of his three brothers, one of his three sons suffered from OPMD.
- Only two of the three sons decided to be genetically tested for OPMD.
- Patient's mother died at 79, and maternal uncle died at 53, both due to complications of OPMD.
- The son with OPMD, aged 39, doesn't visit as the son finds this too distressing.
- One of the son's who had not been diagnosed with the disease had an interest in OPMD and was an expert on the condition.

Social History
- Previous occupation- engineering buyer, an occupation which he described as a real joy.
- The patient had secured voluntary redundancy in 1996 as had been worried about his financial situation.
- Divorced 15 years ago, but still in contact with his ex-wife.

- Lives alone.
- Non smoker.
- No alcohol.
- No illicit drug use.

Psychological History
- Previous reviews had said the patient had coped well with his symptoms, for example, he used to state that his swallowing was "not too bad" and knew exactly what to eat, and he completed his home exercises.
- Previously described his condition as 'placid' but not depressed.
- Currently expresses that he is depressed, is now on antidepressants as a result.
- Cognition intact.
- Patient had been eager to have surgery for ptosis and cataracts but not for the RIG insertion.

* Certain details have been omitted, i.e. patient D.O.B to preserve the anonymity of the patient

Another Day
Joshua Grocott

10:17pm, Thursday the 18th of November

Another day.
Another death.
Nineteen hours, twenty seven minutes after the last one.
Seventeen days since the first.
This is number eighteen.
The flat's like all the others.
Some minor cosmetic differences.
Shape, layout, fixtures and furnishings.
All are essentially the same.
Everything basic; everything cheap.
Less a home than a shelter.
The occupant was only passing through.

I light another off my last.
Keep the fire burning.
Best way.
Standard single: kitchen/living room.
Bathroom down the hall.
No bath; body in the shower.
I check the bedroom first.
Dirty sheets, unmade bed.
Beer cans cover every inch of surface and floor.
Empties only.
Shoes stick to the carpet.
I think of a nightclub at two a.m.
Reek of damp, spilt beer and spoilt food.
Scent mingles in the back of my throat.
Tastes like municipal waste.

Porn piled in stacks by the bed.
The only items kept neat in the room.
If there was a struggle, it wouldn't show.
The victim must not have entertained much.
If he did, he clearly didn't expect to get to the bedroom.
I'm avoiding the body, but this is more horrific than death.
It starts to seem like a mercy kill.
I feel guilty over that thought.
I cringe finding a used tissue clinging to my shoe.

I follow the note's directions into the kitchen.
It tells me to "look in the fridge".
Spark another; fucking menthols.
Better for taking off the edge.
Inhale hard, deep breath.
Hold the minty smoke in my lungs, while I open the door.
Expect to be immersed in gore.
Prepare for shock (if that's possible).
The hinges creak, the vacuum is released.
The white good's secrets escape.
No stench, no blood, no body parts.
No light.
No hum.
No click or whirr.
No power and no life.
Dial shows four degrees; inside feels room-temperature.
No food, just beer, over a dozen.
Saddening… reminds me of home.
Dried watermark on the floor; it's been off a while.
Pull it away from the wall… no plug.
Cords cut off, barely an inch left on the unit.
I realise the connotations of the note.

Time to face the body: take out another smoke.
Push open the bathroom door.
Deliberately look away from where the body lies.
Eyes rest on the floor.
Wonder why the tiling undulates.
Surprised to observe tiles, black, levitating off the floor.
Realise too late.
Rookie error.
Shut the door hurriedly; knock disturbed flies away from my face.

Take a few more tugs, breath it back out.
Insects hate smoke: they're smart enough to know it kills.
Kick door back open and throw in my lit fag.
Wait while the Uniform sprays some Raid.
The flies are livid now.
They're all as fucked as the guy who lived here.
Some were incinerated when the live butt ignited the insecticide.

Another cigarette and a salts soaked handkerchief.
Back in the water closet; shit sight… literally.
The corpse was in the shower.

It must have started on the john.
What the victim had begun, he'd finished across the room.
I don't step foot through the door.
I note the inflammation on the soles of the subject's feet.
My shoes are rubber soled; I place one on top of the floor mat.
Dragging the mat away from the wall, I find resistance.
A white cord is connected at one corner.
Wet under the mat, preserved by its presence.
The cord runs through a hole in the wall.
Later, I knew we'd find the mat to be laced with wire.
Electrocution was the favoured means of execution.
That's why the killers were known as "The Electro-cutioner".
We knew them better; at least differently; at least as a plural.
Electrocution is the common feature.
But our main concerns are for the volume of killings.
One for every day in a thirty-day month.
Thirty days had September, thirty deaths as well.
April and June had the same.
Still no one to take the blame…
For one hundred and eight fucking murders.
The media ran with what we gave them.
A serial killer sells papers.
All the victims have one reoccurring common feature.
None of them have anyone to miss them.
The papers claimed a single criminal was running riot.
We knew there had to be a vast network.
Engineering so many deaths in a single month?
Only fucking Santa Claus has that kind of magic.
He probably has better things to do.

I order the adjacent flat to be entered.
No hope it will help.
Every time, it's always the same.
No names or faces; sometimes rented, sometimes squatted.
Never a trace, never a tale; just one more sad, dead bastard.
They're never reported missing.
Their homes are never noticed to be inactive.
The level of research required in knowing a victim wouldn't be missed?
Shit.
One hundred and eight deaths; not one reported.
We only know they're gone because the notes keep us updated.
If I didn't have to keep the Met apprised of my location everyday.
I know each time: it could have been me.
A well placed sick note, and it still might.

