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‘Tradition vs. Innovation’

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Yuejie Liu (2017)
Southampton's medieval city walls and the West Quay Shopping Centre

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Editors' Introduction

The articles in this year's edition of *Emergence* are all based on papers given at the annual Arts and Humanities Postgraduate Conference — organised by the University of Southampton's Arts and Humanities Graduate School Student Network (GradNet), on 26 March 2018 — on the theme of 'Tradition vs. Innovation'.

The papers selected reflect the wide range of subjects and disciplines covered including music, linguistics, history, ethnology, film, and literature. They also reflect the high academic standards demonstrated at the conference and share more widely the sheer enjoyment of intellectual engagement that it facilitated. If you want to know why craft beer is 'cool', how heavy metal bands have taken on the disturbing mantle of Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*, or how Charles Causley blended tradition and innovation in his ballads, against the cultural mainstream of his time, then here you will find both illumination and stimulation. This edition also features fascinating papers on: the disturbing history of 1950s nuclear testing in Australian aborigine territories; Liszt's symphonic poems as precursors to early cinema music; the links of Jorie Graham's lyric poems to cognitive science; the challenges of maintaining traditional academic strengths when designing interactive history websites; and the possible benefits of phonological training to second language learning.

Contributors to this journal were invited to take part by the editors after the conference was over, and their papers have since gone through a rigorous peer review and writing/re-writing process in order to arrive at the pages which follow. We would therefore like to thank everyone who has been involved in producing this year's edition of *Emergence*, particularly the authors and the editorial team, for their patience, diligence, and determination to make this journal a continuing contribution to knowledge and academic debate.

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(Editors, *Emergence*, 2018)

Arts and Humanities Graduate School Student Network

The Arts and Humanities Graduate School Student Network (GradNet) is an inclusive, student-led community for all postgraduates in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities. It strives to create an atmosphere in which students are able to connect, both as individuals and as developing professionals.

We aim to:

- Build and maintain a vibrant postgraduate community for the students, by the students.
- Cultivate identities as academic researchers, both individually and collectively.
- Engage in current academic debate.
- Nurture the acquisition and development of transferable skills for future careers.
- Provide opportunities for social interaction.

In order to achieve these aims, our activities include:

- an annual conference.
- an annual journal, *Emergence*.

Gradnet Conference

The annual conference has now become a regular highlight of the academic year in our faculty. The conference last year featured 22 papers and Pecha Kucha sessions, with PGR presenters from the University of Southampton, as well as from Kent, Goldsmiths College, and Jagiellonian University. The GradNet conference provides an important forum for postgraduate researchers to exchange ideas and approaches, as well as an opportunity to share experiences across institutions and disciplinary boundaries. A successful new innovation this year was an advisory panel on post-PhD progress featuring an established academic, someone in their first teaching post and a PhD candidate who had recently and successfully negotiated her viva.

Emergence

Emergence is a peer-reviewed journal that builds upon the papers delivered at our annual conference. Each year, the Call for Papers is sent out nationwide to encourage the widest possible participation. This has led to a broad, insightful journal that showcases the research possibilities of the Humanities. The journal helps postgraduate scholars to develop their skills as academic researchers, reviewers and writers, thus building their academic profiles for the future. The journal has over the years brought together contributions from a wide range of disciplines: Classics, English, Film, History, Music, Philosophy, and Modern Languages and Linguistics. The diversity and complexity of the subjects tackled mirrors the breadth and depth of postgraduate research in our recently broadened Faculty.

Get Involved

If you are interested in participating in any of the GradNet activities, please get in touch. There is no joining fee, and no obligation involved. However, we do very much welcome, and would be grateful for, PGR involvement in organising our next event, conference or journal edition. Please email us at Gradnet@soton.ac.uk.

Humanities Graduate School Student Network

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Sarah Schwarz

PhD Candidate, Archaeology

Chair of GradNet (2018)

Reading Jorie Graham's 'Unrelenting | Syncopated Mind' through Cognitive Theory

Mariam Alghamdi (University of Southampton)

In an early essay written in the 1980s, American poet Jorie Graham insisted that a poem is a tool that can be used to recognize those characteristics that enable her to 'wrench a uniqueness [and] an identity'.[1] This paper adopts an interdisciplinary approach to Graham's poems 'Mind' and 'Notes on the Reality of the Self' in order to reveal how these poems —which have been overlooked by scholars and critics — acquire new interpretative potential when read through the ideas of cognitive science.[2] Neuroscientist Antonio Damasio's theory of the self is employed to demonstrate that Graham uses lyric poetry to investigate her mind as a means of understanding her sense of self, identity, and wellbeing in the world. This paper's idea of linking poetry to neuroscience was inspired by the National Public Radio (NPR) Science Friday Broadcast interview 'The Passionate Mind: Emotion, Cognition, and the Construction of the Self', which brought together Damasio, Graham and the philosopher Thomas Metzinger as part of the University of Utah's second annual symposium in science and literature in 2003.[3] Damasio is currently the director of the Brain and Creativity Institute at the University of Southern California (USC).[4] Before teaching at USC, Damasio was a colleague with Graham at the University of Iowa from 1983–85, where he was professor of neurology and Graham was professor of poetry at the Iowa Writers' Workshop. The significance of their two-year professional relationship is apparent in the surprising commonalities in the neuroscientist's and the poet's conceptions of self and consciousness.

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[1] Jorie Graham, 'Some Notes on Silence', in *19 New American Poets of the Golden Gate,* ed. by Philip Dow (New York: Harcourt, 1984), p.418.

[2] Jorie Graham, 'Mind', in *Hybrids of Plants and of Ghosts* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 61; Jorie Graham, 'Notes on the Reality of the Self' (4), in *Materialism* (Hopewell, NJ: Ecco Press, 1993), pp. 59-61.

[3] Jorie Graham, Antonio Damasio, and Thomas Metzinger, 'Emotion, Cognition, and Consciousness', in *Talk of the Nation/Science Friday*, ed. by Ira Flatow (National Public Radio: 10 October 2003) <http://www.scienceandliterature.org/history/2003.html> [accessed 28 June 2018].

[4] Antonio Damasio (Faculty Profile), Dana and David Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences, University of Southern California (2018)
< https://dornsife.usc.edu/cf/faculty-and staff/faculty.cfm?pid=1008328> [accessed 09 August 2018].

In the NPR interview, Damasio discusses the 'monitoring ability' of humans. He observes that 'we are conscious and have a self as a by-product of this enormous ability of the brain to monitor the very different functions of our bodies'. Graham agrees with Damasio and indicates her familiarity with this monitoring ability, albeit saying that poets had other artistic means of penetrating the mind and constructing the self long before scientists:

> There is a way in which the imagination is an instrument for trawling through an experience in the world with a sort of charged emotional, intellectual openness […]. It does seem crucial in a poem—and the best poems exhibit this [...] that what is being monitored is not only a phenomenon in the outside world, but what one's own heart is feeling, what one's own muscles are doing. […] it is very moving to hear Dr Damasio's descriptions because it's not fair to say poets knew it all along, although one would have to say that from Shakespeare to Dickinson to Keats, there's no doubt, these people knew how to access consciousness and to create very complicated constructed selves.[5]

Graham's poems describe and enact a self that functions as a monitor of its mind. In this sense, the 'very complicated constructed' self that Graham mentions here can also be interpreted as denoting the self's cognitive structure rather than a given social or linguistic construct. The observation of the conscious mind and contemplation of the self that Graham remarks on can be regarded as a means of exploring the ways of 'wrench[ing] a uniqueness, an identity', thereby adapting to the environment and moving smoothly through life.

Graham's call for an inquiry into the creation of the self aligns with the premise of the emerging field of cognitive literary studies. The cognitive literary method approaches literary texts armed with ideas from cognitive science in order to study the human self, the brain and the mind and its processes. Cognitive science broadly incorporates knowledge from the disciplines of computer science, psychology, linguistics, philosophy of mind, anthropology, artificial intelligence, and neuroscience. Of interest to this paper is the knowledge offered by neuroscience and its scientific study of the nervous system. By means of brain scans and MRIs, neuroscientists have helped us to understand the biological basis of human consciousness and the workings of feelings, emotions, and the conscious mind. Cognitive readings of literary texts have at least one of two focuses. The first is on the cognitive operations that the reader employs in reading and processing a literary text. In *How Literature Plays with the Brain: The Neuroscience of Reading and Art*, Paul

[5] Graham, Damasio, and Metzinger, 'The Passionate Mind'.

B. Armstrong investigates the relationship between brain function and its response to literary texts. Employing insights into the neurobiology of vision from the work of British neuroscientist Semir Zeki, and ideas on the neural mechanisms of reading drawn from the findings of French neuroscientist Stanislas Dehaene, Armstrong investigates what happens in the minds of readers when they read a literary text.[6]

The second type of cognitive reading, which is the focus of this paper, concerns the subject matter of a literary text that relates to cognition. Damasio's model provides an explanation of consciousness which has found an echo in literary studies, and one such study has been conducted by Anne M. Genzale. She finds similarities between Tim O'Brien's depiction of memory, imagination, and storytelling in the short story collection *The Things They Carried* and Damasio's theory that emotions control behaviour and life choices. 'Taken together', writes Genzale, 'O'Brien and Damasio's work demonstrates how narrative facilitates cultural learning and is therefore essential to survival and well-being'.[7] In 'The Autobiographical Self and Embodied Knowledge of God in Christina Rossetti's *Time Flies*', Todd O. Williams traces Christina Rossetti's construction of her Christian identity, which he finds to be grounded in the assimilation of mind, body, and environment. Williams suggests that Rossetti's awareness of herself in cognitive terms creates an 'ethical view of nature in which she finds evidence of God's love'.[8] In 'The Remembered Future: Neuro-Cognitive Identity in Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw*', Marilyn Wesley incorporates Damasio's model into her consideration of the self in the novella.[9] Wesley considers memory to be the foundation of self and narrative, proposing that the cognitively constructed self assimilates information for use in the world. Genzale, Williams, and Wesley all argue for a conscious awareness of self — in the separate narratives in each of the three essays — which consequently promotes cultural or religious understanding. These works demonstrate the broad appeal of Damasio's ideas on self and memory to literary and philosophical studies.

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[6] Paul B. Armstrong, *How Literature Plays with the Brain: The Neuroscience of Reading and Art*, (Maryland:Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

[7] Ann M. Genzale, 'Joining the Past to the Future: The Autobiographical Self in *The Things They Carried*', *Philosophy and Literature,* 40 (2017), 495–510 (p. 295).

[8] Todd O. Williams, 'The Autobiographical Self and Embodied Knowledge of God in Christina Rossetti's *Time Flies*', *Literature and Theology,* 28 (2014), 321–33 (p. 322).

[9] Marilyn C. Wesley, 'The Remembered Future: Neuro-Cognitive Identity in Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw*', *College Literature,* 31 (2004), 80–98.

In his book *The Feeling of What Happens: Body, Emotions, and The Making of Consciousness* (2000), Damasio offers a cognitive model of self and identity and elucidates the significance of having a conscious reflective self for human beings.[10] The neuroscientist explains that in each of us there is a self that arises as a result of multi-levelled and ever-changing mental operations, which emerge from a central processing position in the brain. The two levels of the self — self-as-knower and the self-as-object — work in tandem for maintaining the body's internal environment, or what is known as 'homeostasis', such as body temperature, fluid balance, blood sugar level and metabolism. Damasio also proposes that the emergence of the reflective self links to a third mental process: that of consciousness. The conscious self, guided by a reflective mind, enables us to live, grow, prosper, reproduce and ultimately die. More specifically, a conscious self facilitates our ability to judge and critique our identities, as well as those of others. Identity, for Damasio, is 'the idea each of us constructs of ourself, the image we gradually build of who we are physically and mentally, of where we fit socially'.[11] Thus, Damasio's classification of the processes of identity formation sheds light on how the self is created and how our awareness of ourselves is moulded by external factors. In this sense, Graham's poetry, in which she inspects the idea of having a mind and the image she has of herself, facilitates her assessment of herself as well as that of her wellbeing.

Cognitive literary critic Alan Richardson notes that the beginnings of 'the prospects of a cognitive approach to literary theory and criticism' in the 1990s emerged 'when cognitive scientists and theorists such as Daniel Dennett, Antonio Damasio, and Steven Pinker were publishing their first widely popular works'.[12] The young field has gained authority, according to Richardson and Francis F. Steen, because it aims to interpret literary texts and identities in a way that complements the existing cultural and historicist approaches, which have failed to fully address the ways in which concepts such as self, identity and ethics function and interrelate. Richardson and Steen explain that

> Contemporary theories of literature and culture, in our view, have made remarkable progress in demystifying traditional humanist and religious concepts of supposedly timeless categories, such as self, identity, and

[10] Antonio Damasio, *The Feeling of What Happens: Body and Emotion in the Making of Consciousness* (London: Heinemann, 2000).
[11] Damasio, *Feeling*, p. 224.
[12] Alan Richardson, 'Once Upon a Mind: Literary and Narrative Studies in the Age of Cognitive Science', *Modern Fiction Studies,* 61 (2015), 359–69 (p. 359).

> morality, to posit instead historically contingent and culturally constructed entities. What the discipline has been significantly less successful in addressing, on the other hand, is why and how this rhetoric works. The relative failure on these counts is linked to the intense reluctance of literary and cultural studies to engage with the natural as a category that has its own history, forming the conditions of possibility for the cultural.[13]

In approaching the questions of 'how' and 'why' a natural category such as the self is constructed and functions, Richardson and Steen contend that 'the approach aims more to supplement than to supplant the current approaches and methodologies' to literary texts.[14] Given Richardson and Steen's views, this reading of Graham's poems through Damasio's theory describes an innovative conception of the self that is cognitively structured and embodied and that stands in complex relation to history, culture, and science. Thus, this conception of the self that is proposed constitutes a cognitive supplement to the existing studies of Graham's work.

'Mind', a poem from Graham's first published book of poems *Hybrids of Plants and of Ghosts* (1980), dives into a journey of self-exploration in a way that neuroscience offers a perspective that can elaborate on the poem's introspective nature. The present reading suggests that the poet's awareness of her mind as an object of experience does not reflect an alertness to the body. The result is a poem that describes the mind in a way that views it as neither embodied nor embedded in its environment. As Graham attempts to understand the biology of her human brain, the poem's rhythms and imagery distance her study from the language of science. Before turning to an inspection of 'Mind' inspired by neuroscience, some contextualization is necessary for such cognitive examination to work. Reading 'Mind' alongside other poems from *Hybrids* creates a feel for the lyric self and identifies the issues that are most pressing and crucial to confront. The best way to justify the comparison of poems on the self and mind is to quote Graham herself: 'Poems not only obviously contextualize each other, but they build up a sense of a speaker-in-predicament — and an ancillary sense of what they find most urgent'.[15] Through the lyric 'I', Graham journeys in search of self-awareness and knowledge.

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[13] Alan Richardson and Francis F. Steen, 'Literature and the Cognitive Revolution: An Introduction', *Poetics Today,* 23 (2002), 1–8 (p. 3).
[14] Richardson and Sheen, (pp. 2–3).
[15] Jorie Graham, 'Introduction: Something of Moment', *Ploughshares,* 27 (2001), 7–9 (p. 7). Although Graham's comment here, as guest editor to the *Ploughshares*, was to clarify the reasons for her selection of poems by young American poets for the special edition, the reasons may very well be applicable to her poems chosen for this work.

In ‘The Nature of Evidence’, Graham wishes her meditation on nature’s preparation for spring would enable her to ‘catch the world | at pure idea’. This is a desire to have knowledge of the principles that govern the existence of objects in the world. What is striking is that her meditation on the natural surroundings leads the poet to ‘find | only [her]self again’.[16] Consciously focused attention on the external world facilitates a consideration of the internal life similar to that obtained through self-observation. Graham therefore becomes a part of the world she is meticulously studying. It is this embeddedness in the world that Gerri Reaves notes when remarking that ‘Graham herself enters the poetic process rather than simply manipulating it’.[17]

Positioning ‘The Nature of Evidence’ before ‘Mind’ indicates that Graham’s journey in search of self-awareness — which she conducts from the position of the lyric ‘I’ — starts with an inspection of her mind and its mechanisms. Turning to the poem under discussion in this paper, we find that Graham does not choose the title to be ‘My Mind’ or even ‘The Mind’, but instead simply ‘Mind’. The noun is not preceded by an article; it therefore lacks identification and refers to a free-floating entity with no associations to a specific person or body. Thus, Graham pursues self-discovery via an exploration of a general, non-specific mind that is approached from an outsider’s perspective. Notably, the title choice aligns the poem with the impersonal modernist tendency of *Hybrids*. Impersonality, an idea made conventional by T.S. Eliot, entails that the artist does not stress ownership of the personality in the text and finds methods to distance the art from the artist.