The clerk at the drugstore might miss me, but he doesn't even know my name.

I ignore the rattle of dying flies.
I shut the door.
Prepare to sign the crime scene over to forensics.
I'm happy to go home.
Have a beer or two.
Maybe try to knock one out.
Get some sleep.
Pray to overcome my erectile dysfunction and insomnia.
Wait for tomorrow's note.
Hope I'm not next.
What more can I do?

Same Place, Some Weeks Earlier

He picked the lock. No sense of urgency. He took his time. His latex gloves were numbing. He knew the door handle was cold: he detected the temperature through the coating around his finger tips, but he felt removed from it. He was much like the glove. The gloves hid traces of his identity, just as he hid the traces of his Handler's identity, as his handler no doubt did for someone else in an incalculable chain. When this was over, he'd burn the gloves, along with his overalls and his cheap plimsolls. He pushed the glove metaphor from his thoughts; he decided he was more like a gun. A valuable, reliable weapon, he'd be hidden away until he was needed again. He was good at what he did, he was not disposable. The door slid shut behind him with an awkward clunk, the trademark of a fire prevention hinge. It was expected, but jarring none the less.

He swept the bedroom first, its location was already known to him. He was glad he would not have to waste time searching again. The smell in the room penetrated his thin paper mask with ease: his gag reflex was at its limit. A briefcase under the bed, a tool box in the cupboard; every empty can disturbed was replaced with painful precision. He left the room as he'd found it, minus the two items. He left the case by the front door, proceeding to the kitchen with the toolbox. His instructions were specific; deviation from them was not prudent; he referred closely to the note in his pocket. "Use the fridge". He worked quickly; he was an efficient electrician and his job was relatively simple. He didn't understand the need to use the Mark's tools, nor did he perceive the elaborate nature of his orders as particularly necessary, but he did not question his directive.

He entered the bathroom with the fridge's electrical cable and the toolbox in hand. He set the box down, opened it and located a pair of pliers. He deftly stripped the cable, exposing the inner wires, which he then began to separate into their many individual strands. He picked up the grime encrusted bathmat from underneath the toilet, and began to thread through the strands of wire, following the intricate pattern shown in his notes. This exercise took him the longest: he was a fair sparky, but a shit seamstress. He took care to ensure he didn't pierce his fingers: a pin-prick could permanently piss on his chips. When it came to the drilling, he was back in his element, one clean hole through the wall into the adjacent flat. Once the wire was adequately concealed, he moistened the mat to the exact stipulation, and departed.

He waited by the front door of the neighbouring apartment listening for his mark in the hall, his electrical trap completed and set, his finger on the proverbial trigger. The trigger in this case was a complicated circuit breaker, so really his finger was on the switch. He rubbed the pivoting plastic with his finger still encased in latex. He kept his covering garments on at all times. He would not remove them until his business was completed and he was safely removed from the premises. Many hours passed. He was alone with his thoughts, and he found them poor company. His hands were hot. Perspiration filled the gloves, collecting in the lines on his palms, creating itches he couldn't scratch. The gloves had become an irritation, an inconvenience he'd be glad to be rid of. He thought again about his Handler; wondering whether 'convenience' was the motivation behind his current operation.

He disliked the dark; the covert spy-holes into the staging area made darkness a necessity in the production area. He tried not to think about the Mark; about the man he'd watched for weeks. The more he'd learnt, the harder it became to maintain detachment. The man's existence engendered pity. The Mark shared his trade, but was at present unemployed. They might both be electricians, but as far as he could tell, they shared no further similarities. Work was hard to come by. That's why he was here. He sympathised, but he was still sickened by the Mark's home-life: there was no excuse for slovenliness. He focused on his disgust. He told himself it would help. He was finding it difficult to differentiate between revulsion for the Mark's, and for his own life-style choices. The Mark might be a slob, but at least he wasn't a killer. Was he? He might be. How could he know?

He was beginning to doubt. In this line of work, doubt could be deadly. It caused hesitation, and he who hesitates is lost. Maybe he was lost? For all he knew, the man next door might have more in common with him than he had originally perceived. This time next year, he could find himself frying on his own toilet, just like the poor old bastard would tonight. One of the spy-holes flared with light. The bathroom: the Mark had got past and he'd

missed his footsteps. Fuck it. He pressed his eye into the light, blinking at its synthetic cruelty, squinting to make out his target. On the other side of the wall, the Mark was loosening his trousers in the door way. The assassin looked down to see exposed toes. No shoes. Green light: the switch felt somehow heavier in his hand. He waited as the Mark wriggled free of his clothes, kicking them into a pile on the floor. He waited while the man turned and squatted onto the toilet bowl. He waited to hear the splash.

He left the building as anonymously as he'd entered. He never collected his final payment at the designated drop. His wages were greatly appreciated by the old vagrant who found them, under a bench, in one of London's less popular parks. He was never caught by any authority that might have been looking for him, and his Handler never found cause to find him. He never experienced another night of uninterrupted sleep and he never again sat comfortably when using the toilet. He kept the latex gloves he'd used that night: he couldn't bring himself to dispose of them. The "Electro-cutioner" case was never closed; remaining eternally unresolved.

Commentary

Process of Composition
Working from the stimulus of Detective fiction, the piece was composed as a reaction to the constraints proposed by Todorov. Though the text does not attempt to reinvent his parameters, it applies some of his defining directives literally to the letter, whilst others are blurred or ignored on a subjective basis.
'At the base of the whodunit we find a duality, and it is this duality which will guide our description. This novel contains not one but two stories: the story of the crime and the story of the investigation.' (Todorov, Tzvetan, "The Typology of Detective Fiction", from Lodge (Ed.), *Modern Criticism & Theory,* Pearson, Harlow, 2000, p139)

The crime (in linear terms) must obviously take place before it is investigated, though due to the way I opted to formulate the two independent narratives, I decided that the crime should be recounted after the detection. It is standard practice to give a brief outline of the crime's specifics, before the detective interprets the clues, revealing *"whodunit"* and how at the conclusion. Skipping introductions, we move directly to the detective's first encounter of the crime scene, the implication that he has viewed many similar scenes before is of pivotal importance. I was attempting to depict the detective as having resigned himself to cynical failure. He, as a

character, is less important than the nature of the crime he is reviewing. He is, for all intents and purposes, totally impotent.

'Maybe try to knock one out.

Get some sleep.

Pray to overcome my erectile dysfunction and insomnia.'

In the second part of the story I aimed to reinforce the hopelessness of any investigation, by promoting the proficiency of the assassin ring, discretely implying a military or government link.

Development and Revision

It had been my intention to compose a piece to shatter the rules of Van Dine (advocate of the Detective fiction standard), as summarised by Todorov (Ibid, p142), an exercise that went well initially. I created a situation that would null all of the suggestions, through staging murder in the setting of a detective's training seminar. It did not take long to realise that such an endeavour would rapidly expand beyond the constraints of a short story of no more than two thousand words, especially if I were to successfully convey all of the subject matter I wished to acknowledge. I began to work on an alternative line of development, no longer intent on shattering rules, but bending them beyond recognition. I wrote an extensive analysis of a crime-scene in first person narrative. The detective recounting his experience in real-time; present tense; as he came across it. This too began to unfold, taking up more of the word count than I would have preferred, so I reviewed my work from a more realistic perspective. Whilst attempting to edit out some of my more flamboyant and unnecessarily descriptive terminology, I was reminded of Todorov's example of a *'pure' whodunit* (Ibid, p139).

'a small green index-card on which is typed:

Odel, Margaret.

184 W. Seventy-first Street. Murder: Strangled about 11p.m. Apartment robbed. Jewels Stolen. Body found by Amy Gibson, maid. [S. S. Van Dine, The 'Canary' Murder Case]

I decided to cut the nameless detective's account of the crime scene down to a series of bullet pointed notes, similar to the approach employed by Alan Moore for the character 'Rorschach' in his graphic novel, *Watchmen.*

Theoretical context

In accordance with Van Dine's first rule, I have adhered to the required cast of *'one detective and one criminal, and at least one victim (a corpse)'* (Ibid, p142) with each character taking on few defining personal traits beyond these limited requirements. The second rule is upheld to a certain extent, in that the murderer is not the detective and is not technically professional though acts as directed with proficiency; he does not however, *'kill for personal reasons'* (Ibid, p142), just business. The motivations of the killer are

conveyed in the later story, where he shows distaste for his task and concerns for his own personal safety inspired by the sinister nature of his employers. He is inconsequential: if he did not carry out his task, someone else would be found to take his place; and he would like as not take the role of the victim. In this way, he fails to fulfil rule number four, which states *'the culprit must have a certain importance'* (Ibid, p142). Rule eight, that prohibits the use of *'banal solutions'* (Ibid, p142), has been carefully evaded in my text, in that no solution is offered. In this way, I hoped to re-direct the focus of the piece from the mystery resolution of standard Detective fiction, instead concentrating on the creation of the mystery. The first and second parts of the story each pursue different methods of developing suspense, each building to absolute anti-climax.

'the suspense novel. It keeps the mystery of the whodunit and also the two stories, that of the past and that of the present; but it refuses to reduce the second to a simple detection of the truth.' (Ibid, pg 143)

Self Evaluation

This was my first attempt at detective fiction and, in review, it seems far from a resounding success. I also tried to portray a character through first person narrative in the present tense, a technique I have never used before, and after several re-writes I am still not entirely convinced is satisfactory. I am pleased with the effect achieved by the detective's bullet-pointed prose; it seems that despite being half the length, the primary meaning is still conveyed. What attracted me to Detective fiction was the prospect of creating a detective and killer whose hearts were not in their work, therefore escaping the archetypal roles of hero and villain. Each story reflects the senseless nature of the killing, giving little away as to any higher motive, though I feel enough clues have been given to that end. The victim is centred upon but pushed to the periphery simultaneously, he shares certain common traits with both detective and killer; through him I hoped to draw out the hidden aspects of the other characters. The defining similarity shared by all of the characters are their unifying illustrations of unfulfilled lives, this parallel probably constitutes the most effective allusion of this particular text.

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The Letter to the Letter

Jonathan Davidoff

ABSTRACT:

In his 1957 text 'The Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious', French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan investigates the nature, composition and functions of the unconscious. Following the post-structuralist tradition, Lacan bases his re-reading of Freud on Saussure's linguistics, and by doing so comes to the conclusion that the unconscious is structured like a language: composed of signifier chains and structured by the rules of language. Also, he investigates the nature of the signifier and sifts its most simple component and functions, namely the letter. This explanatory analysis of the foresaid text aims to follow step by step the development carried out by Lacan and to explain what we think he established in it.