Dave Smith comments on Graham’s withdrawal in *Hybrids* as follows: ‘[H]ardly anything personal is revealed, […] we do not discover […] the sort of thing that invites us to know *her.* […] she is so detached that she does not contact or change what is seen’.[18] We may not be informed about Graham’s person or life, yet the poem merits close examination because it is the first of Graham’s poems to address the mind as a subject — a concept closely inspected to try to demystify its nature. Moreover, ‘Mind’ marks the inception of an interest that flourished into a noticeable preoccupation with cognition, cognitive linguistics, and medicine. Graham’s volumes

[16] Jorie Graham, ‘The Nature of Evidence’, in *Hybrids,* p. 60.
[17] Gerri Reaves, 'Jorie Graham's *Hybrids of Plants and of Ghosts*: Nature as Matrix', *The Carrell: Journal of the Friends of the University of Miami Library,* 27 (1989) 35–39 (p. 35).
[18] Dave Smith, 'Some Recent American Poetry: Come All Ye Fair and Tender Ladies', *The American Poetry Review,* 11 (1982), 36–46. p. 37.

of the 1980s and 1990s focused on nature, philosophy, and myth. In her publications from the 2000s onwards, she moved towards a focus on the disciplines of the sciences, revealing a progression towards an appreciation of the somatic and cognitive dimensions of the self. The poet has explained that her poems are attempts to work through knowledge and to determine 'how to live in the full glare of the knowledge science has given us'.[19] The bright light of science opened Graham's eyes to the ideas of neuroscience, empirical research, medicine and philosophy of mind. Graham's efforts to engage in dialogue with cognitive science's theories and discoveries regarding the workings of the mind and its connections to the body can be seen in poems such as 'Praying (Attempt of June 14 '03)', in which Graham alludes to the neuroimaging study 'Does rejection hurt? An fMRI study of social exclusion' carried out by psychologists Naomi I. Eisenberger, Matthew D. Lieberman, and Kipling D. Williams at the University of California in 2003.[20] 'Copy *(Attacks on the Cities, 2000-2003)*' questions the account of metaphorical notions of reality put forward by cognitive linguists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought* (1999).[21] These examples raise the question of why an early poem has been chosen for analysis if a later poem would have offered more fruitful insight on the relationship between Graham's poetry and cognitive theory. The answer is that although 'Mind' may not offer a fully worked-out position on the poet's lyric self, it is a starting point that has been overlooked by scholars. The available reviews quickly gloss over 'Mind', as does Steven Henry Madoff, who notes that the fourth section of *Hybrids*, in which 'Mind' is located, 'celebrate[s] the novelty provided by fleeting phenomena'.[22] The scarcity of substantial criticism highlighting the significance of 'Mind' to Graham's journey of investigation into self therefore motivates the present close reading.

'Mind' revolves around three main issues that have perplexed the poet: the mind's highly organized disposition, the abstruseness of the mind's (mis)perception of reality, and the impact on the mind of its surroundings. Damasio defines the mind

[19] Sharon Blackie, 'An Interview with Jorie Graham', *Earthlines*, 2 (August 2012), 36–41 (p. 39).
[20] Jorie Graham, 'Praying (Attempt of June 14'03)', in *Overlord* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), pp. 31-33; Naomi I. Eisenberger, Matthew D. Lieberman and Kipling D. Williams, 'Does Rejection Hurt? An fMRI Study of Social Exclusion', *Science,* 5643 (2003), 290–92.
[21] Graham, 'Copy *(Attacks on the Cities, 2000-2003)*', in *Overlord*, pp. 74-79; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), p. 7.
[22] Steven Henry Madoff, 'Review: *Hybrids of Plants and of Ghosts* by Jorie Graham', *New England Review,* 4 (Summer, 1982), 617–20 (p.619).

scientifically as 'a dynamic collection of integrated neural processes, centred on the representation of the living body, that finds expression in a dynamic collection of integrated mental processes'.[23] Graham also offers an artistic definition of the mind. However, as she has not yet encountered the scientific terminology to describe the mental realm, or become acquainted with cognitive science, Graham resorts to the familiar realms of music and nature for both inspiration and descriptive language. Through metaphor, Graham directs our attention to the structure of cognition:

MIND

The slow overture of rain,
each drop breaking
without breaking into
the next, describes
the unrelenting, syncopated
mind.[24]

Graham's best attempt at understanding the function of the mysterious occurrence she sees as 'the unrelenting, syncopated | mind' is framed in figurative language that is by no means simple. The likening of mental activity to a musical symphony formed by the sounds of raindrops offers a vivid depiction of the intrinsic nature of the mind. The movement of thought in the mind resembles the falling of raindrops and the rising of musical notation. The merging of the two images complicates the metaphor: the mind's processes are simultaneously compared to falling raindrops and the musical notes of a symphony's overture. The movement of each separate raindrop — and by analogy the flux of imagination, memory, perception and reason — proceeds, it is suggested, in systematic order, without connection. However, mental processes do generate numerous ideas and images, unceasingly 'breaking into | the next' without interruption of their continuity or uniformity. 'Complex phenomena', notes Marcus Hartner, 'often require complex methods of analysis', and, of course, the mind is a complex concept that has mystified thinkers from time immemorial.[25]

The combination of the metaphors is therefore not completely effective. Because of Graham's restricted knowledge of the brain sciences, her use of descriptive language drawn from nature forces the mind to yield to the laws of natural

[23] Antonio Damasio, *Self Comes to Mind: Constructing the Conscious Brain*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), p. 9.
[24] Graham, 'Mind', p. 61.
[25] Marcus Hartner, 'Scientific Concepts in Literary Studies: Towards Criteria for the Meeting of Literature and Cognitive Science', in *Cognitive Literary Science*, ed. by Michael Burke and Emily T. Troscianko (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.17–34 (p. 22).

phenomena, which can be limiting when attempting to capture the mind's biological and functional character. However, Graham's analogy of the musical symphony does offer worthwhile insights into the poet's perspective on the nature of the mind. Whereas an overture is an orchestral composition that opens a musical performance such as an opera, Graham's poetic overture represents a new concern with the workings of the human mind. The metaphor suggests that cognitive operations might start out slowly and then be followed by a succession of much quicker thoughts. The result of the flux of thoughts and memories is a mind unyielding in its cognitive powers, and yet Graham's account of the mind leaves it 'syncopated' or 'cut short'.[26] Overtures often contain fast and lively passages, highlighting the main tunes of the work in five to ten minutes. The overture, as a summary of the whole work, thus hints at a larger, more complex whole. As well as 'cut short', syncopated also has the musical meaning of a particular rhythm in which the weak beats are accented. The poet thereby conveys the idea that the rhythms of the mind are irregular — exciting but also perplexing.

The elucidation of the nature of the mind here usefully employs analogies that exemplify the concept of hybridity suggested in the book's title. In the epigraph to *Hybrids*, Graham borrows from Friedrich Nietzsche's definition of man — 'But he who is wisest among you, he also is only a discord and hybrid of plant and of ghost' — to suggest that she too is interested in the concept of hybridity as a technique for description.[27] Just as the philosopher describes the disposition of humans as a musical discord, a cross between plants and ghosts, so Graham sees the phenomena of mind as an amalgamation of the implications and associations of rainfall on the one hand and musical notes on the other.

The poem's concern shifts between lines 6 and 28 to focus on the cognitive processing of information. Graham now turns to an artistic consideration of how easily birds' perception of reality can be manipulated through a confusion of sensory input. The meditation on the feathered creatures suggests that human beings are not the only living organisms to possess a mind:

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[26] 'syncopated, adj.' in *OED Online, Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/196415?rskey=ozNHm8&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed 28 June 2018]. The word can also be used figuratively to mean 'jerky movement'.

[27] Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for Everyone and No One*, trans. by R. J. Hollingdale (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 42.

Not unlike
the hummingbirds
imagining their wings
to be their heart, and swallows
believing the horizon
to be a line they lift
and drop. What is it
they cast for? The poplars,
advancing or retreating,
lose their stature
equally, and yet stand firm,
making arrangements
in order to become imaginary. The city
draws the mind in streets,
and streets compel it
from their intersections
where a little
belongs to no one. It is
what is driven through
all stationary portions
of the world, gravity's
stake in things.

Stimuli perceived by the senses and integrated into the brain of living organisms may not always be interpreted correctly, resulting in auditory and visual deceptions. Flying hummingbirds translate the sound of their wings beating into the sound of their heartbeat. Swallows have difficulty distinguishing reality from illusion: at times they interpret the image of the horizon as a physical object they can 'lift | and drop'. At other times, they doubt reality, since their minds 'mak[e] arrangements' for the images of trees to be processed in such a way as to be understood as imaginary. The analogy suggests that the human mind is 'not unlike' the mind of a bird, since it is as susceptible to misinterpreting its reality. Humans, it is implied, share biological features with other living organisms in terms of the organization, structure, and functions of the senses and mental faculties. The setting of 'Mind' then shifts to the alluring 'city', whose gravity 'draws the mind in streets', which 'compel' the mind 'from their intersection' to follow their predetermined paths. This raises the question of whether the mind is also 'compel[led]' into existence by the connections and 'intersection' of the brain's structures.

The subtle link between cognitive processes and their neurological foundation is further explored in the final lines of the poem, which return once more to nature:

The leaves,
pressed against the dank
window of November

soil, remain unwelcome
till transformed, parts
of a puzzle unsolvable
till the edges give a bit
and soften. See how
then the picture becomes clear,
the mind entering the ground
more easily in pieces,
and all the richer for it.

The autumn leaves that fall from trees to the ground are 'unwelcome[d]' by the earth until their 'edges give a bit | and soften' and they eventually decompose and become part of the Earth's soil once more. After she has contemplated the natural course of the leaves, Graham proposes another level of meaning for the extended analogy. She states that '[T]he picture becomes clear', that 'the mind enter[s] the ground'. The ground in the previously quoted line may be interpreted as the brain. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'ground' can mean the foundation of something on which its other parts are based. The mind and its activities naturally penetrate their physical foundation — the brain — just as raindrops and fallen leaves return to the earth. The interpretation of the brain as a ground or foundation is also supported by neuroscience. Damasio explains that the mind registers in the brain cells as a continuous flow of images.[28] In Graham's version, 'the mind entering the [brain] more easily in pieces' suggests that the mind decomposes and then re-composes in the brain. Relating the mind and brain through the laws of natural phenomena that govern rainfall and regulate the separations of leaves from trees therefore implicitly references science and biology.

The final three lines express a rejection of the Cartesian view of dualism. The French philosopher René Descartes asserted in his famous dictum, the *Cogito* of 1637, that 'everyone can mentally intuit that he exists, that he is thinking' (*uniusquisque animo potest intueri, se existere, se cogitare*).[29] Descartes declares that if one thinks then one must exist, thereby binding selfhood and thought and simultaneously divorcing them from the body. For decades, science has attempted to

[28] Damasio, *Feeling*, pp. 17-18.
[29] quoted in *The Cambridge Companion to Descartes*, ed. by John Cottingham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). p. 119.

understand how mind and body interact, despite the mind/body split. The mind/body problem arose as a consequence of Descartes' conception of the body as essentially spatially extensive and mind as intrinsically not: how does that which occupies no space push or pull that which is essentially spatial? The answer Graham proposes rests in the image of 'the mind entering the ground', which points to the mind's orientation towards its biological basis.

The use of a variety of metaphors to depict the mind and its potential is one of many attempts in the poem to give meaning to what seems to the poet a complete mystery. The poem's visual appearance also takes part in the process of meaning-making. Its long, narrow shape, left-indented and centred, extends from the top to the bottom of the page to impose structure and control on the fluidity of thought. To maintain the coherence of the poet's thoughts on the mind, the majority of the line breaks are carefully positioned after a phrase that ends in a comma. Lines do not break mid-word or mid-phrase, as is more common in Graham's later volumes. Graham masters the use of her poetic form to reflect the continuous activity of mind, music, and nature. The subtle shifts that occur in the continuous flow of images and scenes reflect the uninterrupted flow of thoughts 'breaking into | the next' but 'without breaking'. It is also noticeable that there is a downward movement in the natural scenery described in the poem. The poem's column shape emphasises and replicates the direction of movement: rain dripping from clouds, leaves falling from trees, and the image of mental processing entering the brain. The poem opens with the slow activity of the overture then progresses to the faster activity of 'the unrelenting, syncopated | mind', and eventually concludes with 'the mind entering the ground', thus hinting at decomposition and suggesting that a disembodied mind cannot exist on its own.

However, the issue with 'Mind' is that Graham could not utilize the poem, according to Damasio's perspective, that is focussing on 'the aspects of the self that permit us to formulate interpretations about our existence and about the world […] certainly at the cultural level and, in all likelihood, at the biological level'.[30] Her frustration with the modernist rejection of personality and with the Cartesian disembodied mind is marked by her subsequent abandonment of these two specific modes of thought in favour of an embodied personal lyric. To articulate an

[30] Damasio, *Self,* p.13

understanding of her being in the world, Graham had to witness her own mind at work.

In 'Notes on the Reality of the Self', for example, Graham continues to experiment with representations of the mind and its processes.[31] In fact, she succeeds in her portrayal of a mind busy in thought to such an extent that Damasio himself quotes parts of 'Notes' in the promotional blurb of *The Feeling of What Happens*.[32] Damasio claims that, whenever the self emerges, consciousness is also produced, thereby allowing the conscious self to 'witness its own mind'.[33] Applying the latter assumption facilitates an interpretation of Graham's poem in which the self meditates on its own mind and thoughts.

> The question of who I was consumed me.
>
> I became convinced I should not find the image
> of the person that I
> was: Seconds passed. What rose to the surface in me
> plunged out of sight again. And yet I felt
> the moment of my first investiture
> was the moment I began to represent myself—
> the moment I began to live—by degrees—second by
> second—unrelentingly— Oh mind what you're doing! —
>
> do you want to be *covered* or do you want to be *seen*? —
>
> And the garment—how it becomes you!—starry
> with the eyes of
> others,
> weeping—

Graham unequivocally admits to the grip that the question of identity has on her. It is a preoccupation that also applies to Damasio, hence his citation of the lines above in *Feeling*. 'The question of who [she is] consum[es] [her]' from the inside. She is left with no answers, only emptiness, which is portrayed by the page's whiteness in the double space after she admits she has succumbed to the mystery of identity. She then moves to a first-person introspection of her mind to seek answers to the question of who she was before. Despite her scepticism regarding the inward search for 'the image | of the person' that represented her, she still comes close enough to catch a

[31] Graham, 'Notes on the Reality of the Self' (4), in *Materialism*, pp. 59-61.
[32] Damasio, *Feeling,* p. vii. The first edition of the book came out in 1999 and it included in the promotional blurb Graham's praise of the exploration in the pages to come. However, Graham's promotion of Damasio is removed in the 2000 edition whereas his quotation of her poem remains.
[33] Damasio, *Self,* p.12

brief glimpse of the mental image of who she once was as it '[rises] to the surface in [her]' before it 'plunge[s] out of sight again', leaving her once more discontented.

The descriptions in the lines following the gap deserve attention for their relation to neuroscience. 'What rose' from its biological location in the brain to the 'surface' of her mind is the neural representation of a recollected image of Graham from some time in the past. Damasio suggests that 'The mere presence of organized images flowing in a mental stream produces a mind'.[34] Although the neural image may not be held in the mind for long, its significance, as indicated by the conjunction *yet*, is in its brief existence. Graham cannot glimpse the person she once was, '[a]nd yet' the feeling of her individual sense of self was 'felt' and registered in the brain the instant she envisioned wearing the coat to represent another. As a result, Graham declares paradoxically that 'the moment of my first investiture | was the moment I began to represent myself', rather than the moment of putting on the garment. The contradiction is resolved when the act of dressing up to assume someone else's identity is viewed as a trigger that allows Graham to question her identity. With this questioning, an awareness of self emerges. It is in this moment that Damasio believes consciousness emerges — when there is knowledge of one's identity — and likewise, for Graham, it was non-existent before.

Furthermore, Graham feels that the emergence of her self-consciousness was also 'the moment' she 'began to live—', insistently and meaningfully, 'by degrees—second by | second—unrelentingly—'. The self-awareness generated when she witnesses the transitory flash of an image awakens Graham to the presence of her mental operations. In view of this, she decides to live her life and take in it slowly 'by degrees—second by | second'. The dashes reflect and emphasise this deceleration, so she may take more time to look inward into her mental life. Intriguingly, amidst the introspection of the self, Graham not only acts as a witness to her mind but also invokes her poetic license to address the site of rationality in astonishment — 'Oh mind what you're doing!' — thereby emphasizing her attainment of self-awareness. On the other hand, the line could be read as an exhortation to take greater care or the assignment of blame — Oh mind what you are doing! (or) what are you doing! — as if the mind were deceiving her into thinking she was someone else while dressed in the coat. In frustration, Graham continues to ask the mind whether it wants 'to be

[34] Damasio, *Self*, p. 10.

covered or… to be *seen*' for its individuality and uniqueness. A mind covered is hidden, sheltered or enclosed.[35] The mind covered and enclosed prevents Graham from observing it and thus hinders her meditation on her individuality. Whether the cover is an abstract set of beliefs or, as in this case, a physical 'garment', is of no consequence. As long as some object hinders the self from viewing the mind and its mental processes, the emergence of a conscious awareness of self is prevented.