Lacan is known by many for his subversive contributions to the psychoanalytic domain, and known by many others for his contributions to the philosophical field. It could be said that Lacan was the ultimate metaphysical psychoanalyst, for not only did he contribute to psychoanalysis in terms of clinical and empirical notions, but also in terms of the ontological status that the subject has; of the place and functions that the unconscious should have in the psychoanalytical experience, and of the constitution of the subject in general. It is probable that Lacan would never view himself as a metaphysical thinker, and his followers would hardly agree to this idea insofar as Lacan follows, as will be expounded in this paper, Ferdinand de Saussure's non-referential theory of language. Nevertheless, it is important to say that Lacan made crucial contributions in terms of the 'substance of the unconscious', not by attributing to it any essence, but on the contrary, by sifting its ultimate and most simple component, namely the letter. In 'The Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious' (1957) Lacan pursues the search of the letter and concludes that the unconscious is structured as a language. An explanatory analysis of this text is the objective of the present paper.

Lacan begins by pointing out how the psychoanalytical experience uncovers the structure of language in the unconscious, implying that the unconscious would not be a reservoir of fantasies or impulses, but something else. He points out that language is the ultimate structure and that it precedes the talking subject, even if it is only by his given name. Thus the subject would be then subject to language. He continues by addressing the metaphysical issues of language: the object of language would never be the-thing-in-itself, but the concept. According to Lacan, in language the-thing-in-itself is reduced to nothing, to a name.

It is important to bear in mind that Lacan finds himself submerged in the post-war psychoanalytic world, which was mostly led at the time by the Ego psychology and the Object Relations psychoanalytical streams, which held very different notions of the unconscious. Lacan found that the theoretical inconsistencies in psychoanalysis were vast, and that there were many misinterpretations of Freud's work, mainly in the hands of the ego psychologists in the United States. Lacan was also heavily influenced by the main philosophical discourses at that time in France, namely Structuralism, post-Structuralism, post-Hegelianism and Heidegger. It is from this context that Lacan elaborated his own psychoanalytic notions to achieve a more scientific psychoanalysis, not in the sense of a more empirically based approach, but an approach that would have a more consistent logical structure. To describe the structure and function of the unconscious, Lacan drew upon the work of a key structuralist, namely Ferdinand de Saussure.

In the 'Course of General Linguistics' (1916), Saussure developed a structuralist approach to linguistics. He gave words and speech a logical structure that would define their function. In order to explain the functioning of language, he coined the notion of a linguistic symbol, composed of a 'signifier' and a 'signified', and explained how they interact with each other and with other signs. For Saussure, signifier and signified are like two sides of the same sheet. The signified would be an idea and the signifier would be a word, such as it appears in his classic example of the 'idea of the tree' being the signified, and the word 'tree' the signifier that signifies that idea. For Saussure, every symbol was arbitrary and closed in itself, and the relationships between the signs were determined by the laws of language, for instance, the laws of metonymy and metaphor. Metonymy is the form of the relationship of one sign to the next by contiguity, and metaphor would be the form of the relationship between signs where the signifier of one sign substitutes the signifier of another. Of course, Saussurean linguistics is far more intricate than that, but this fragmentary account of it perhaps suffices for the purposes of this paper: to follow Lacan's steps.

Lacan had found, in this approach to linguistics, the terms that he felt were needed to give a logical structure to the Freudian unconscious. This logical structure, according to Lacan, represented a return to a more faithful and accurate way of reading Freudian concepts than the dominant American and British approaches of the time. Lacan retook the notion of sign, signifier and signified and, still attributing these inventions to Saussurean linguistics, he changed what these notions stood for and their structure as it follows:

$$\frac{S}{s}$$

The signifier is above the bar and is denoted with a majuscule S; the signified would lie below the bar and would be denoted with a minuscule s; the circle

that Saussure had put around the sign was eliminated by Lacan and the bar would stand for the resistance to signification. More importantly, this was no longer a linguistic sign, but an algorithm, and it would cease to stand for the relation of signifier to signified, but for the signifier's function.

Lacan attributes primacy to the signifier over the signified. This does not mean that the signifier stands for the signified or that it represents it in any way. Lacan says that 'the signifier enters in fact into the signified; namely, in a way that, not being immaterial, raises the question of its place in reality' (Lacan, 1956, 151), this means that the signifier has an actual entrance to the signified; not only does the signifier signify the signified, it also modifies it. Says Lacan: '…these units are subjected to the double condition of being reducible to ultimate differential elements and of combining them according to the laws of a closed order (Lacan, 1956, 152)'. Thus Lacan explains that the signifier has two main rules that dictate its structure: it is composed of (or articulated by) ultimate differential elements (phonemes or letters) and it is composed by them according to a closed order or chain. Subsequently, signifiers would also form chains. These chains are what will be for Lacan the unconscious: chains of signifiers that remit one to the next. Says Lacan: 'the signifying chain, gives an approximate idea: rings of a necklace that is a ring in another necklace made of rings' (Lacan, 1956, 153).

Regarding signification (the signified), Lacan says 'for we can say that it is in the chain of the signifier that the meaning 'insists' but that none of its elements consists in the signification of which it is at the moment capable' (Lacan, 1956, 153). In the chain the signified (meaning) insists, but it is not contained in the elements of the chain: there is a sliding of signification under the signifiers chain. By this, Lacan points out how the psychic system works: there would be chains of signifiers that would constitute the unconscious, which are not containers of any signification whatsoever, and on another level there would be a sliding of signification that would be the speech of the subject, and meaning. Between the signifiers and the signifieds, we find the bar which Lacan points out as 'the resistance to signification'; this bar would stand for the impossibility of achieving the full signification of the words pronounced by the subject, therefore, it is possible to assume that this bar is the same bar that Lacan says traverses the subject ($), as it would represent castration as experienced by the speaking subject. Therefore, the bar also stands for repression; the repressed would then be signifiers.

For Saussure, the signifier chain is lineal, monophonic and horizontal, implying that what is being said corresponds to what is actually being said (the enunciation corresponds to the enunciate), whereas for Lacan the chain is polyphonic and has the structure of a pentagram, for there are many levels of what is being said when the subject speaks. The punctuation signs would be like vertical lines that traverse the horizontal chains, like synchronic cuts

made in the deployed speech. And the chain, says Lacan, operates only by being present in the subject. This structure of the chain reveals that it is possible to say (or imply) a very different thing than what is being said, for 'the function of the word is not 'disguising thought', but to indicate the place of this subject in the search for the true' (Lacan, 1956, 155). The chain of signifiers will be then, according to Lacan, the place where the subjective dimension appears in what is being said.

Where is the subject to be found in the chain? In order to answer this, Lacan explains the proper function of the signifier in metonymy. One signifier remits to the next one, says Lacan, a metonymic function of remission from one signifier to the other is what constitutes the main function of the chain. In other texts, Lacan coins the notion of 'metonymic desire', in order to explain how, in this sliding of discourse and of the signifier chain, the subjective position is revealed and therefore its desire. An illustration of this would be an analysand that talks during the psychoanalytical session; thus he freely associates one theme with another (metonymically) and the analyst is able to sift the subjective position of the analysand by listening to his speech and paying (a floating) attention to the 'pentagram' of the analysand speech, and also by paying (a floating) attention to surrounding what his discourse slides. Later in his work, Lacan points out that the subject has an evanescent nature, and that it is between signifiers. Lacan terms this the *aphanisis* function of the subject.

Thus, Lacan follows the Saussurean model of the linguistic mechanisms, and claims that those same mechanisms order the unconscious. 'Metonymy' is one of the mechanisms that ordain the functioning of the chain, but there is another mechanism of equal importance, namely the metaphor. 'Metaphor', states Lacan, 'occurs at the precise point at which the sense emerges from non-sense'(Lacan, 1956, 158). Lacan, following Saussure, explains that a metaphor is the substitution of one signifier by another, creating an *explosion of sense (meaning)*. Every unconscious formation (dream, lapsus, symptom, joke, or parapraxis) has a metaphoric structure, for one signifier has been substituted by another. For example, in the hysterical conversive symptom, a part of the body (not due to its corporeal importance, but to its signifier nature) is substituted by another signifier; the signifier 'throat' is substituted by another signifier, ending in the impossibility to swallow, or cough, or whatever manifestation the symptom might have. In the metaphor, the resistant to signification bar is traversed, achieving full signification; in Freudian words, the unconscious formation has somehow escaped repression and manifested in a metaphoric way.

Metaphor and metonymy are both linguistic mechanisms, but also the mechanisms of the unconscious. This is what Lacan finds in his reading of Freud's claims on displacement and condensation, and both are essential

mechanisms in dream work, symptoms and in every unconscious formation. The Freudian discovery of free association as a way to access the unconscious is what Lacan calls 'metonymy'. Every other unconscious formation, fully invested with meaning (or signification), dreams being the quintessence of them, are what Lacan calls 'metaphor'. To understand psychoanalysis in this way is what Lacan refers to with his insistent 'return to Freud', as it is possibly an more intellectually mature approach to the essential Freudian claims, that were in many ways dismissed by the psychoanalysis of that time.

The question of the letter remains unresolved. It is possible to say that the letter is what it is: the letter is a letter, any letter. Lacan says: 'But how are we to take this 'letter' here? Quite simply, literally *(to the letter)*. By letter I designate that material support that concrete discourse borrows from language' (Lacan, 1956, 147). The letter then, is the simplest component of the signifier, by itself it does not mean anything (with the obvious exception of single letter words such as 'I' and 'a', but in these cases, the letter is the full signifier), it has to be contiguously opposed to other letters in order to compose a signifier, and we could assume that the letter is the graphical and conceptual representation of a sound, which as we know, only acquires its full tonality and emphasis when opposed to other sounds or letters, making thus doubtful the representational character of the letter. It is remarkable that Lacan found in such a simple and basic element, present in culture ever since writing emerged, the substance of the unconscious; and even more so when the unconscious was conceived at that time as a 'deep and vast container'. Moreover, the letter is that border-element between language (therefore culture) and the psyche.

To take the letter to the letter is not only the way Lacan explains that a letter *is* a letter; it is also a political statement that will mark the position of the analyst towards the subject, and of Lacan's way of understanding psychoanalysis. If the letter is what the signifier is composed of, and the unconscious is constituted by signifier chains, then the analyst should listen to the letter (of) the subject's speech. This can be interpreted as a political argument against those who, according to Lacan, neglected the centrality of the subject in the psychoanalytical practice; but also as an ethical claim, for it points out that the analyst should not make *himself* the interpretation, the interpretation must come essentially from the subject's speech. Thus the more the analyst bares this in mind, the more he will grant the subject the place that only belongs to it.