Damasio's work proves to be relevant in interpreting 'Oh mind what you're doing!' He advocates 'the notions of witness and protagonist' because of their capacity to

> illustrate the range of roles that the self assumes in the mind. For one thing, the metaphors can help us see the situation we face when we attempt to understand mental processes. A mind unwitnessed by a self protagonist is still a mind. However, given that the self is our only natural means to know the mind, we are entirely dependent on the self's presence, capabilities, and limits. And given this systematic dependence, it is extremely difficult to imagine the nature of the mind process independently of the self, although from an evolutionary perspective, it is apparent that plain mind processes preceded self processes. The self permits a view of the mind, but the view is clouded.[36]

Damasio asserts that a self able to reflect on its own mental processes is a conscious self. Without this act of witness, the mind still exists, but its view is unclear. In 'Notes', Graham's view of her mind is obstructed by fleeting and potentially misleading mental images: she is left unable to feel and express a fully developed sense of herself and her identity. The reading of the poetic meditation presented here suggests that Graham's knowledge of identity starts with a rigorous study of her mind's behaviour but that this process can be uneasy and problematic. The poet's attentiveness to her individuality is dependent on an awareness of the conscious mind's singular ability to relate its mental mechanisms to both embodiment and environmental situation - but this insight can indeed be 'clouded'.

Graham's experimentation with multiple accounts of the mind has enabled her to see what various poetic representations have to tell us about the complexity and the distinctiveness of her mind and experiences. Whereas, in the earlier poem, Graham can be seen studying 'a' mind and its thoughts, modernist detachment holds her back from formally assuming an inspection of her own mind, which according to Damasio

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[35] 'Cover, n.1', in *OED Online, Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/43347?rskey=n9JXtx&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed 09 March 2018].
[36] Damasio, *Self*, p. 12.

is a prerequisite for the emergence of a conscious reflective self. 'Mind' on its own does not suggest a sense of agency or ownership, nor an explicit link between mental operations and identity. The poem, however, is driven by the motivation to gain insight into the workings of the mind, which in turn brings the poet closer to understanding herself. It is apparent that at this early stage of her career, Graham had yet to formulate a robust sense of self through her lyric poems. This can be seen more clearly in 'Notes', where she declares 'the question of who I was consumed me'. 'Mind' and 'Notes' serve as reminders that her perception of a sense of identity starts with an interrogation of her mental processes. Poetry can help one to gain an understanding of the workings of the mind in a way that may mirror scientific discovery but may also differ in its workings and effect. While Graham's lyric poems may offer an explanation of the biological and operational bases of mental processes, they also move beyond offering scientific fact to record emotional experience and the failure of mental processes to lead to ordered perception or a satisfying sense of self. 'The self, understood neurologically and cognitively', asserts Marilyn Wesley, 'is one of the superb achievements of human evolution. Furthermore, its maintenance, a full-time job for human consciousness, also includes, I believe, the practice of literary narrative' and, I would add, particularly in Graham's case, the practice of composing poems.[37]

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[37] Wesley, p. 80.

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‘Official Ignorance, Incompetence, and Cynicism’: The Treatment of Aborigines during British Nuclear Trials at Maralinga, 1955–1963

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On the morning of 14 May 1957, at a remote nuclear testing site in Southern Australia, Royal Engineer Captain R. Marqueur watched as an Aborigine man emerged from the direction of a crater formed the previous year by a British nuclear weapons test. The man was followed by his pregnant wife, two children, and two dogs. The family, the Milpuddies, had followed the traditional rock hole path toward the Ooldea settlement, crossing through a large area contaminated by previous atomic tests.[1] The story of the Milpuddie family is shocking, but is not unique. During the British nuclear tests in Southern Australia, hundreds of Aboriginal families faced radiation exposure, institutionalised racism, and ill treatment. At Maralinga, one of Britain’s permanent testing sites, there were just three patrol officers to monitor the presence of the Aborigine population in an area covering approximately 100,000 square kilometres.[2] Furthermore, as the Australian Government did not view Aborigines as Australian citizens in the 1950s, there were no official statistics for the number of individuals living within or near the testing site area.[3] The Australian Constitution at the time explicitly stated that ‘in reckoning the numbers of people in the Commonwealth […] Aboriginal natives shall not be counted’.[4] Therefore, as the 1985 *Royal Commission in British Nuclear Tests in Australia* concluded, ‘official ignorance, incompetence, and cynicism’ characterised relations between those in charge of the tests and the aboriginal population.[5]

This paper will track the origins of the British nuclear programme and the need for permanent testing grounds in Australia, with reference to the continuing ideology of British imperialism in the 1950s. It will examine the experiences of the Pitjantjatjara, an Aboriginal community who had lived in and around the area that

[1] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 2 vols (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1985), 1, p.320.
[2] Kingsley Palmer, ‘Dealing with the Legacy of the Past: Aborigines and atomic testing in South Australia’, *Aboriginal History Journal*, 14 (1990), 197–207 (p.199).
[3] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.322.
[4] *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act* (1900), p.24.
[5] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.368.

became the Maralinga testing ground for thousands of years. Studying the experiences of Aboriginal communities during Britain's testing programme in Australia allows an insight into the overarching treatment of Aboriginal communities in the twentieth century. It also serves to illuminate the history of Britain's nuclear testing programme in Australia, which has often been neglected in histories of the Cold War. Most significantly, however, it illustrates the fundamental connection between a post-war British determination to prove itself at the forefront of modern scientific achievement and thus a great power, and the imperialist, colonial attitudes and Anglo-centric cultural prejudices which still prevailed in British and Australian politics during the 1950s.

The Origins of British Nuclear Testing in Australia

On 6 August 1945, the *Enola Gay,* a U.S. B-19 Bomber, dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Three days later a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. The devastation caused was unlike anything seen before, and, as the dust settled, warfare was changed forever. The bombs were the result of over six years' work, which from 1942 had been undertaken under the Manhattan Project. Funded and led by the United States, there had also been close collaboration with the British and Canadian governments, and scientists from several other countries had worked on the project. Nonetheless, a year after the events of 6 August, the U.S. passed the McMahon Act, which prevented all atomic information exchange with other nations.[6] Britain could no longer rely upon the United States for help in building an atomic weapon, or lay claim to any work conducted during the Manhattan Project. It was under these circumstances, and with regard to developing defence concerns and a desire to prove Britain — in the words of Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin - 'a great power', that Prime Minister Clement Attlee decided to launch an independent nuclear weapons programme.[7] The development of a British nuclear weapon posed a significant question, however. Unlike America, Britain did not have the land on which to test weapons domestically. As Professor Mark Oliphant, an Australian scientist who had been involved in the Manhattan Project, noted, the quest for the bomb was

[6] James D. Nurse, *Legislative History of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946* (Public Law 589, 79th Congress), Vol.1 (Washington: U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, 1965) <http://www.osti.gov/atomicenergyact.pdf> [accessed 1 December 2017].
[7] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Fifth Series, *House of Commons*, Vol.437, col.1965 (16 May 1947).

'simply too vast' for Britain to undertake alone.[8] Where, then, would British nuclear weapons be tested?

As these debates were happening, British politicians also began to recognise that the conditions of the post-war and post-colonial era, as well as circumstances caused by the McMahon Act, meant it was necessary to integrate the Commonwealth into the national security system, with Australia becoming especially important.[9] Equipped with 'open spaces' for hazardous nuclear tests, Australia was an ideal partner in the nuclear venture; William Penney, Britain's chief atomic bomb scientist, commented that if trials could not be carried out in Australia, 'I do not know where we would go'.[10]

Consequently, in September 1950, Attlee and Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies made a deal to allow the British to perform atmospheric nuclear tests on Australian soil. Menzies, a committed anglophile, did not even refer the decision to his cabinet.[11] He showed undeniable enthusiasm to assist the motherland, believing that doing so would shackle Britain and the West 'fully to Australia's defence' against the rise of Communism.[12] Between 1952 and 1957, therefore, 12 nuclear tests took place in various locations across Australia, including Maralinga. Further minor trials also took place until 1963. The testing ground at Maralinga was part of a large area which the Southern Pitjantjatjara had used for thousands of years. It was part of a web of territory that connected water holes, hunting ground, and spiritual sites across the Australian desert. For the Pitjantjatjara, the decision to test nuclear weapons at Maralinga had dramatic and far-reaching consequences.

The Pitjantjatjara and the Establishment of a Permanent Testing Ground

The Southern Pitjantjatjara people are an Australian Aboriginal population who originally occupied the central and southern areas of the Great Victoria Desert.[13] For thousands of years, they lived in small groups of no more than thirty individuals, and

[8] Jonathan Hunt, 'The Lion and the Kangaroo: Commonwealth Security, Nuclear Testing, and the Globalization of Dissent' (unpublished paper, 2009), p.5.
[9] Hunt, p.4.
[10] Palmer, p.198; Jacques E.C. Hymans, 'Isotopes and Identity: Australia and the Nuclear Weapons Option, 1949–1999', *The Non-Proliferation Review* (2000), 1–23 (p.4).
[11] Nic Maclellen, *Grappling with the Bomb: Britain's Pacific H-bomb tests* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2017), p.26.
[12] Hymans, p.4.
[13] Palmer, p.197.

moved seasonally around the desert gathering food and visiting sacred sites.[14] At the beginning of the twentieth century they encountered white European colonists; consequently, they were forcibly moved to government-run settlements and missions. In 1933, the United Aborigines Mission (UMA) set up a mission at Ooldea, a site close to what would later become the Maralinga testing ground. The UMA were hostile to traditional Aboriginal culture and attempted to raise Aboriginal children with Western ideas and beliefs, though they failed in their attempts to 'break down' the link between the Aboriginal community and their spiritual traditions.[15] When the UMA withdrew from the mission at Ooldea in 1952, the Australian Government moved the Aboriginal population to a new mission at Yalata, approximately 140km to the south. Two years later, the Government, having agreed to allow the British to test nuclear weapons on the mainland, revoked Ooldea's status as an Aboriginal reserve.[16] The actions of both British and Australian officials upon the establishment of the Maralinga testing ground reflected several decades of colonialist attitudes towards the Aboriginal population in the southern desert. There was no understanding, nor any attempt at understanding, the connection between the Pitjantjatjara and the land. The Government wrongly assumed that contact with white settlers and time spent living in missions at Ooldea and later Yalata had brought new priorities which had taken the place of these traditions.[17]

Chief scientist William Penney declared Maralinga to be 'a first-class site', and he believed there would be 'no difficulty' in testing over twenty weapons in the area.[18] Alan Butement, the chief scientist in the Defence Scientific Service of the Australian Department of Supply and Development, claimed that 'there is no need whatever for aborigines to use any part of this country around the proposed area'.[19] Despite these statements coming in the early 1950s, the first study of Aboriginal movement in the area was not carried out until 1954. Prior to this, neither the Australian nor the British Government made an attempt to monitor use of the area.

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[14]Alan O'Connor, '"Always Anangu—Always Enterprising"', in *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical Engagements and Current Enterprises,* ed. by Natasha Fijn and others (Canberra: ANU Press, 2012), pp. 97–116 (p. 99).
[15] Palmer, pp.197–98.
[16] 'Ooldea Mission - Summary', *Findandconnect.Gov.Au* (2011)
<https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/sa/SE00146> [accessed 7 December 2017].
[17] Palmer, p.201.
[18] John Keane, 'Maralinga's Afterlife' (2003)
<http://www.johnkeane.net/maralingas-afterlife> [accessed 22 November 2017].
[19] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.300.

Walter MacDougall, Head Patrol Officer for the testing ground, was employed by the Australian Government to monitor the 100,000-kilometre square site and ensure that it was not encroached upon by Aborigines. He conducted the 1954 study which revealed that the Pitjantjatjara still used the area and frequently crossed it on journeys to sacred ceremonies in other areas of the desert.[20] Despite this discovery, MacDougall believed that revoking the Reserve would stop Aborigines using or crossing the area. Furthermore, MacDougall set out on a patrol to visit sites around Ooldea, removing and transporting sacred objects to Yalata. Upon completion of this project, MacDougall stated that 'no practical or ceremonial benefit remains on the Ooldea Reserve'.[21] He further commented that there was 'no justifiable reason for retaining the Reserve'. The revocation of the reserve and the presence of patrol officers did not, however, put an end to the use of the area by Aboriginal families, and it did nothing to break the historical spiritual connection to the land.[22] As one elderly man recalled: 'At Yalata we were still thinking about country, but they put a block on you, like a paddock, shut'.[23] Alice Cox, a survivor of the tests, described her experience of soldiers forcing her and her family to leave a sacred site: 'Soldiers everywhere. Guns. We all cry, cry, crying. Men, women and children, all afraid'.[24]

Both Australian and British politicians also showed ignorance of Aboriginal culture and life as they made decisions about the placement of further scientific facilities for the tests. A weather station was required in order to provide meteorological data for the tests, and, commenting on the choice of location, Australian Minister of Supply Howard Beale incorrectly claimed it was located 'very carefully away from Aboriginal watering places'. In reality, Beale had not sought the advice of patrol officers to establish the significance of the location for the Pitjantjatjara.[25] MacDougall, angered by the placement of the site and at the construction of a number of new roads which he was concerned would encourage intrusion on the test site, argued that 'there was no attempt to select a site that would

[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid, p.301.
[22] Ibid, p.301.
[23] Palmer, p.199.
[24] Keane.
[25] P. N. Grabosky, 'A Toxic Legacy: British Nuclear Weapons Testing in Australia' (2004) <https://web.archive.org/web/20080728180259/http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/lcj/wayward/ch16.html> [accessed 5 October 2018].

interfere as little as possible with Aborigines'.[26] It was this argument between MacDougall and the officials involved in the planning of the nuclear tests which led to Butement's striking chastisement:

> The mere fact that Mr. McDougall's [sic] views conflict so strongly with those of the Natives Affairs Departments of both South and Western Australia indicates how much he is out of step with current opinion, and the sooner he realises his loyalty is to the Department which employs him, and which is glad to take advice from him on matters on which he is an expert, the sooner his state of mind will be clarified, and he will be enabled to carry out his duties without any sense of frustration or disappointment.[27]

Butement's statement highlights the imperialistic and colonial attitudes still held by the Australian and British governments in the mid-1950s. Indeed, Butement later warned MacDougall not to put 'the affairs of a handful of natives' ahead of the needs of the British Commonwealth.[28] Butement and his scientific and political colleagues had little regard for the impact of the testing programme on the Pitjantjatjara, and showed indifference to their needs and wishes. Newman, the Acting Superintendent of the Woomera Range, called the Aborigines in the Maralinga area 'a menace' and argued that for 'the health of the white men and safety of equipment […] it is recommended that blacks be kept to the north'.[29] British scientist Scott Russell claimed that the Aboriginal population was a 'dying race' and thus 'dispensable'.[30]

The colonial attitudes of British and Australian officials and their resulting actions had a profound impact upon the mental health of Aboriginal individuals. One woman recalled MacDougall telling her that she had to 'sit down, *ngura wanti* [leave you country altogether]' and explained that 'the old men were feeling no good. He was crying for his country.'[31] Another man stated that he 'was in the *mayi* [food] for too long'; his separation from the land meant he had forgotten the traditional way of life and was thus unable to survive there without assistance.[32] MacDougall recounted meeting with an Aboriginal community. After MacDougall explained the purpose of his presence in the area, an elderly Aboriginal man 'expressed anxiety' at the news

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[26] 'Australians Building Permanent Atomic Site', *The Science News-Letter*, 69 (21 January 1956), 46; *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.306.
[27] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.308.
[28] Lorna Arnold, *Britain, Australia, and the Bomb: The Nuclear Tests and their Aftermath* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p.278.
[29] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.309.
[30] Roger Cross, *Fallout: Hedley Marston and the British Bomb Tests in Australia* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2012), p.32.
[31] Palmer, p.199.
[32] Palmer, pp.202–03.

that the British were to establish a post. 'The word used means fear' MacDougall explained, adding, 'I gathered that he was more than just afraid'. Just under six months after this encounter, MacDougall met with the Aboriginal group again, and discovered that a number were 'very sick with a chesty cold' and several individuals, including the elderly man, had died. MacDougall believed the Aborigines had caught the illness from the white men in the area.[33]

In some cases, restricting access to the Maralinga range forced Aborigines to deviate from their usual passage across the desert. In the case of one group, this led to a number of individuals dying of dehydration.[34] Restricted access to the Maralinga range, therefore, had far-reaching, and in some cases, extreme consequences for the Pitjantjatjara community. Neglect, disinterest, and poor management on the part of British and Australian officials exacerbated these problems, and led to psychological trauma and several deaths during the establishment of the permanent testing ground. It was the nuclear tests themselves, however, which caused the most disruption and devastation for the Aboriginal community at Maralinga.

'Whiteman's Ceremony'

After a year of preparation, the morning of 27 September 1956 arrived, and with it came the first test shot of Operation Buffalo. Three additional Buffalo tests followed within a month of the first, and the next year Operation Antler saw three nuclear detonations. Further minor tests, which involved testing the safety and functionality of weapons components, took place at Maralinga up until 1963.[35] These minor trials deposited approximately 20kg of radioactive plutonium in craters across the testing ground.[36] While measures had been taken to prevent Aboriginal access to the testing ground, they proved widely inadequate and the 1985 Royal Commission criticised officials for their 'disturbing', 'appalling', and 'deficient' attitude to the movements of the Aboriginal population.[37] Patrols of the testing ground were inadequate and sporadic, and the circulation of information to the Aboriginal population was hindered by communication difficulties.