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The Social and Economic Impact of the Emancipation of the Serfs in Russia

Louis Hobart

ABSTRACT:

The emancipation of the serfs in Russia had a huge impact on both its society and economy. With the majority of the population of Russia being serfs, the emancipation transformed society; though fell short of a total transformation of the social hierarchy. Despite this, the emancipation did provide the peasantry with more social and economic freedom than that which had existed under serfdom; leading to the emancipation the development of a new class, the bourgeois. The emancipation also fostered the steady increase in urbanisation, industrialization, and commercial farming. Nonetheless, the majority of the peasants remained economically weak. The nobility also suffered from the emancipation, losing a substantial part of their income. It is, however, worth noting that the emancipation must be considered in terms of evolution rather than revolution, as changes occurred very gradually. Additionally, the social and economic transformation during this period was the result of a number of factors, and thus the impact of the emancipation must be judged with a degree of caution

The emancipation of the serfs in Russia (1861) is perhaps the most defining moment in Russian history, with its impact being seen many years after the event itself. Lenin saw the emancipation of the serfs as a precursor to the revolution of 1905, which itself he saw as a dress rehearsal for 1917. Thus we see the profound impact of the decision to emancipate the serfs on some of the most important events to follow it. However there is some debate surrounding the emancipation and its impact on the Russian society and the Russian economy. While assessing the impact on these two elements we should also consider the speed of change, as this will allow us to understand the extent to which the change was felt by society at the time. We must briefly consider society prior to the emancipation in order to draw conclusions about the effects of the reform. The Russian economy was primarily centred on agriculture. Serfdom was in place, with the nobility owning the majority of the peasants, forming part of a strict hierarchical society. The nobility's power essentially came from the right to own land and the right to own serfs. However by the time of the reign of Alexander II serfdom began to be questioned and attempts to abolish serfdom began; a process which was only fully completed during the reign of Nicolas II, in 1866 with the emancipation of state serfs.

We should familiarise ourselves with the terms of the emancipation itself. It was decided that the serfs should be emancipated with both their household plot and an allotment of land, the size of which should be around the same size as that which they tilled prior to the emancipation. However the size of these plots were often smaller than this due to 'cut offs' by the nobility (Acton, 1995). The peasants would also have to pay for this land via redemption payments to the government over a 49 year period, whilst the price of the land was artificially inflated so as to compensate the nobility (Acton, 1995). Land was also not given to individual ex-serfs, but to the peasant commune, a traditional form of local peasant government (Acton, 1995). However the serfs were not immediately freed from bondage. Following the announcement of the emancipation in 1861 the serfs still had to carry out two years of 'temporary obligations' to their former masters while the individual terms of the emancipation were decided locally. The movements of the peasants were also still restricted, only now by the commune rather than the lord, for those who wished to travel had to apply to the commune for an internal passport (Robinson, 1932).

First of all we shall assess the effect of the emancipation of the serfs on Russian society. Perhaps the best place to start lies in the peasant reaction to the announcement of the reform. D. Field (1994) provides an account of a village which has just been told of the terms of the emancipation through the story of Luker'ia. What is most notable about this account is the divide between the reactions of men and women. The men are primarily concerned with the economic implications of the emancipation, such as what land they will receive and how much they will have to pay for it. This contrasts with the reaction of Luker'ia, a woman, who is overjoyed by the news of an end to serfdom in principle. However, the reaction of Luker'ia cannot be taken as the general reaction of the country. The government was aware that the final terms of the emancipation would provoke peasant disturbances, thus the presence of government officials in rural areas increased, employers in the capital were ordered to tire the industrial serf out before the announcement of the terms (Acton, 1995), and the peace mediator was established (Field, 1994). Despite this, in some cases there was violent protest, usually caused by the rejection to perform *barshchina* (labour dues imposed on serfs by their lords) or *obrok* (land tax paid by the serfs to the lord) for their former masters (Pushkarev, 1968). However the outcomes of these uprisings were dependent upon not the peasants, but the government officials handling of the situation. An intelligent official would be able to carry out 'pacification' without the need for violence (Pushkarev, 1968). Indeed, this was the role of the newly established peace mediators, whose job involved explaining the complex legislation to the ex-serfs in a manner which was understandable to them, thus aiding the transition from serf to peasant (Field, 1994). Despite this, it is important to note that these so called 'uprisings' were generally nothing of the sort. In modern day terms the refusal of the peasants to carry

out their 'temporary obligations' is most comparable to peaceful strike action, not violent protest (Pushkarev, 1968). Indeed the transition from serf to free peasant was carried through with incredible calm (Field, 1994), especially when compared with the emancipation of the slaves in America (which culminated in the civil war).