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[33] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.310.
[34] Grabosky.
[35] Maclellan, p.28.
[36] Alan Parkinson, 'The Maralinga rehabilitation project: final report', *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 20 (2004), 70–80 (p.72).
[37] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.312.

Shortly before the commencement of nuclear tests, the range appointed a second patrol officer to assist Walter MacDougall. R A Macaulay, a 23-year-old graduate, had no experience of the Aboriginal population, their language, or their cultural beliefs, and stated he had 'not been outside of Sydney' prior to his recruitment.[38] In addition to a lack of experience, Macaulay had to deal with insufficient equipment. He had no transport and no radio, so was unable to perform his duty of ensuring no Aborigines entered the area he was responsible for.[39] The 1985 Royal Commission condemned patrol attempts, stating that they relied on 'incomplete, imprecise, and ultimately inaccurate information about the location of Aborigines'.[40] Conversely, the British Government's official history of the test, *A Very Special Relationship,* written by Lorna Arnold, argues that although 'a few people may have broken the rules, ignored instructions or cut a corner' the tests were generally carried out with care and were 'kept as safe and clean as possible'.[41]

Air crews made just two aerial searches in preparation for Operation Buffalo, one over two weeks before the first shot, and the second before the fourth shot. Group Captain Menaul had little understanding of Aboriginal customs, and believed that as they '[slept] most of the afternoon', it was not necessary to conduct more than one search before the test shots.[42] Between these flights, it was up to patrol officers MacDougall, Macaulay, and the newly appointed B. L. Smith to ensure Aboriginal groups did not enter the 100,000-kilometer squared testing ground. Smith, like Macaulay, had no previous experience of working with the Aboriginal community, and the patrol coordinator stated he was 'reluctant' to send Smith on patrol as he believed he would simply be 'a millstone around somebody's neck'.[43]

The failure of patrol attempts led to the 'Pom Pom incident', in which the Milpuddie family camped in the testing area, close to the site of the Marcoo crater. When range authorities found the family, they were forced to travel to the decontamination centre, and showered, before soldiers drove them onto the mission at Yalata.[44] For the Milpuddies, this experience was terrifying. Showering was not part

[38] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.311.
[39] Ibid, p.311.
[40] Ibid, p.312.
[41] Dieter Michel, 'Villains, Victims, and Heroes: Contested Memory and the British nuclear tests in Australia' *Journal of Australian Studies,* 27 (2003), 221–28 (p.228).
[42] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.317.
[43] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.313.
[44] Grabosky.

of daily life for the Aboriginal community, and an officer described the family 'crying', while the former manager of the Yalata Community explained they were 'in a state of apprehension and bewilderment'.[45] Edie Milpuddie was pregnant at the time of the incident, and her baby was later stillborn, which she believed was because of the 'poison' in the area that they had camped.[46] During the Royal Commission, anthropologists stated that the family had 'been subjected to a high degree of stress and unhappiness about the events', and the Royal Commission concluded that it could not 'exclude the possibility that the Milpuddies' entry into the contaminated area resulted in injury to them'.[47] The Milpuddies were entirely unaware that the area was out of bounds, highlighting the failure of patrols and dissemination of information to the Aboriginal community in the area.

Other Aboriginal families also suffered the effects of the nuclear tests. Simply hearing the explosions devastating the landscape they cherished caused significant psychological trauma. One Aboriginal woman stated simply: 'the bomb finished it'.[48] Yvonne Edwards described her grandfather and grandmother's fear as 'their home was bombed' and how they 'really wanted to go home, used to talk all the time to get their land back'.[49] An elderly Aboriginal man explained '*piling* [rockhole] no good *kapi* [water] no good. Wiluna rockhole, we can't trust him, we can't trust him water near Maralinga'.[50]

Stilted and inadequate communication between testing officials and the Aboriginal community led to tragedy in some cases. In November 1963, an Aboriginal man, his wife, and their infant son died near Rawlinna, some 600 kilometres west of Maralinga. Unable to locate familiar water holes, they had succumbed to starvation and dehydration. Other members of the family told officials that they had previously entered the Maralinga testing area, and had 'heard the bombs and felt the tremors'. Despite this, patrol officers had never contacted the family, and they were therefore entirely unaware of the nuclear tests.[51] Another Aboriginal woman explained that her family 'didn't know what bomb was', and were not

[45] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.320.
[46] Ibid, p.321.
[47] Ibid, pp.323–24.
[48] Palmer, p.199.
[49] Christobel Mattingley, *Maralinga's Long Shadow: Yvonne's Story* (London: Allen and Unwin, 2016), pp.43–44.
[50] Ray Acaster, 'Worlds Apart: Atom Bombs and Traditional Land Use in South Australia', *Limina*, 1 (1995), 1–16 (p.9).
[51] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.368.

informed that the British were testing nuclear weapons. Many believed that the explosions were '*mamu tjuta,* evil spirits, coming', and therefore 'everyone was frightened'.[52]

British and Australian servicemen who took part in the nuclear tests often spotted Aborigines in and around the testing area, but officials were keen to cover up any sightings. After reporting to an official that he had seen Aborigines in the testing around, an officer was asked if he understood 'what sort of damage [he] would be doing by finding Aboriginals where Aboriginals could not be'.[53] When a number of Aircraft Research and Development Unit members reported a sighting of approximately 70 Aborigines, a Major warned them not to share the information with anyone.[54] Officials were all too aware of the danger posed to the entire test series if the information made it to the press or public. The 1954 Castle Bravo test by the United States, which caused widespread fallout and contamination of a Japanese fishing vessel and the indigenous population of the Marshall Islands, had turned public opinion against nuclear testing. In Britain, the public were strongly in favour of a test ban, and Prime Minister Anthony Eden was already under pressure to voice a commitment to limit testing.[55] Indeed, Winston Churchill, who was famously in favour of developing Britain's nuclear capabilities, expressed his concern that an 'undue number' of nuclear tests could damage the earth's atmosphere for several thousand years.[56] News that British tests at Maralinga were endangering Aboriginal communities would, according to Range Commander Colonel Durance, have been a 'political embarrassment'.[57] Indeed, in March 1957, after claims that the Aboriginal population at and around Maralinga were suffering due to the nuclear tests, the State Minister for Native Affairs in Australia, W. Brady, made a statement arguing that the Pitjantjatjara were 'leading a natural life according to their traditions and customs'.[58]

It was for these reasons that the Milpuddie family incident was kept secret. The UK High Commission informed Downing Street in a cable which stated 'it is hoped to keep this incident from the press', and explained that officials were taking

[52] Mattingley, p.43.
[53] Grabosky.
[54] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.318
[55] Benjamin Greene, *Eisenhower, Science Advice, and the Nuclear Test-Ban Debate, 1945–1963* (California: Stanford University Press, 2007), p.88.
[56] Robert Divine, *Blowing on the Wind* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p.32.
[57] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.321.
[58] 'Aborigines are not suffering', *Birmingham Daily Post,* 7 March 1957, p.8.

'all possible steps' to ensure this.[59] These steps included MacDougall informing the Milpuddies that they had 'accidentally seen something of a whiteman's ceremony' and should not, therefore, 'declare anything to other white men'. Range Commander Colonel Durance told officers who had witnessed the Milpuddie family's experience that 'references to the incident were not to take place at all', and, as the men were bound 'under the Defence Special Undertakings Act', they would face 'great difficulties' if they broke their silence.[60] The cover-up proved, according to the Royal Commission, that 'the reporting of sightings of Aboriginal people was discouraged and ignored'.[61]

Attempts to track the movements of the Aboriginal population in and around Maralinga during the nuclear tests were mismanaged, apathetic, and ineffectual. The Royal Commission surmised that it was 'impossible to predict' the movements of the Pitjantjatjara, especially with the exiguous resources available, which amounted to 'nothing more than a token gesture'.[62] With just three patrol officers to search an area the size of Iceland, the Royal Commission's conclusion that it was 'a matter of luck' that 'Aborigines were not injured or killed as a result of the explosions' rings uncomfortably true.[63]

Between 1955 and 1963, the Pitjantjatjara community at and around Maralinga suffered considerably due to Britain's nuclear testing programme. Earlier encounters with colonists had already negatively impacted the Aboriginal community in the southern desert, forcing them from their traditional way of life and imposing Western culture on them. However, the establishment of a permanent testing ground at Maralinga had a greater effect upon the lives and livelihoods of the Pitjantjatjara. While Howard Beale promised that the tests would pose no hazards to people in and around the area, the Pitjantjatjara community were pushed further from spiritually and culturally sacred land, exposed to dangerous radioactivity, and forced to take unknown paths through the desert.[64] The mental and physical health of hundreds of Aboriginal individuals suffered as a result, and, although no official figures exist, many eyewitnesses have claimed that several individuals died as a result of their experiences.

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[59] *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia*, 1, p.322.
[60] Ibid, p.321.
[61] Ibid, p.323.
[62] Ibid, p.322.
[63] Ibid, p.323.
[64] 'Australian Atomic Tests', *The Science News-Letter*, 68 (8 October 1955), 228.

The failure to ensure protection and fair treatment of the Pitjantjatjara community during the nuclear tests at Maralinga stemmed directly from the 'Great Power' ideology of the British Government.[65] Leaders of the time believed Britain had to develop a nuclear deterrent in order to maintain her place at the 'top table' in world affairs.[66] However, public opinion on nuclear testing was profoundly negative; 'near hysteria' in Britain over nuclear weapons during the mid-fifties 'startled' then Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, and a poll conducted in September 1956 revealed that 76 percent of Britons already believed 'the party they supported should back an international nuclear test ban'.[67] A test ban would scupper British testing plans, so the Government were keen to push on with the testing series before an agreement was made, even if this meant endangering the lives of the native population of Australia. Bad publicity, however, which would certainly have come if the press became aware of the situation at Maralinga, could have turned British public further against nuclear testing, and pushed the Prime Minister to make test ban agreements. This political situation, combined with colonial and, in many cases, racist attitudes towards the Aboriginal population in Australia led to the abuses suffered by the Pitjantjatjara during the nuclear testing series, and the systematic cover-up of said abuses. While the 1983 Royal Commission investigated the treatment of the Aboriginal population during British nuclear testing in Australia, the British Government continued to ignore the damage done by the tests, as evidenced by the conflicting narratives presented by the Royal Commission and Britain's official history, *A Very Special Relationship* by Lorna Arnold. It is this, in part, which has meant that the history of the Maralinga nuclear tests has remained obscure and unknown in Britain, despite their far-reaching and significant consequences.

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[65] In her book, Beatrice Heuser argues that during the 1950s Britain suffered from 'political nostalgia', and this, coupled with desperate attempts to remain a 'great power', shaped political thinking in the post-war era. Beatrice Heuser, *Nuclear Mentalities? Strategies and Beliefs in Britain, France and the FRG* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p.5.
[66] Lawrence Freedman, *Britain and Nuclear Weapons,* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1980), p.88.
[67] Hunt, p.13; Divine, p.124.

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Innovation versus Tradition in Historical Research Methods: The 'Digital Turn'

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In 1985, historian Don Karl Rowney published an instructional article aimed at assisting historical researchers in using 'microcomputers' to boost their analysing power. In that article, he noted that 'several elements must be combined in order to gain an adequate level of terminal-like operation […] the user will have to be able to use the keyboard and interpret the screen in a fashion appropriate to applying the software and hardware'.[1] Of course, Rowney was writing in the years long before the widespread dissemination of personal computers, before the days of instant internet access, before social media or smart-phones. In 2018, the idea that a scholar would lack the knowledge to use a keyboard is barely comprehensible but in the 1980s this was the cutting edge of new technology. Rowney was not alone in his desire to help historians to embrace new technology. A year prior to Rowney's article and in the same series, Richard W. Slatta applauded the DBase system, which now sits very much in the background of modern computing software, hidden from the gaze of historians. Slatta celebrated the opportunities that DBase presented for historians to 'refine and update [their] traditional methods and [bring] new rigor and structure to historical investigation'.[2] Thirty years on, technology has come an extraordinarily long way and instructional resources in this same ilk exist in abundance online to assist modern historians in making use of today's latest technical innovations. The early systems encouraged by Slatta and Rowney are now the 'bread-and-butter' of even GCSE level history. There is no doubt that this rapid technical development has revolutionised historical research, not least by bringing academic research into the public eye via interactive websites, apps and podcasts. However, just as some researchers of the 1980s warned against reliance on 'microcomputers', so to do historians today warn against the overuse of modern technology.[3] This abundance of

[1] Don Karl Rowney, 'The Microcomputer in Historical Research: Accessing Commercial Databases', *The History Teacher,* 18 (1985), 227–42 (p. 227).
[2] Richard W. Slatta, 'Teaching Historical Research with a Microcomputer', *The History Teacher,* 18 (1984), 45–55 (p. 52).
[3] Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel offer a useful guide to the debate over the 'Digital Turn' in 'Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in *Cities and*

caution is not without justification. The overuse of modern software and the reduction of data required to accommodate such software can be highly problematic if the limitations of those approaches are not properly addressed and accounted for. On the other hand, modern technologies can be incredible tools both for academic analysis of historical data and for production of non-academic resources. Insofar as methodological approaches to historical research are concerned, this article will argue for a middle ground between innovation and tradition.

Although the traditional scholarly methodologies outlined below are applicable to any historical methodological framework, the method of foremost concern to this article is the use of database software, in particular the creation of publicly available web databases. It is noteworthy that non-academic outputs are included here, although many historians would argue against prioritising this type of work. Later, this paper will address how public outputs can be balanced with rigorous academic research but for now it is worth impressing that the reasons behind emphasising public outputs are twofold. Firstly, for many scholars, there is a belief that historical research should not be confined within university walls. Our human collective past is ours to share and it is simply the duty of historians to ensure that our impression of that collective past is as nuanced and balanced as possible.[4] Without including the wider public in academic research, the scholarly community risks becoming insular and failing to disseminate quality academic research to the broader community can prevent the non-academic audience from properly understanding the past. The general public inevitably have a perception of what happened in prior centuries and if historians do not share their research with the wider world, those perceptions remain based on outdated approaches or ideals. Secondly, the advent of the REF culture shows that university institutions echo some of these thoughts. Arguably, institutional emphasis on public-engagement may, in some cases, come from a place of commercial rather than ethical motivation, but that is a question beyond the scope of this article. Nonetheless, institutions often do not just desire but also actually require public-engagement in order to gain academic positions or obtain funding. This in itself is motivation enough for many historians to disseminate their findings widely.

Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe, ed. by Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 1–24 (pp. 7–9).

[4] For discussion on this topic and other matters of public engagement, see: *Historians on History,* ed. by John Tosh, 3rd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 279–312.

However, pressure to accommodate such requirements and to embrace new technologies can in some cases lead to scholars forgetting important methodological standards. Too great a focus on public appeal or on impact can lead to scholars skimming over key principles that underlie quality research. This problem has been highlighted in particular by historians of network research who berate academics adopting the term 'network' as an eye-grabbing title for research projects but who fail to adhere to even basic concepts of Social Network Analysis.[5] Mike Burkhardt has criticised researchers for whom 'the word network is merely used as a metaphor, a trendy term to attract potential readers'.[6] Moreover, other network historians have highlighted the problematic nature of network research when scholars seem to forget the fundamental principles of historical research. One of the most significant problems that arises from the transition of academic research into new and innovative frontiers is the risk of overlooking key methodological approaches that are fundamental to maintaining academic rigor.

The Importance of Tradition

Before we move on to briefly review some projects that have demonstrated particularly effective means of embracing digital technological advances while maintaining a strong academic stance, it is worth mentioning three overarching traditional historical methods that are particularly important to producing quality academic research. These three overarching categories of traditional methodologies are: rigorous source criticism, contextualisation, and application of case studies. Other key historical approaches are equally important, but can be broadly categorised within these three overarching themes. For example, the skills relating to archival research, analysis of visual sources, or matters relating to translation or transcription can all be broadly defined as relating to rigorous source criticism. Equally, overarching economic trends, material culture, or political features of a particular time period may all relate to contextualisation, and prosopographical research considered one form of

[5] *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400–1800,* ed. by Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle (London: Pickering and Chatto Publishers, 2014), pp. 1–64; Claire Lemercier, 'Formal Network Methods in History: Why and How?', in *Social Networks, Political Institutions, and Rural Societies,* ed. by G Fertig (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 281–310 (pp. 281–3).

[6] Mike Burkhardt, 'Networks as Social Structures in Late Medieval and Early Modern Towns: A Theoretical Approach to Historical Network Analysis', in *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400–1800,* pp.13–44 (p. 13).

case study research.[7] It is beyond the scope of this article to cover each and every historical method in detail and instead this paper will only briefly highlight the importance of the three overarching trends.

Firstly, and in many ways most importantly, we must address the importance of rigorous source criticism. For those exploring a time before the advent of typed documentation or attempting to make use of informal documents such as diaries or personal papers, accurate transcription is the first of many steps in understanding the evidence available. To an even greater extent, historians using non-English texts must also decide on their translation conventions and ensure that their translations properly convey the intended meaning. Beyond these first basic steps, we must understand the background of the source itself; the motivations of the author(s); the context in which it was created; its intended recipient or purpose; whether there are any particular reasons it could be inaccurate or misleading; and many other mitigating factors that could impact its meaning. It is only when we begin to understand our sources to this detailed extent that we should consider attempting to interpret them. Of course, any scholar is taught these basic skills during the early stages of an academic career. The problem that arises from the use of digital technology in this respect is the breaking down of sources into new forms and separating the data contained within them from the original source material.

By way of an example, online databases can be particularly problematic for a number of reasons. It is worth first remembering that databases are not pre-fabricated. When an end user interacts with a database produced by another person, it is easy to forget that the choices made by the creator in terms of the fields, relationships and structure of the database can have a significant impact on the way the data is presented and interpreted. When creating a database from afresh, the creator has freedom over the way the database works and their established knowledge surrounding the principle source material should inform those decisions.[8] However, if

[7] Prosopography can be broadly defined as 'the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives' — see Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus,* 100 (1971), pp. 46–79 (p. 46).

[8] Onno Boonstra, Leen Breure, and Peter Doorn, 'Past, Present and Future of Historical Information Science', *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung,* 29 (2004), 4–132; Colson and van Steensel, 'Urban Communities in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', pp. 7–9; J. Colson, 'Review of Web Databases for Late Medieval Social and Economic History: England's Immigrants and the Overland Trade Project', Review No. 1820 (2015) <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1820> [accessed 19 January, 2018]; C. Harvey and J. Press, *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods, and Applications* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

the end user is not party to that decision-making process, their interpretation of the data is effectively blind. Access to raw data without a good understanding of the underlying source material from which it was derived can lead to a dangerously skewed perspective of the reliability or accuracy of the information presented. We shall see later that many online databases overcome this issue with extensive explanations of the primary source materials, but due to a desire to protect intellectual property they rarely share the underlying database itself or explain the structural backdrop to the results that are displayed when an online database is searched. If the public output is not sufficiently clear, this can effectively remove the end user's ability to undertake rigorous source criticism themselves. Without a good understanding of the information being analysed, there is a risk of the data being misinterpreted and the resulting output becoming inaccurate. Similar issues arise in the analysis of data using Social Network Analysis software. When an end user is given the opportunity to very easily and quickly plug in tabulated data and output impressive network graphs, there is a risk that the algorithms used by the software are not sufficiently understood and thus the visual graphs and numerical outputs misconstrued.[9]

The other two overarching themes explored here are in some ways polar opposites. This paper emphasises the importance of both broad contextualisation and of the application of case studies. Without both of these things working together it is near impossible to understand the workings of past communities. The broad historical context allows understanding of the wider motivations, triggers and obstacles that impacted the trends and themes observed at all levels, from single individuals to global structures. In equal measure, without zooming into particular case studies we risk overlooking the intricate details that often influenced the trajectory of historical change. Again, the obstacles and solutions in producing meaningful historical research will be well known to most scholars. The problem when we approach the digital humanities is a tendency for innovative and exciting new approaches to distract from the broader context or for visualisations of data to replace case studies. For example, the earliest uses of Social Network Analysis in historical research triggered a significant divide among academics. Those on the side of rejecting the use

[9] Burkhardt, pp. 13–8; Lemercier, pp. 281–2; Christian Rollinger and others, 'Editors' Introduction', *Journal of Historical Network Research,* 1 (2017), i-vii. For a broader review of the use of sociological theories in historical research, see Charles Tilly, 'Observations of Social Processes and Their Formal Representations', *Sociological Theory,* 22 (2004), 595–602.

of Social Network Analysis in historical research accused historians of attempting to quantify history to an extent that distorted our view of the past. This side of the debate was effectively arguing that we must continue to acknowledge the broader context of historical change and zoom into specific individuals or groups in order to produce well-rounded historical research. While many recent historians have developed methodologies sufficient to overcome these problems, in particular by combining network analysis with other approaches, it is very easy to fall into the trap of forgetting traditional historical methods.[10] Even today, more than a decade on, network scholars still berate common mistakes and misunderstandings in applying Social Network Analysis to historical research, most of which centre on the misconception that network graphs can provide a full understanding of the past when the reality is that these need to be viewed in the context of traditional historical analyses.

There is much more that could be said about the importance of traditional methodological approaches to historical research, but there is not space here to discuss this at any greater length. Nonetheless, a plentiful stock of illuminating literature on this topic already exists and provides a solid basis for any scholar wishing to re-kindle their knowledge of traditional methods.[11] The rest of this article will review three projects that have embraced digital technology. We will look at three database-based websites that offer direct access to data itself. These are often geared towards a broad audience including other scholars, family historians, schools, and the general public, and usually allow access to the data in a somewhat limited form.

[10] See, for example, Caracausi and Jeggle, pp. 1–12; Colson and van Steensel, 'Urban Communities in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', pp. 7–9; Bonnie H. Erickson, 'Social Networks and History: A Review Essay', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History,* 30 (1997), 149–57; John Haggerty and Sheryllynne Haggerty, 'Visual Analytics of an Eighteenth-Century Busines Network', *Enterprise and Society,* 11 (2010), 1–25; Christophe Verbruggen, 'Combining Social Network Analysis and Prosopography', (Unit for Prosopographical Research (Linacre College), 2007), pp. 579–601.

[11] For example, see the extensive collection of articles in *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, ed. by Douglas L. Anderton and Kenneth M. Sylvester (Philadelphia: Taylor & Francis, Inc., 1978-current). Also: C. Bombaro, *Finding History: Research Methods and Resources for Students and Scholars* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2012); L. Faire and S. Gunn, *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

Embracing Innovation - Online Databases

From the very start of the application of digital technology to historical research, databases have been at the forefront. Those scholars that were mentioned at the start of this article largely advocated the use of 'microcomputers' in the form of creation and access to databases. The use of database technology is not new, but the online access to such resources and their popularity among the general public has changed the way they are used and creates various issues. To be clear, the focus of this discussion is databases that format data into separate fields, actually extracted from the original source, as opposed to databases of photographs of original source materials. As discussed above, for decades historians have highlighted the importance of understanding the context in which historical sources were created, their original purpose, the individuals or institutions that created them, and their rate of survival. Each of these and many more extenuating factors influence the degree to which we can rely on source material to provide us with an accurate and unbiased view of the past; and the risk of presenting raw data is that individuals engaging with that data do not understand the underlying factors that fed into its creation and reproduction. This is particularly significant when directing databases towards a public audience, who may lack the fundamental scholarly skills and knowledge to critically evaluate the data that is presented. When a database is easy to access and very user friendly, it is easy for those engaging with it to feel that it provides all of the answers without questioning the reliability or accuracy of the data presented.

Moreover, while the beauty of creating user friendly and easy-access databases is that they have wide appeal and are 'media-friendly', the process of creating a database in itself involves the reduction of data into pre-defined fields and often involves limiting public access to certain fields within the wider database.[12] The reduction of data into predefined fields is not necessarily problematic but does require an underlying understanding of the original source material and of how it has been broken down in order to properly understand the data that is presented. Equally, an understanding of the broader context in which the data was collected or created is necessary to understanding the historical topic as a whole. This is a slightly different problem and the responsibility for providing historical context for the period as opposed to the source material largely falls on the end user. However, creators can

[12] For detailed discussion regarding the structuring of databases, see Harvey and Press, pp. 102–252.

take efforts to assist end users in understanding the broader context, such as providing bibliographies or suggested further reading material.

The three web-based databases assessed here are: *The Merchant Fleet of Late Medieval and Tudor England, 1400-1580*; *People of Medieval Scotland*; and *Hansard at Huddersfield*.[13] There are many other websites that could be included, but the three explored here were all launched recently (the earliest launching in 2012) and offer a range of subject matter and interactive features. Each of these three projects provides access to otherwise difficult to access data and each attempts to address the concerns described here surrounding source criticism and historical contextualisation.

Dr Craig Lambert and Dr Gary Baker launched *The Merchant Fleet of Late Medieval and Tudor England, 1400-1580* (hereafter MTS) in November 2017 with support from GeoData at the University of Southampton and with funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The website is centred on a relational database containing details extracted from naval and customs accounts. The database covers an approximately 180-year period and, for the first time, maps trade routes on a countrywide scale. The database contains details of voyage start and end points, ships, shipmasters and occasionally additional details such as voyage lengths or details of additional crew on the vessel. Notably, this results in various elements that are present in many of the sources being excluded, reflective of the research goals of the project. This of course limits the details that can be obtained from the data presented in the database, but these limits are well described and explained on the website. A detailed description of the available information is provided and includes lists of transcription decisions that were made in the process of compiling the information (such as standardised forenames and port names). In terms of the transcription process, it is notable that the database contains names and not individuals. This allows nominal linkage to be left up to the end user, rather than being attempted by the creators. This approach, in addition to the fact that surnames

[13] *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1314* (2012) <www.poms.ac.uk> [accessed 15 June 2018]; Craig Lambert and Gary Baker, *The Medieval and Tudor Ships Project* (2017) <http://www.medievalandtudorships.org/> [accessed 15 June 2018]; and for more information regarding the upcoming HH project, see 'Hansard at Huddersfield: Improving Democracy through Technology', *AHRC Web* (2018) <www.ahrc-blog.com/2018/05/28/hansard-at-huddersfield-improving-democracy-through-technology/> [accessed 9 November 2018]; Lesley Jeffries, *Hansard at Huddersfield* (2018) <www.hansardhud.edublogs.org/> [accessed 15 June 2018]; '£80,510 Project, *Hansard at Huddersfield,* Will Be Led by Professor Lesley Jeffries', *University of Huddersfield News* (2018) <www.hud.ac.uk/news/2018/march/linguisticsteamtomakehansardaccessibleanduser-friendly/> [accessed 8 November 2018].

and ship names are entered into the database as they appear in the records rather than being standardised, grants the end user freedom to engage with the data in a way that replicates engagement with the primary sources themselves. In this sense, the website enables much more efficient engagement with the source material while preserving many of the original features of the documents used. The most interactive part of the website comes in the form of a geographical map showing ports and voyages. This element brings in non-academic appeal and makes the website interesting and engaging, as evidenced by positive comments in the press.[14] Of course, the maps provided are rather more limited in their scope than data extracted directly from the search (not least because the period before 1565 is only minimally covered in the 'Routes Map') but again a detailed description of their configuration and use is provided and a visual approach to the dataset offered. The benefit of the database presented here is that the creators have limited the extent to which the data has been manipulated before being made publicly available. Original names and spellings are preserved allowing users to make decisions about the meaning of the information themselves. Equally, the search feature is flexible and effective, a feature that we shall see shortly is lacking in some earlier web-based databases such as the original *Hansard*. Most importantly perhaps, in addition to that important back-end work, the website itself provides the user with considerable information regarding historical contextualisation and the original source material.

Turning next to *People of Medieval Scotland* (hereafter POMS), we see that this was a substantial project, involving a team of 21 core members and 23 additional advisors, and receiving funding from various funding partners including the AHRC, four separate universities and the Leverhulme Trust. The issues present in the sources used on the POMS project are much more varied than those of MTS. The project made use of over 8600 documents of very different types, created for different purposes and containing different information, many of which were already published. These ranged from papal charters, to exchequer rolls, to parish registers, to royal letters, to a veritable miscellany of published historical accounts and local

[14] Among others, Keir Clarke, 'From Coastal Trade to Global Shipping', *Maps Mania* (2018) <http://googlemapsmania.blogspot.com/2018/01/from-coastal-trade-to-global-shipping.html> [accessed 25 September 2018]; 'Map Shows Medieval Shipping Routes Which Forged `British Maritime Empire´', *The Daily Mail* (2018) <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-5316311/Map-shows-medieval-shipping-routes-forged-British-maritime-empire.html> [accessed 25 September 2018].

histories.[15] Moreover, the project approached the sources with Social Network Analysis in mind, meaning that the data was specifically manipulated in order to fit into a series of network graphs, within which they sought to observe as many people and relationships as possible. This removed many of the freedoms that the creators of MTS had in maintaining the original features of the source material. The creators faced the challenge of attempting to extract *comparable* data from fundamentally different source materials. The documents used were produced by different institutions, with different underlying goals, and as a result recorded essentially opposing data. Unlike MTS, a single page of source explanation would be hugely insufficient and even expert medieval scholars are unlikely to have a solid understanding of every source presented. In order to create a network graph from diametrically opposed source material, very little of the original features of the sources were retained in the networking part of the website. The data presented in the network graph is deliberately a far cry from the original material as the creators present a very specific configuration of information about the individuals explored. The creators therefore overcame these difficulties by addressing potential issues in a much more detailed manner and by enabling the user to access more detailed information that is more closely aligned with the original source material, when it is sought.

In terms of presenting background information, the website contains extensive material regarding the historical context of the period covered and the territorial boundaries of the project, as well as a glossary of technical historical terminology which allows users to understand the methodological approach taken and the meanings of the relationships presented.[16] Aside from directing users to extensive literature on the sources that are covered, the creators also offer an overview of the source materials used, as well as providing more detailed separate pages for each of category of sources.[17] Moreover, for every individual that appears in the network graph, details of their relationships and transaction histories are provided in order that the user can obtain a more detailed understanding of their role within the graphs.[18] The extent to which the team have provided detailed source criticism and

[15] For the full bibliography, see: 'Bibliography of Sources in the Database' (2012) <www.poms.ac.uk/information/reference-information/bibliography> [accessed 26 September 2018].
[16] See 'Information' (2012) <https://www.poms.ac.uk/information/> [accessed 26 September 2018].
[17] 'Information'.
[18] 'Search' (2012) <www.poms.ac.uk/information/reference-information/bibliography> [accessed 26 September 2018].

comprehensive historical contextualisation allows the end user to engage with the data provided in a meaningful manner. An overarching understanding of the full network can be obtained from the network graphs, but more detailed exploration of the individuals involved and of their ego-networks can be undertaken if desired. Perhaps even more important for a project that involves the application of sociological theories is the detailed advice given surrounding the application of Social Network Analysis (SNA) to historical sources. The website has a selection of pages dedicated to providing a basic understanding of SNA, including a glossary, a detailed bibliography, explanations of the relationships included, and more focused explanations of how the sources used translate into meaningful SNA.[19] Alongside this, we see a citation guide and more general advice regarding the technical background to the construction of the database. It would be a challenge to navigate the POMS website without gaining a better understanding of the sources used, the map outputs and the historical context of the period. The information provided is incredibly detailed, but is also appropriately separated so that the lay audience and academic audience can easily navigate to pages appropriate to their level of prior knowledge and different requirements for detail and technical language. Perhaps more importantly, it is made clear that users *should* be making use of the resources available before attempting to understand the data presented. A user visiting the website would be hard pressed to ignore the advice given.

Finally, it is interesting to briefly note a third online database, which has yet to be released. *Hansard at Huddersfield* (hereafter HH) is due to launch in the next 12 to 18 months and is being developed in order to counteract problems with the existing *Hansard* webpage.[20] The project's foremost concern is to make the database more user-friendly, more intuitive, more eye-catching, and generally more accessible to non-linguists — but in doing this it is also tackling many of the problems addressed in this article. A large part of the problem of a searchable database is that an end user's perception of the data presented could be skewed if the search terms they use fail to bring up relevant material. Unlike reading the original source material first hand, when using a database the user is limited to the confines of the search criteria offered by the database creator. The linguistic framework in which English parliament

[19] 'Social Network Analysis' (2012)
<www.poms.ac.uk/information/reference-information/bibliography> [accessed 26 September 2018].
[20] *Hansard 1803–2005* (2018)
<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/index.html> [accessed 15 June 2018].

functions (or functioned) is perhaps rather different to the language used outside of that specific institution, and especially when we are looking at nineteenth century parliamentary debate. The HH project is attempting to address the issue of inaccurate or inappropriate search results and thus reduce the likelihood that the end user's research will be skewed by an inability to understand or properly exploit the data available. As the HH website has not yet launched, we cannot say yet how far the creators intend to provide contextualisation or information regarding the database itself or the source material, but just the action of improving the existing *Hansard* website should provide users with a greater ability to approach the rich data available. Moreover, their work to date has been highly focused on the end-user, suggesting that much care is being taken to understand how members of the public, members of academic institutions, and other groups, interact with *Hansard* and engage with parliamentary debate.[21]

Conclusion

On the topic of 'Innovation *versus* Tradition', this article argues that historians should undoubtedly embrace innovative approaches to their subjects. Innovative technological advances allow historians to keep up with trends and keeps history interesting in the public eye. In a world of REF scores and institutional pressure for public engagement, that factor should not be understated. Perhaps more importantly, innovative technologies allow us to approach past communities from new perspectives and encourage both scholars and public consumers to re-evaluate the established historical narratives. That being said, scholars have a duty to ensure that their work can be fully understood and critically evaluated. This paper has showcased three projects that, in cleverly striking a balance between innovation and tradition, seek to encourage new approaches and release otherwise inaccessible data, but make sure that the limits of that data or approach are properly understood by the end user.