The impact of communal life on peasants was profound. The commune became incredibly important to the ex-serfs as a result of the emancipation terms. Indeed, the commune was itself in control of the land, not the individual peasants. In addition, the commune was responsible for a great many aspects of peasant life, as well as being a recognised administrative body of the state (Mironov, 1985). As a result of this the commune became both an organisation for the peasant and for the state. The commune itself was made up of peasant 'elders', who were subordinate to the township and district administration of the state (Mironov, 1985). Indeed these peasant elders become agents of the state (Wcislo, 1990). The removal of the *pomeshcik* (serf-owning lord) left a void within Russian rural society. This void was filled by the commune (Wcislo, 1990). Despite this, it is also important to note that the commune could also be a highly charitable organisation, unlike the *pomeshcik*. Central to the whole idea of the commune was this concept of charity. When one neighbour was unable to sustain themselves, or meet redemption payments, it fell upon the better off peasants to offer charity towards them. The commune ensured this was the case, though this may be seen in either a positive or negative light. On the one hand it ensured that no peasant would starve while others prospered. Despite this, it may also have inhibited the development of a strong yeoman (Saunders, 1992). However the general point to make about the issue of communal life is that the commune left room for originality and diversity among the peasants (Mironov, 1985), offering a chance for peasants to improve their social and economic status, while still ensuring that the majority could survive.

The period during (and after) the Great Reforms coincided with a massive increase in the population of Russia (Robinson, 1932). This was not the fault of the reforms, but it did have an effect on the peasants who had been emancipated. As the population increased, the amount of land per peasant decreased (Robinson, 1932). Thus peasants were forced to meet the same redemption payments with less land to work and therefore less income. In combination with this the demands of the market would have increased, as food was now in greater demand (Robinson, 1932). The result was the constant risk of famine. One could also suggest that as a result of problems in the countryside, people were more likely to migrate to the cities looking for work. If this is the case then we can state that the problems of the emancipation forced Russia to industrialise.

We must consider the reforms effect on the social hierarchy. F. W. Wcislo (1990) suggests that the emancipation led to a total transformation of rural society. Talk of such a transformation conjures images of the total downfall of the Old Regime and the rise of a new peasant order. It almost appears like the revolution of 1917. However, this simply was not the case. The truth is that a great deal of the Old Regime survived the reforms (Robinson, 1932). Indeed Robinson (1932, p. 116) is correct in his statement that "serfdom was gone, but poverty remained" and in his assertion that this poverty was still held by the peasants. However, there does seem to be some evidence to suggest that some peasants became successful, even very successful entrepreneurs after the emancipation. Serfdom had prevented the serfs from pursuing competitive business enterprise since any profit they made could be easily 'creamed off' by their masters (Blackwell, 1970). But now they had more freedom there was the opportunity to make their own money, especially if they managed to buy land outside the commune's jurisdiction. A rapidly growing third estate began to emerge out of the peasants. The emancipation saw the rise of the urban and rural capitalist (Zenkovsky, 1961). Perhaps this is best reflected by the fact that this new social group was officially recognised as "merchants and honorary citizens" (Robinson, 1932, p. 133). However it is also important to note that though serfdom had constrained the capitalist tendencies of the peasants, it had not inhibited them completely. Indeed, there were wealthy serfs before the emancipation (Gatrell, 1994). For the majority of peasants little changed. The process of 'temporary obligations' ensured that no sudden change occurred. Once this finally came to an end many peasants were forced to rent land from the nobility, ensuring that the nobility maintained its superior position over the peasants (Gatrell, 1994). In combination with this, various forms of sharecropping emerged, ensuring that the lords even maintained a cheap labour force (Field, 1994). It has even been suggested that the new bourgeois estate formed a bloc with the nobility (Robinson, 1932).

The emancipation of the serfs also had numerous economic effects. By assessing the economic effects of the emancipation we can attempt to reach a conclusion as to whether the ex-serfs and their masters were better off before or after the reform.

The rise of the new third estate provided a stimulus to industrialisation. Prior to the emancipation there had been an absence of middle-ranking figures to fulfil certain roles, such as factory managers, perhaps even in some cases, factory owners (Blackwell, 1970). With the emergence of these figures in the nineteenth century (as a result of the reform) Russian industry was at last given an opportunity to catch up with its Western counterparts. Industrialisation was also spurred on by population growth. The population of Russia increased by 60 percent between 1800 and 1863, and the urban population grew even faster than this (Blackwell, 1970). Land shortage drew

people away from the countryside in to the cities and urban centres seeking work (Robinson, 1932). Russian trade grew significantly through this period, both in domestic markets and foreign ones (Blackwell, 1970). The beginnings of this change and development were apparent in 1860 (Blackwell, 1970), but were no doubt spurred on by the newly available workforce. On the other hand, Gatrell (1994) is keen to point out that the reforms of 1860 did not induce any major organisational or structural changes to the economy. Indeed, it appears that there was a significant variation of the amount of change felt by different sectors of industry (Gatrell, 1994). There were large changes in the metalwork industry for example, but lesser effects upon the cloth industry (Gatrell, 1994). It is also important to remember that one-fifth of the nobility's enterprises which operated in 1903 had already been in operation in the pre-reform era (Gatrell, 1994).

The agricultural sector saw a shift towards commercial farming, especially in Siberia (Gatrell, 1986). There was an increased shift towards farmers specialising in particular crops (Gatrell, 1994), and peasant farmers not just farming for subsistence, but for a profit too. There was a gradual increase in the amount of land cultivated by peasant farmers during this period (Gatrell, 1994). What emerged was a far more positive agrarian economy. Perhaps this is best reflected by the fact that there was not massive grain shortage in Russia, even in 1917 (Gatrell, 1994). The problems which led to famine and starvation in Russia were often not the fault of the farmer, more frequently there were issues with the transportation of produce across Russia's vast landmass (Gatrell, 1994).

The effect of the emancipation of economic growth may give us some indication as to the effect of the reform upon the economy. Indeed industrial production increased at an average rate of 4.6 percent between 1860 and 1900, gradually gathering pace towards the end of the nineteenth century (Gatrell, 1994). However one must point out that this was not a sudden surge in production and growth. It was a slow and steady process (Gatrell, 1994). The same can be said for the agricultural sector, however growth and production here was shakier than in the industrial sector (Gatrell, 1994). Perhaps we should also note that growth had already been noticeable in the pre-reform era, owing much to the erection of the railway (Gatrell, 1994). Indeed it seems that in general that the Great Reforms did not play a huge role in the growth of industry during this period, and though it may have provided a partial stimulus, other factors, such as the railway, played a more important role (Gatrell, 1994).

Perhaps one of the less expected outcomes of the reform was the extension of the consumer market. Prior to the reforms no consumer market existed for the peasants (Blackwell, 1970). However, specialisation of certain crop in

farming forced peasants in to the market as they would have to sell their own produce and buy other produce. For example, a wheat farmer may sell all of his wheat and purchase oats and rye for his own consumption. This made economic sense as wheat was generally worth more than oats or rye, which were acceptable foods for most peasants. However as time passed peasants were also drawn in to the market by their own desire (Robinson, 1932).

Now that we have assessed the various economic changes that occurred during the period of the emancipation of the serfs we can assess whether or not the peasants were better off before or after the reform. It is clear that life certainly remained difficult for the majority of peasants, whilst it is also clear that the terms of the emancipation were favourable to the nobility. The plots received by many were not large enough for them to survive on, let alone make a profit. This forced many to rent land from the nobility, either through money dues or labour dues, ensuring that the peasants remained subservient to the nobility. This was made even worse after the population rose and the amount of land per peasant decreased, forcing peasants to rent from their former masters in an attempt to offset this decline (Gatrell, 1994). This greatly inhibited any opportunity the peasants may have had to save funds in order to purchase land. The peasants also had to bear the new burden of redemption payments, which alone exceeded their receipts (Gatrell, 1994), as well as former burdens, often in the form of indirect taxes (Robinson, 1932). Evidence for this can be seen in the presence of peasant arrears throughout this period. The general pattern of accumulation of these, along with the fact that the presence of peasant arrears can be seen across most of Russia, indicates that this was an issue of continual distress in the village (Robinson, 1932). The constant redistribution of land carried out by the commune also prevented the peasants from increasing their wealth, as well as its promotion of communal behaviour and somewhat forced charity (Mironov, 1985). This was the case because as land constantly changed hands there was little incentive to improve the land, with improved drainage for example. There was also the risk that increased profits would simply be 'creamed off' by the commune and used to pay the redemption payments of less industrious peasants through the system of mutual responsibility (Field, 1994). Indeed it seems that the terms of the emancipation were not sufficient to stimulate the massive growth in agricultural output required by the peasants to meet outgoings (Gatrell, 1986). In general it is apparent that the peasants remained in a position of extreme economic weakness (Acton, 1995). However, as noted above, some peasants managed to build substantial farms and enterprises in the wake of the reform, emerging as a new third estate. Despite this, it is important for us to note that this was not the experience of the majority.

We should also consider the effect the emancipation had upon the nobility. Perhaps the most obvious response to this would be to suggest that the

nobility fell in to immediate decline after the reform. They certainly lost their sole claim to the soil and the profits which could be taken from it (Robinson, 1932). Indeed, by 1904 one-third of all noble landholdings were mortgaged in the Nobles' Land Bank (Robinson, 1932). However, smaller, less wealthy nobles could actually benefit from the emancipation. It provided them with a quick and easy way to liquidate their holdings through instant redemption (Wcislo, 1990). This allowed them to invest their funds elsewhere, such as the railway or the newly growing industry. Despite this, the majority of nobles were critical of the reform, suggesting that they felt its effects were primarily negative (Wcislo, 1990). However, perhaps we should expect nothing more of those who had lived their entire lives as serf owners (Wcislo, 1990).

The speed at which the effects of the reform were felt will allow us to comprehend the extent to which these changes were felt by society. In terms of social changes this is difficult to assess. The account of Luker'ia suggests that perhaps that the initial feelings of joy over the emancipation may not have been felt by all (Field, 1994). Indeed, even if they were, this may well have only been a short term reaction to the reform. Indeed it seems that the effect of reform may well have been felt gradually. This was the plan of the government, in an attempt to minimise disruption in the countryside (Field, 1994). In terms of the economic effects of the reform it is important to note the fact that it was a gradual transition (Gatrell, 1994).

By taking into account all of these factors we can assess the impact of the emancipation of the serfs upon the Russian society and Russian economy. The key social implication of the legislation was that the serfs were now free from their masters. Indeed a minority even evolved from serf in to a new Russian third estate. However, it is also important to remember that for the majority the social order remained much the same as before the reform. In terms of the emancipations' impact upon the economy of Russia we must judge it with a great deal of caution. This was a period where a great number of aspects were contributing to a growing economy; to a large extent through growth in the industrial sector. It is likely that other factors contributed to a larger extent to the growth of Russia's economy. It is also important to note the evolutionary nature of the reform. The emancipation of the serfs must remain one of the most important events in Russian history as it highlights a major shift away from the past traditions of Russia. However, its impact upon the society and economy of the country were perhaps not as great as one may first have assumed.

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