In terms of addressing the problems highlighted here in web-based databases, there are effectively three approaches. Firstly, giving information on the site that provides a base understanding of the historical context and of the data made

[21] 'End-User Meetings and Trialing' (2018) <hansardhud.edublogs.org/2018/08/03/end-user-meetings-valuable-for-progress/> [accessed 2 October 2018]; 'End-User Meetings Valuable for Progress' (2018) <hansardhud.edublogs.org/2018/08/03/end-user-meetings-valuable-for-progress/> [accessed 2 October 2018].

accessible. Secondly, structuring the database itself in a way that reflects the original source material and allows access to the original wording. Thirdly, developing effective search engines that produce relevant results. In projects such as the *People of Medieval Scotland* where the data is very extensively manipulated, it is even more important that the website provides the end user with sufficient knowledge to understand the methodological framework in which the website was constructed and the ways the original source materials have been used. *The Merchant Fleet of Late Medieval and Tudor England, 1400-1580* project maintained features of the original source material to a much greater extent and thus required slightly less background information. Just enough background information is provided that the end user can understand the original source material and the structure of the database without being overwhelmed. It also provides additional reading for those requiring a more detailed analysis. Finally, *Hansard at Huddersfield* is being specifically developed to overcome searching issues in the original *Hansard* database. The project has directly identified the problems that arise when databases and search engines are not fit for purpose in the back-end and the creators are utilising the knowledge of linguistic theorists to counterbalance those problems with this new composition of existing data. This paper has looked at three projects that overcome the same problems in different ways, reflecting the sources they are using and their specific research goals. This serves to demonstrate the breadth of the projects that can benefit from technical innovation and suggests that a tailored approach to their outputs is the most successful way to overcome the problems that can arise from embracing innovation.

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The *Rite of Spring*'s Reception and Influence on Heavy Metal

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In 1913, on the cusp of the First World War, a ballet played in Paris for the first time. The *Rite of Spring* followed Igor Stravinsky's successful *Firebird* and *Petrushka*, but had a very different effect on its first audience to that of its predecessors; fights broke out during the performance to the extent that the music was inaudible and critics took pains to savage Stravinsky and choreographer Vaslav Nijinsky in the press. Its subject matter, like the cause of the conflict it prefaced, took influences from a violent and primitive past that loomed large over European culture, and the emergence of such visceral behaviours in musical and dance performance led to controversy in European high society. This study will examine the premiere of the *Rite*, whilst also considering several other sites of reception such as the 1920 Paris revival, later performances, and recorded editions. Taking influence from both Richard Taruskin and Peter Hill, it will be demonstrated that by delivering 'perfect' renditions, the primal and violent nature of the composition has been neutered and recording such performances has added to this effect. However, the currents introduced by Stravinsky live on in heavy metal music both in the genre's use of disorienting and abrasive musical elements, and in its fascination with controversial and fantastical themes. This study will draw particular comparisons with progressive metal band Meshuggah, whose compositional techniques borrow from ideas laid out in the *Rite* whilst mirroring and developing its themes and imagery. Their utilisation of polyrhythms and dissonance within note-perfect performances sees the chaos of the *Rite* displaced into the band's distorted tone, whilst their lyrics and aesthetic suggest fears of a dystopian future, as opposed to the *Rite*'s echoes of a brutal and uncivilised past.

Stravinsky's contemporaries were certainly shocked when they first heard the *Rite* performed. Pierre Monteux, who conducted the premiere, wrote regarding a piano reduction of the score that 'The very walls resounded as Stravinsky pounded away…I was convinced he was raving mad'.[1] Similarly, Louis Laloy describes being

[1] Pierre Monteux, in Peter Hill, *Stravinsky: The Rite of Spring* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 27.

'overwhelmed by this hurricane which had come from the depths of the ages'.[2] Both descriptions characterise the piece as one of tremendous force, with Monteux also mentioning the extreme demands it placed on the performer and audience: 'By the time [Stravinsky] had reached the second tableau, his face was completely covered with sweat […]. I did not understand one note…my one desire was to flee that room'.[3] Considering that both accounts refer to performances played on piano as opposed to full orchestra, it is clear that the *Rite* was intended to overwhelm its first audiences with its savage yet complex composition, combined with a ferocious performance style. Hill comments that Stravinsky's 'unprecedented features' included the combination of multiple melodic and rhythmic layers, 'in such a way that they retain a reptilian indifference to one another', which evoke a 'lack of sentiment or 'pity'', strongly contrasted to the aesthetic of the Romantic movement which had dominated the late 19th century.[4] When combined with Roerich's imagery of a primal, pagan and *authentic* Russia (as opposed to the 'made-for-export' Russianness of *Firebird*), the overall effect was a savage and bewildering experience that challenged its audience's conception of compositional technique.[5]

Although the *Rite*'s first production did receive praise from critics and journalists, some of the most prominent comments were also the most damning; H. Colles wrote in *The Times* that Stravinsky's work was 'more intentionally bizarre than sincere [...]. [If he] had wished to be really primitive, he would have been wise to [...] score his ballet for nothing but drums.'[6] Worse, in many cases critics focused entirely upon Nijinsky's choreography and the reactions of the crowd to the music. Amidst this negative reception, Stravinsky confided to Diaghilev that 'people who were full of enthusiasm for my earlier works have turned against this one. [...] enough about 'Le Sacre'. It makes me miserable.'[7] It could certainly be argued that Stravinsky, by now used to congratulatory recognition, resented Nijinsky for the comparative attention he received.[8] It would not be until a year later, when Monteux conducted a performance

[2] Louis Laloy, in Hill, *Stravinsky: The Rite of Spring*, p. 27.
[3] Ibid, p.27.
[4] Ibid, p. 53.
[5] Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 849, 891.
[6] H. Colles, *The Times,* 12 July 1913, in Hill, p. 96.
[7] Richard Taruskin, 'Shocker Cools into a "Rite" of Passage'*, New York Times,* 16 September 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/16/arts/music/rite-of-spring-cools-into-a-rite-of-passage.html> [Accessed 20 October 2018].
[8] Hill, p.116.

without dancers, that Stravinsky described the *Rite* as a 'triumph'.[9] Following the premiere, Stravinsky sought to distance himself from the choreography by claiming a celebratory article he had written for *Montjoie!* ahead of the May 29th performance was not his.[10] For Stravinsky, the content of the article was problematic; it delved deeply into the symbolism that Stravinsky had developed with Roerich, and also described Nijinsky as 'the ideal collaborator.' This denial began Stravinsky's process of suppressing the original influences of the *Rite* in its subsequent performances.

The controversy of the *Rite*'s premiere began a dramatic turn by its composer away from the naturalistic, primal sound and message of the piece itself, towards a vision of the work separated from the ballet for which it had been composed, as an 'objective construction' that has 'no story and no subject.'[11] These quotations derive from Stravinsky's statements concerning the 1920 Paris revival of the *Rite*, which was performed in a very different context to that of the debut. The First World War had come to a close and the Bolsheviks had deposed the Tsar, which would have rendered the savage and quasi-nationalist tale embedded in the *Rite* a controversial narrative to perform.[12] At the same time, European culture was beginning to experience an era of free cultural expression, which in part had been inspired by the *Rite*'s performances seven years before. This new imagining of the *Rite* was taken by Stravinsky as an opportunity to redefine the piece as a modern classic, free from the 'shock and awe' that accompanied the 1913 performances. The choreography, now arranged by Massine, was proclaimed to be 'constructed freely on the music', with Nijinsky's influence removed.[13] Hill also argues that Stravinsky's developing enmity toward Nijinsky played a role in this subduing of the *Rite*'s visceral features in favour of a more 'architectonic' approach that eschewed the pagan symbolism of the original collaboration.[14] By the mid-1930s, Stravinsky had attempted to diminish the role of Nijinsky even further, denouncing the 'knock-kneed and long-braided Lolitas' who had delivered the 1913 performances and claiming that the choreographer 'knew nothing of music'.[15] This defamatory approach was combined with pronouncements

[9] Taruskin, 'Shocker'.
[10] Hill, pp. 112–13.
[11] Ibid, pp. 110–11.
[12] Taruskin, 'Shocker'.
[13] Stravinsky, in Hill, p. 111.
[14] Taruskin, 'Shocker'; Hill, pp. 105–11.
[15] Stravinsky, in Hill, p. 111; Igor Stravinsky, *An Autobiography* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1936), p. 40.

that the piece 'gains by being played in concert' without the accompaniment of the dancers for which the score was originally set.[16] Taruskin suggests that this process formed a 'resistance' to the original intent of the piece and served to obscure the primal vision envisioned by Stravinsky and developed by Roerich.[17]

Successive ballet directors since the premiere have extended this resistance to a visceral, chaotic *Rite*. Rather than attempting to capture its original primal expression, post-war productions focused heavily on the erotic aspects of the dance, such as the 1957 Berlin and 1959 Brussels renditions. The 1965 Bolshoi production downplayed religious imagery in favour of a heroic Soviet who saves the victim and plunges a dagger into the idol; Taruskin describes this as 'the clumsiest attempt' at removing the original subject matter.[18] He also notes that the 1987 Joffrey Ballet production, which claimed to revive the harshness of the original, 'allowed a bit of sentimentality to seep in […] when the victim tries repeatedly to break out of the circle of elders.'[19] The lead dancer showing complete submission to the will of the tribe, according to Taruskin, is what fills modern audiences with horror. Her sacrifice reveals a willing abandonment of individual agency, and devotion to gods that (to modern audiences) do not exist and to a social unit that enforces her death without ethical qualms. These traits formed a pre-modern challenge to Enlightenment ideals of personal free will, empirical discovery, and rational methods of ascertaining justice and truth, and to see them recalled alongside a thoroughly modern compositional style created a jarring contrast. This can be compared to Stravinsky's contemporaries such as Picasso, who was influenced by the 1907 Trocadero exhibition of African art in his development of cubism, and, in doing so, combined modern techniques with 'primitive' culture to create art that challenged even Impressionism with its deconstruction of shape and form.[20]

Whilst some ballet productions sought to remove the more horrifying aspects of the *Rite*, the legacy of Stravinsky's preference for concert-only renditions produced a different effect. As the piece became established as one of the most influential pieces of the 20th Century (Taruskin compares it to Beethoven's 9th in the 19th

[16] Stravinsky, in Hill, p. 111.
[17] Taruskin, 'Shocker'.
[18] Taruskin, 'Shocker'.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Nadeen Pennisi, 'Picasso and Africa: How African Art Influenced Pablo Picasso and His Work' <https://www.palmbeachstate.edu/honors/Documents/Picasso_and_Africa_How_African_Art_Influenced_Pablo_Picasso_and_His_Work_NadeenPennisi.pdf> [Accessed 9 October 2018].

Century), orchestras began to use it to display their technical prowess. It is now so accepted in the repertory, and so established as a metric for performance, that 'any conservatory orchestra can give a fleet and spiffy performance of what used to stump their elders', with the focus being on delivering a 'fluent and rhythmically secure' performance.[21] Whilst the earliest recordings conducted by Monteux were 'sweaty and sloppy', Leonard Bernstein's recital with the London Symphony Orchestra is note-perfect, every musician playing in lock-step, despite the conductor's exertions being clear in the sweat he wipes from his brow between movements.[22] Not only is the contrast between music and dance removed entirely, but by creating a 'perfect' performed version of the *Rite*, the chaotic nature of the original performances has been lost. In effect, only Bernstein, who forgoes the use of a score during the performance, is recreating the frantic energy of the premiere. Interestingly, Hill concludes in his analysis of multiple recorded versions of the piece that 'comparison between the pioneer performances and succeeding generations reveals a marked loss of character', whilst one of the best performances comes from the USSR State Symphony orchestra in 1962: 'the orchestra sounds as though it has just encountered the *Rite* […] seems to have recaptured the shattering newness of 1913'.[23]

This can be extended further; all recorded versions of the *Rite* are adding to the interpretation of the piece as having a 'correctly performed' version, as the ability to replay the same work without any alteration removes any uncertainty from the reception. This turns the 'welter[s] of competing lines' from a bewildering assault of noise into an object of technical analysis, which counters the original intent of the work.[24] Further, listeners can now choose between recorded versions based on their personal preference and repeatedly listen to a piece until it can be followed or memorised, which similarly serves to diminish the *Rite*'s potential for shock. Although this could be expanded to cover much of 20th Century avant-garde music, the *Rite*'s case is perhaps more unusual due to Stravinsky's deliberate encouragement of its normalisation. The fact that a listener can also manipulate playback using modern devices enhances this effect; not only could this make preferred sections less alien (especially if slowed down so the individual parts can be heard more distinctly),

[21] Taruskin, 'Shocker'.
[22] Igor Stravinsky, *The Rite of Spring*, London Symphony Orchestra, cond. by Leonard Bernstein <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a9M2oTHa3GM> [Accessed 5 March 2018].
[23] Hill, pp. 138–39.
[24] Ibid, p. 53.

but listeners can also forgo sections of a piece, in doing so altering its content and effect. For the *Rite*, this serves to diminish its shocking and chaotic aspects yet further. The use of the *Rite* as backing music for visual media can also be considered as part of a sanitising process as it has been employed for such diverse productions as John Waters' *Mondo Trasho* (1969) and the videogame *Crash Tag Team Racing,* which have no overt relation to the pagan dance ritual portrayed in the ballet — although it could be argued that both draw on chaos and transgression, which would explain the *Rite*'s inclusion.

Despite the issues presented by the *Rite*'s legacy its influence has spread across the musical world and emerged, perhaps most faithfully to its original renditions, in heavy metal. Metallica began citing the influence of the *Rite* in their mid-1990s interviews as a major influence alongside metal bands such as Iron Maiden. It has also been noted in documentaries such as *Heavy Metal Britannia* that the scale and power of symphonic music was an influence on early metal musicians; this places heavy metal aside from much popular music in terms of its compositional ambition and scale.[25] Stravinsky's usage of dissonance and complex rhythms marks him as a composer of particular interest, as does the *Rite*'s thematic association with paganism, violence and mortality. Genres such as grindcore, which feature extremely fast tempi, growled vocals and punk-influenced guitar riffs, can be seen to be implementing the 'sloppy' and chaotic performances of the *Rite*'s premiere, whilst black metal artists' abiding interest in natural environments combined with the genre's abrasive textures can also be seen to draw influence from Stravinsky and Roerich's initial visions of a primitive and thus 'natural' Russia (in comparison to the comparably industrialised state within which both men lived and worked).

Some of the most interesting parallels can be found in the music of Meshuggah, a Swedish band who are widely renowned for their complex and extreme compositional style. Like Stravinsky, their songs often employ riffs (or ostinati) that overlap and shift in order to keep the piece unpredictable, and guitar solos are largely played in a jazz fusion-based style which disregards conventional melody. Structurally, many of their songs also avoid verse-chorus patterns in favour of a more abstract form where one set of riffs will follow another, thereby bearing similarity to

[25] Zachary Wallmark, 'Stravinsky and Heavy Metal', <https://taruskinchallenge.wordpress.com/2011/02/02/stravinsky-and-heavy-metal/> [Accessed 5 March 2018]; *Heavy Metal Britannia,* dir. by Chris Rodley (BBC4, 2010).

20th-century compositional techniques as opposed to pop songwriting. Despite the band only using five instruments and occasional electronic effects, the sound is extremely dense, relying on a combination of low tunings, high distortion levels and the use of droning root notes in compositions. Their drummer often plays in two time signatures simultaneously, which also aids in disorienting new listeners. Moreover, the band's use of pinched harmonics and chromatic melodies alongside dense chords are often reminiscent of Stravinsky's experiments in bitonality and dissonance, and his combination of high and low-pitched melodies, such as in *Symphony of Psalms* (1930). The stabbing chords in *Augurs of Spring,* the best-known section of the *Rite*, are paid homage in 2008's *Bleed,* which features an opening riff which is strongly reminiscent of the off-kilter accents in Stravinsky's work:

Figure 1: Opening guitar melody to *Bleed* by Meshuggah.
Note that the drums play in 4/4 whilst the guitar plays in 23/16

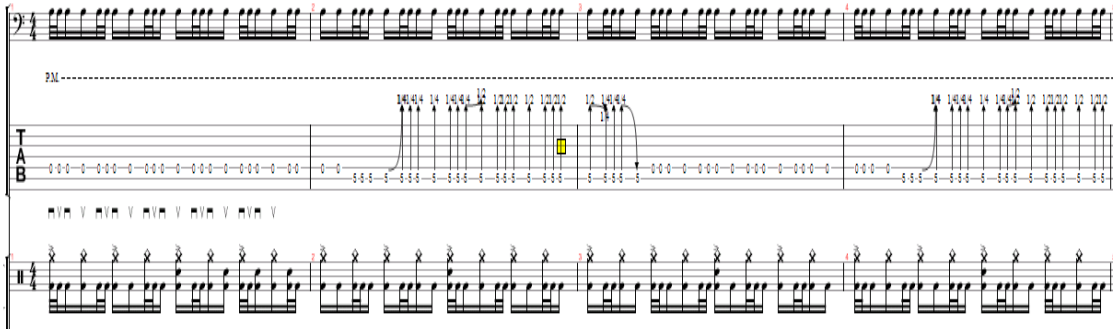
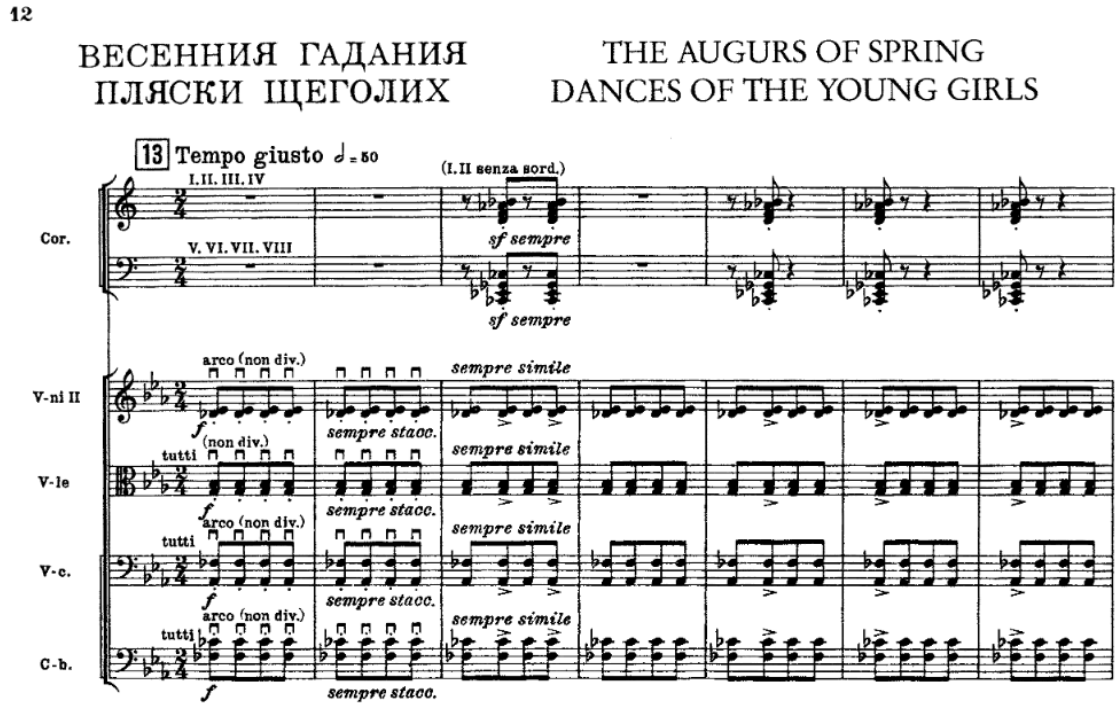


Figure 2: Opening bars in *Augurs of Spring* from *The Rite of Spring*



Both focus on hammering a single chord, using polyrhythms in order to disorient the listener, alongside accented notes which appear to contravene the established time signature, whilst also using the constant repetition of one pitch to create a dense, aggressive texture.[26] During a guitar solo in *Bleed*, the rhythm guitars play a riff which is not only polyrhythmic, but continually changes both melodically and rhythmically over 31 bars; a comparison could easily be drawn with the shifting, timpani-led *Sacrificial Dance* from the *Rite*.[27] However, Meshuggah do not employ bitonality in *Bleed* as Stravinsky does in *Augurs*, but instead use the tones generated by their amplifiers and effects modules to create dissonance and harmonic tension. The band also appear to pay homage to Stravinsky on 2001's *Spasm*, which features a modified version of the cor anglais melody from *Augurs of Spring* in 6/4, accompanied by a riff in 7/4:

Figure 3: Opening guitar melodies in *Spasm* by Meshuggah

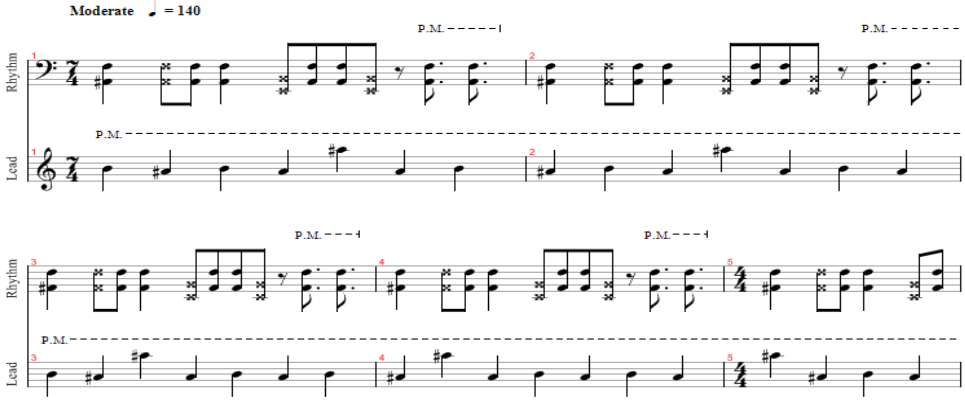
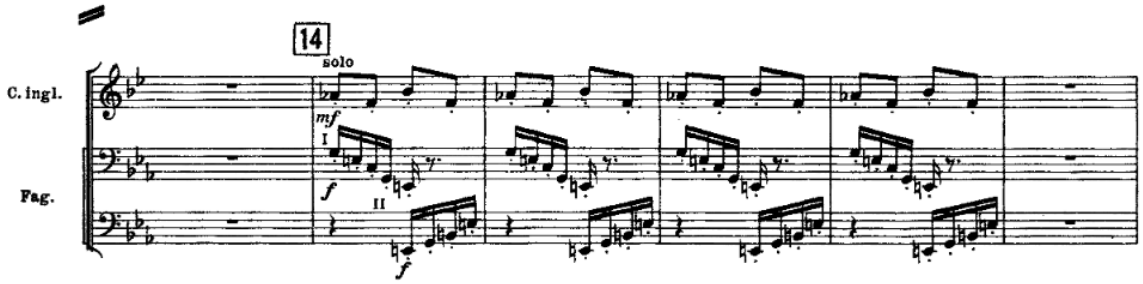


Figure 4: Cor anglais melody in *Augurs of Spring*



[26] Wallmark.
[27] Stuart XIV, 'Bleed Guitar Pro Tab by Meshuggah' <https://tabs.ultimate-guitar.com/tab/meshuggah/bleed_guitar_pro_1250923> [Accessed 23 June 2018].

In both cases a root note is established and connected with dissonant intervals, which provide a more tuneful contrast to the textural chords both melodies accompany, without providing audiences with easily-identifiable harmonic resolutions. From these examples it is arguable that Meshuggah are influenced by many of the techniques pioneered by Stravinsky, particularly in the use of seemingly-chaotic rhythms and melodic patterns. The band are one of the more unique heavy metal acts due to their use of these elements, with many of their contemporaries preferring more conventional song structures, melodies and rhythms. Although the group are clearly influenced by a wide range of musical movements in addition to Stravinsky, their repeated use of techniques he pioneered makes them a particularly notable example of metal's adoption of the *Rite*'s compositional style.

However, the group's live concerts are almost the opposite of the *Rite'*s most chaotic performances; the band plays to a click-track so that every note is perfectly synchronised, whilst their lighting engineer also works live to create a visual experience which directly matches the audio. The spotlights move in time to the melody being played, even at fast tempi such as in *Bleed*, which uses demi-semiquavers at 115 beats per minute for the majority of the piece's 7-minute duration. Although this perfectionism seems to complicate the notion of Meshuggah's similarity to the *Rite*, it can be argued that the band mirror the spirit of dissonant early 20th Century music. Whilst Stravinsky had to hammer at the piano to the extent that he was close to 'having a syncope' in order to achieve his desired effect, Meshuggah can create enormous volume and distortion by using modern sound technologies (allowing them – delete) to easily create the visceral sounds envisaged for the *Rite*'s premiere.[28] They have also re-recorded one of their albums in order to take advantage of eight-stringed guitars, which provide a darker and denser sound than seven-string models. The visceral and primal characteristics of the *Rite* have essentially been transferred into the timbral and textural aspects of Meshuggah's work whilst maintaining a unified rhythm, all of which is made possible by modern technology, a force which the *Rite* arguably opposes with its invocation of pre-civilised Russian paganism. Of particular note is the singer, whose scream often maintains a single pitch throughout entire songs, but the sheer amount of distortion created by the scream allows the sound to cover a wide harmonic range, overwhelming audiences

[28] Monteux, in Hill, p. 27.

with noise. This aspect of Meshuggah's style demonstrates some absorption of Stravinsky's techniques concerning grandiose volume and aggressive performance, whilst altering their utilisation to the point of developing meanings independent (and almost contradictory), but still related to, the *Rite*.

The primitive, unearthly narrative and imagery used in the *Rite* to provoke its cosmopolitan audience is likewise both employed and altered in Meshuggah's work. Their aesthetic focuses, instead of the primitive, on a dystopian, technologically-driven future, such as in tracks entitled *Future Breed Machine* and *The Demon's Name is Surveillance*. This can be seen to build upon other heavy metal bands' anxieties surrounding technology, such as Megadeth's *Rust In Peace* which prominently discusses the effects of nuclear war. Similarly, Meshuggah direct the focus of their lyrics and aesthetics particularly towards future as opposed to present fears. Whilst some of the group's album artworks make reference to religious imagery (such as the cover to *Koloss*), other covers make reference to technological accelerationism and the pressures of modernity upon the industrialised world's collective psyche. This can be compared to Roerich's use of traditional Russian decor and costume in the *Rite*; both works are attempting to bring a temporal and spatial non-present component into industrialised liberal society, with an aim to disrupt that society through shocking its constituents.

The band's lyrics often rely on a multi-syllabic and complex vocabulary such as in *Rational Gaze*: 'Lacerating pains of degeneration speed through your trembling mind / Still, in machine-like strife you gain another mile / The temporary elusive goal: To reach the solace, to feed once more upon the synthetic reaper of loss.'[29] On *Future Breed Machine* the lyrics feature 'synthetic souls, mass-produced, hammered into shape […] symbols of perfection/Humanoids ruined by your laws, destroy erase improve,' which describes an industrial process as applied to biology (reflected in the *Destroy Erase Improve* artwork below).[30] As mentioned, the group's singer often delivers whole verses in one screamed pitch, which adds to the technologically-inspired aesthetic which is also revealed in the band's repetitive-yet-complex writing style. By contrast, the *Rite* features no lyrics but instead relies on stage design and choreography to deliver the narrative aspects of the work, which further conveys its premodern, distant setting. By including complex, futuristic lyrics which border on

[29] Meshuggah, 'Rational Gaze', in *Nothing*, (Nuclear Blast, 2002).
[30] Meshuggah, 'Future Breed Machine', in *Destroy Erase Improve* (Nuclear Blast, 1995).

prose-poetry Meshuggah are able to confront the *Rite*'s original themes and instead focus on a modern or future world in which jargon and information are overwhelming, whilst maintaining Stravinsky's sentiments surrounding fear of the unknown, mortality and social destruction.

Figure 5: Meshuggah album artworks (clockwise from top right): *Destroy Erase Improve* (1995), *Chaosphere* (1998), *Koloss* (2012), *Nothing* (2002)

Both Meshuggah and the *Rite* represent concepts to which contemporary audiences find it difficult to relate and consequently fear; they share the common quality of successful art-horror as described by Noel Carroll, that of accurately representing the fears of their time.[31] Whilst Stravinsky conveys the aforementioned tensions of European society threatened by old power structures, Meshuggah describe

[31] Noel Carroll, *The Philosophy of Horror*, (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 207.

surveillance society and the loss of individual identity in an increasingly complex world. In this way, the two works (the *Rite* and Meshuggah's discography) represent the anxieties that characterised the beginning and end of the short 20th century — which can be summarised as sharing fear of a temporally non-present unknown. The singer's near-monotonous bark and the impressive synchronicity of the musicians also add to the effect of the band as being somewhat mechanical and thus 'pitiless', just as the *Rite* was described as lacking sympathy towards its protagonist's fate. This mechanical characteristic also allows the band to circumvent the issues raised by the *Rite*'s reception such as later recordings or differing interpretations within performance; the shocking thing about the band is that only five people can produce such a massive and complex sound and reproduce this perfectly at every live performance. This contrasts with the shock of the *Rite* that derived from its disregard of musical and choreographic 'syntax which we have been brought up to regard as logical and inevitable.'[32] As Meshuggah are not committing the same transgression – rather, they bring such musical devices to a different audience – the disregard of syntax is superseded by the perfectionism of the musicians within a popular music style, and the compelling challenges of complex songwriting and heavy timbres.

This study does not wish to argue with Hill or Taruskin's analyses that the *Rite* has undergone a process of acceptance by the wider musical community, and that in doing so some of its character has been lost. Indeed, it has underlined that thanks to Stravinsky's own efforts to separate the music from the imagery and choreography which originally surrounded it, the piece has become a staple of orchestral performances which rarely encompass the imperfect and chaotic aspects that made the original renditions so vital. However, this study has gone further by suggesting that the 20th century did not just normalise the piece through studious rehearsals and removing the dancers; modern means of reproducing music has converted the *Rite* into a mere fragment of the cultural landscape, subject to manipulation upon reception just like any other piece of music. Despite the process of normalisation that befell the work, the characteristics which gave the *Rite* such an impressive impact in 1913 have lived on, and been re-imagined in a range of diverse ways, with Meshuggah being one of the most interesting interpretations. Heavy metal music has particularly absorbed Stravinsky's approach to texture and performative attack, and arguably delivers the

[32] Hill, p. 44.

vision of shocking, unbridled power that Laloy was subjected to before the *Rite*'s premiere; bands such as Meshuggah have used modern technology to take this vision into ever-louder and newer territory.

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Youth Culture & The Craft Beer Boom: What's so cool about craft beer?

Shawnee Harkness (University of Southampton)

1. Introduction: Craft beer & learning to love

I love beer (well, I am a lover of various types of booze), however, my appreciation, nay, my admiration for alcohols and their associated cultures officially began with craft beer. As a typical American youth, my introduction to social drinking started in my mid-to-late teens. This was well before the legal drinking age of 21; therefore, my initiation into beer culture was through clandestine parties in isolated ice shacks and hunting lodges of rural Wisconsin. The most accepted and accessible beers at these gatherings were mostly light lagers (i.e. Coors light, Busch-light, and 'Natty-Ice' (Natural Ice)). That these lagers are low in ABV (alcohol by volume), produced with fewer calories and carbohydrates than other styles, and lack any real depth of flavour, made them a preferred choice among my adolescent peers. In the absence of individual choice or knowledge of beer, at this point in time, the (lack of) taste was tolerated because drinking was 'cool' not necessarily because it was enjoyable. It was not until I was encouraged to try a Blue Moon by my older sister several years later, that my tolerance for beer led to a love affair.

While completing my undergraduate degree, I worked at Dubh Linns Irish Brew Pub in down-town Duluth, Minnesota. Inspired by traditional Irish pubs, vintage Guinness advertisements scattered the walls of the dim venue and peanut shells littered the floor. Built into the long dark bar were over twenty taps which included beers from Ireland, the U.K., and craft beers from around the Midwest. Eight of those taps were designated for their own small batches which included crowd favourites like the Maple Amber Ale, the Peach Radler, and the Harmon's Killer Brew (bourbon barrel stout 10% ABV). After bartending at Dubh Linns, I felt officially indoctrinated into the world of craft beer.

In the decade or so that has passed since that first sip of Belgian-style wheat, I have observed a major shift in drinking cultures; primarily within the countries I have lived in: The United States, Scotland, and England. Beer, in our modern age, has never seen such a rapid increase in popularity as it has in the last ten-fifteen years.

Through the innate relationship between youth culture and the balance of tradition and innovation, I will explore this change in consumer practices by analysing the definitions of 'craft beer' in both U.S. and U.K. contexts, the 'ethos' of the craft brewing field, as well as the characteristics of the demographic credited with the craft beer boom, millennials.

2. Defining Craft Beer: American born

Before the introduction of the prohibition in 1920, micro-breweries were thriving across the United States. This was largely due to a mid-1800's influx of German immigrants, who combined their appetite for traditional beers and recipes with American-grown ingredients to produce their own innovative brewing techniques and beer styles.[1] When prohibition was abolished in 1933, only a handful of original breweries were able to recover quickly enough to later dominate the industry.[2] A monopoly within the American beer market, amplified by the remaining ban on home-brewing[3], led to lack of flavour and style diversity. Companies like Anheuser-Busch, Miller-Coors, and Pabst Blue Ribbon branded themselves as the 'Average Joe's' of the market; your everyday, affordable, American beer.[4] Thus, the term 'craft beer' originated to differentiate between the mass-marketed light lager dominating the taps and coolers of every bar in the nation, from the growing number of micro-brewers 'flying the flag for flavour, tradition, and relentless innovation'.[5]

It was somewhere in the middle of the 1990's that American craft brewers began mimicking traditional brewing artistry and beer varieties from the countries producing the most interesting beers on the global market: the U.K., Germany, and Belgium.[6] 'In North America, regional styles and brewing practices have [now] been

[1] Brewers Association, 'History of Craft Brewing' (2018) <https://www.brewersassociation.org/brewers-association/history/history-of-craft-brewing/> [accessed 24 January 2018].
[2] Sam Mcgarrigle, 'Real Ale vs. Craft Beer: Is it time to stop using the term 'real ale'?' (2016) <https://beerdock.co.uk/blogs/blog/85789059-real-ale-vs-craft-beer-is-it-time-to-stop-using-the-term-real-ale> [accessed 15 March 2018].
[3] Libby Murphy, 'The Day Homebrewing Was Legalized' (2016) <https://beerandbrewing.com/the-day-homebrewing-was-legalized/> [accessed 15 October 2018].
[4] Dan Gentile, 'These Are The 11 Oldest Operating Breweries in The US' (2014) <https://www.thrillist.com/drink/nation/the-oldest-breweries-in-america> [accessed 15 October 2018].
[5] Mcgarrigle.
[6] Lew Bryson, 'American Craft Beer Is Finally Getting Europe's Respect: U.S. brewers are now getting their due in the U.K. and Europe' (2017)

either revitalized or newly discovered through craft beer culture'.[7] These brewers produced new and innovative flavours that awoke a passion for regional identity within the American public. Through the use of locally sourced ingredients, innovative techniques, and traditional recipes, styles including stouts, saisons, wheats, and, a worldwide favourite, India Pale Ales (IPA), have seen a major come-back to the U.S. market.[8]

The Brewers Association of America, a not-for-profit trade organisation, created three standards a brewery must meet in order for their product to be earn the label 'craft':

1. Craft breweries must be considered 'micro', with an annual production of 6 million barrels of beer or less.
2. They must be independent; less than 25 percent of the brewery can be controlled by a macro-alcoholic beverage industry member that is not a craft brewer.
3. The majority of a craft brewer's range should consist of beers with flavour deriving from traditional and/or innovative brewing ingredients and techniques.[9]

The craft beer movement encourages U.S. brewers to honour the spirit of tradition without experimental limitations. [10] An affinity for innovation is a primary objective in the craft beer world; however, finding a unique balance with tradition is preferred.[11] For example, Ken Grossman, owner of leading American craft export Sierra Nevada, channelled his passion for British IPA's by infusing the British tradition with American hops to create a unique and hoppy pale ale.[12] Similarly, Wisconsin brewery Leinenkugel's created a classic German märzen amber using a

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<https://www.thedailybeast.com/american-craft-beer-is-finally-getting-europes-respect> [accessed 1 March 2018].

[7] Alexandre Enkerli, 'Brewing Cultures: Craft Beer and Cultural Identity in North America', in Conference of the Association for the Study of Food and Society and the Agriculture, Food, and Human Values Society, 'Place, Taste, and Sustenance: The Social Spaces of Food and Agriculture' (2006), pp.1–8. (p. 5).

[8] Enkerli, p.5.

[9] Mcgarrigle.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Andrew Nations, 'Six Brewers/Six Questions: Brewing Traditions vs. Innovation' (2011) <http://www.dcbeer.com/news/six-brewerssix-questions-brewing-traditions-vs-innovation> [accessed 4 June 2018].

[12] Mcgarrigle.

combination of European and American hops after working with the centuries-old Hofbräu Brewery in Munich.[13] As micro-breweries primarily deal in small batches, brewers are able to take greater experimental risks in the brewing process with fewer financial losses — thus allowing for continuing innovation and evolution of flavours and style.[14]

Nothing defines craft beer more than wild styles, interesting flavours, and local ingredients. From a spicy autumn-time pumpkin porter to a grapefruit shandy, the industry has provided a beer for every season, mood, and occasion. Craft beers allow the drinker to further explore the undertones of a familiar product, while enjoying diverse tastes and a communal sense of place. Butcher's Port City, for example, brews a stout with thousands of oysters from the Chesapeake Bay area to give the drink a 'briny character'.[15] This great diversity of flavour has, as a side effect, also fostered an increase of diversity within the consumer demographic. For example, researchers have found that women between the ages of 22 and 34 were the most avid consumers of more flavourful beers.[16] 'If there's an ethos of the craft industry, it's that there are no rules, there are no limits to what [brewers] can do. If the beer tastes good, that's all that really matters'.[17] This philosophy has been embraced by craft beer drinkers on a massive global scale.

2.1 Craft Beer: Crossing the pond

The United Kingdom has become the second largest importer of American craft beers since the movement crossed the Atlantic in the late 1990's.[18] British breweries and aspiring brewers have been inspired by the innovation of the American movement to apply transcultural beer knowledge, regionally produced ingredients, and individual creativity to their own craft. In fact, there has been an explosion of craft brewing in the U.K. In 2017, the number of small breweries reached over 2,000 for the first time

[13] Bryson.
[14] Andy Extance, 'Beer: Music to your taste buds', Chemistry World, 15 (2015), 15–19 (p. 15).
[15] Katie Nodjimbadem, 'There's No Stopping The Craft Beer Craze: How innovations in the craft brewing industry have changed (and improved) our taste in beer' (2015) <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/theres-no-stopping-craft-beer-craze-180957033/> [accessed 2 March 2018].
[16] Martha C. White, 'Beer Trends: Flavored Beers Are Booming Part of Craft Market' (2016) <http://time.com/money/4266936/craft-beer-trends-flavored-beer/> [accessed 28 February 2018].
[17] Nodjimbadem.
[18] Nicholas Robinson, 'UK is now second-largest importer of US craft beer' (2017) <https://www.morningadvertiser.co.uk/Article/2017/04/26/UK-is-second-largest-importer-of-US-craft-beer> [accessed 2 March 2018].

since the 1930s.[19] Adopting the ethos and various methods established within the U.S. craft scene, brewers in the U.K. are working out their own equilibrium of tradition and innovation, as well as focusing on unique flavours and range of styles, not just ales.

Nonetheless, there are crucial differences when discussing beer culture in the U.K. versus the States. Unlike the U.S., the U.K. did not lose much of its brewing traditions in the 20th century. They did, however, experience a similar cultural push against the homogenisation of mass-produced beer, somewhat earlier, in 1971. After seeing the rise of foreign-made, high-volume, industrialized keg-conditioned beers, and a potential for cask ale extinction, the Campaign for Real Ales (an independent consumer organisation known as CAMRA) successfully crusaded for the superiority of 'real ales' (traditional cask-conditioned, natural, unpasteurized beer).[20] British beer traditionalists believe that 'beer should be left to ferment "live" in casks. Craft beer, by contrast, is often produced in kegs - a technique which makes traditionalists shudder, especially those dedicated to CAMRA's campaign'.[21] With regards to the demographic of real ale consumers, British beers have recently been attached with old-fashioned connotations and a 'middle-aged beer-belly' stigma.[22] While CAMRA may be more restrictive in terms of the style of beer and brewing process necessary to qualify as a real ale, similar to Germany in that regard, many craft beers produced in both the U.S. and the U.K. do fall into the category. Recently, CAMRA completed a revitalization project to review its core aims, proposing to change its attitudes toward keg beers in light of contemporary innovations and fear of becoming obsolete to younger generations.[23] As we can see, the changes occurring in U.S. and U.K. drinking cultures are fundamentally distinct yet both are reflective of a global shift in consumption practices. So why do we see such an increase in popularity of both

[19] Angela Monaghan, 'Craft beer boom pushes number of UK breweries past 2,000' (2017) <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2017/oct/23/craft-beer-boom-pushes-number-of-uk-breweries-past-2000> [accessed 13 March 2018]; Robinson.
[20] Monaghan.
[21] John Kelly, 'US craft beer: How it inspired British brewers' (2013) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-21541887> [accessed 6 March 2018].
[22] Kelly.
[23] Campaign for Real Ales, 'News' (2018) <http://www.camra.org.uk/news//asset_publisher/1dUgQCmQMoVC/content/camra-members-vote-to-approve-change-following-largest-consultation-on-47-year-history> [accessed 1 October 2018].

local and imported crafts dominating the industries within the U.S. and U.K.? What is so cool about craft beer?

3. Craft Beer & Youth Popularity

Craft beer, as described by Tony Naylor, is young, urban, and fashionable.[24] Traditionally, young consumers were associated with inexpensive light beer; however, 'there are no consumers more responsible for the current success of the craft brewing industry than millennials'.[25] Millennials are the generational cohort of young adults. Covering those born in the early 1980's and mid-to-late 1990's, the term comprises those in their early 20's to mid-late 30's. The craft industry understands the value of young adults as a consumer base, specifically because millennials make up the largest demographic group since the baby boomers.[26] The notion of 'youth' as a consumer base, often marks the beginning of a long-term or life-long engagement in particular cultural practices (i.e. current craft enthusiasts vs. conservative real ale supporters). [27] There has been a cultural move towards innovation, flavour, and variety. Ben Steinman, president of Beer Marketer's Insights, has stated that 'the 21 to 27 [category of] beer drinker is, and always has been, the critical demographic and they're shifting towards craft'.[28] Craft beer culture 'implies the negotiation of different aspects of cultural identity'.[29] The following sections will focus on the relationship between cultural shifts of the millennial generation and the ideologies of the craft beer movement (Young); the relationship of craft beer, globalization, and urbanism (Urban); and the correlation between current youth trends and craft beer (Fashionable).

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[24] Tony Naylor, 'The Craft Beer Revolution: How hops got hip' (2014) <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2014/aug/13/craft-beer-revolution-hops-brewers-flavours> [accessed 2 March 2018].
[25] Nodjimbadem.
[26] David Kaplan, 'Q&A: Young adults power craft beer movement' (2012) <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/business/article/Q-amp-A-Young-adults-power-craft-beer-movement-4153256.php> [accessed 28 January 2018].
[27] Mary Bulcholtz, 'Youth and Cultural Practice', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31 (2002), 525–52 (p. 528).
[28] Nicholas Duva, 'Elitism, or something else? Millennials and the war on big beer' (2014) <https://www.cnbc.com/2014/11/07/why-those-elitist-millennials-hate-big-beer.html> [accessed 1 March 2018].
[29] Enkerli, p. 2.

3.1 Young: Craft beer & youth culture

The 'youth' category may be characterised by one's social circumstances rather than chronological age.[30] Young adults are often categorized as such because of their transitional phases between adolescence and the roles, routines, and rituals culturally characterized as 'adult'. During this transitional period, young adults are more likely to be more open to new things, new ideas, and new experiences when considering tradition versus innovation throughout their personal development.[31] The dominant dimensions of youth culture are identity/individualization, style, and innovation[32]. This explains why young adults tend to be less conventional than their parents and more liberal with regard to regional tradition and outside influence.[33] Youth cultures are often reactive in this way, as epitomised by older youth trends such as the hippies of the 60's or punk rockers of the 80's. Anthropologist Mary Bucholtz (2002) noted that young adults are just as often the agents of cultural change as they are the experiencers. This has been increasingly evident in the political engagement of millennials, as 67% of voters aged 18-29 led Democratic U.S. presidential candidate Barack Obama to victory in 2012.[34] This youthful tendency towards liberalism can also be applied to craft beer. A study, conducted during the same election, showed a positive correlation between the concentration of micro-breweries and a state's likelihood to vote for President Obama.[35] Openness to change and experimentation can be seen as common traits in both young adults and craft brewers.

Millennials have become a key demographic of the craft scene due to a cultural change in spending trends. Recent studies have shown a generational shift away from acquiring 'things' and more towards gaining new experiences and engaging in community driven social activities referred to as the 'experience economy'. Research conducted in 2017 by the Harris Group suggests that more than 3 in 4 millennials choose to spend money on an experience or event, over buying

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[30] Bucholtz, p 526.
[31] Lisa Williams, *Changing Lives, Changing Drug Journeys: Drug taking decisions from adolescence to adulthood* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
[32] Dannie Kjeldgaard and Søren Askegaard, 'The Global of Youth Culture: The Global Youth Segment as Structures of Common Difference', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 33 (2006), 231–247.
[33] Arjun Appadurai, 'Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology', in *Interventions: Anthropologies of the Present*, ed. by R.G. Fox (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1991), 191–210 (p.195).
[34] Kevin Robillard, and others, 'Study: Youth vote was decisive' (2012) <https://www.politico.com/story/2012/11/studyyouth-vote-was-decisive-083510> [accessed 5 February 2018]
[35] Kelly.

something physical.[36] Millennials often contribute to and seek out the benefits of the experience economy. The experience economy can be summed-up as 'living in the moment'. In 2016, Airbnb conducted a study among individuals aged 18-35 in the U.S., the U.K., and China highlighting that travel has become a prioritized passion of this generation. In addition, millennials have been found to approach travel differently to their parents or grandparents, with over 80% of young adults surveyed looking for a unique experience when traveling.[37] This transatlantic change in consumption habits can be observed in the rise of sought-after experiences such as beer tourism with craft breweries and taprooms all over the world jumping on board. For example, in 'Beercations Are Booming' Julia Hertz shares her thoughts on Travelocity's debut beer tourism index, while Epcot, Disney's adult-centred theme park, has devoted an entire exhibit exclusively to craft beer.[38]

Observers have claimed that millennials are largely rejecting the mass consumerism culture that has dominated the latter part of the 20th century; which, is in part due to the uncertainty of a rapidly changing socio-economic climate. Youth principles revolve around the 'blending of traditional cultural forms into new youth-based styles and practices, and the possibilities for cultural production offered by new technologies'.[39] Big breweries simply do not offer what large portions of the leading demographic value. We can see that millennials naturally gravitate towards the experience economy as the market reacts to include more interesting beers with unique aesthetics and flavours as well as the perception of authenticity. The rise of the experience economy coincides with that of the craft industry and together, they have revived a consumer focus on the 'unique' and local'.

3.2 Urban: Globalization, locality, and grit

Youth culture is constructed in response to local and global socio-cultural conditions. Consumption practices are hence inscribed in local, historically constituted cultural

[36] Rupa Ganatra, 'The Rise of the experience economy' (2017) <http://www.brandquarterly.com/rise-experience-economy> [accessed 1 March 2018].
[37] Ganatra.
[38] Julia Herz, 'Travelocity Debuts New Beer Tourism Index' (2016) <https://www.brewersassociation.org/communicating-craft/travelocity-debuts-new-beer-tourism-index/> [accessed 28 January 2018]; Smith, S., and others, 'Examining the Craft Brew Industry: Identifying research Needs', *International Journal of Hospitality Beverage Management*, 1 (2017), 1–17 (p.1).
[39] Bucholtz, p. 544.

discourses of youth consumption, modernity, and globalization.[40] With increasing globalization, members of the youth market interpret and rework global practices and meanings to fit into their native cultural contexts.[41] Craft beer, though a recently globalized commodity, is a product of localization. As wine is strongly rooted in *terroir*, Scotch is inextricably linked to Scotland, and tequila to its namesake, craft in its infancy is finding its feet in establishing a localised authenticity. The craft community embraces slogans like: 'Think Global. Drink Local'.[42] 'Craft' and 'local' are terms often associated with perceptions of quality and regional authenticity. Whether this trend is due to the hip factor, community support, or genuine concern over pervasive consumerism, we see millennials drawn to buying, eating, and drinking local products.[43] While the concept of locality is preferred amongst millennial consumers, it is perfectly acceptable, even encouraged, to explore a variety of styles and flavours of crafts from around the world, while sitting comfortably in your residential bar or pub.

'Think global' is a fairly metropolitan concept applied by craft brewers, who believe that diverse urban atmospheres nurture innovative and traditional practices and products. Diverse populaces lead to a greater variety of products. Rapid *urbanization* and large *youth* populations are key demographic features in today's global landscape. 'While growing cities have also become younger – many of the world's nearly four billion people under the age of 30 live in urban areas'.[44] Urban environments are home to large numbers of young adults drawn to these cities as much by 'what [they] offer them in lifestyle and personal experience terms as by any narrow economic calculus'.[45] Urban environments often resemble 'youthscapes', as they are sites for local youth practices that are embedded with global and local forces. Likewise, local products can become globalized through their inclusion in an

[40] Douglas B. Holt, 'Poststructuralist Lifestyle Analysis: Conceptualizing the Social Patterning of Consumption in Postmodernity', *Journal of Consumer Research,* 23 (1997), 326–350 (p.333-335); Craig J. Thompson, and Maura Troester, 'Consumer Value Systems in the Age of Postmodern Fragmentation: The Case of the Natural Health Microculture', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28 (2002), 550–71 (p.566).

[41] Andy Bennet, 'Subcultures or Neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste', *Sociology*, 33 (1999), 599–617; Karen Klitgaard Povlsen, 'Global Teen-Soaps Go Local', *Young*, 4 (1996), 3–20.

[42] Enkerli, p.5.

[43] Nodjimbadem.

[44] Nicole Goldin, 'A tale of twin demographics: Youth in cities' (2016) <http://blogs.worldbank.org/jobs/tale-twin-demographics-youth-cities> [accessed 28 January 2018].

[45] David Conradson, David and Alan Latham, 'Friendship, networks and transnationality in a world city: Antipodean transmigrants in London', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 31 (2005), 287–305 (p.288–90).

ideological youthscape of 'cool' consumption practices.[46] Flirting with contradictions, craft combines innovation with a grounding of tradition and of community, using local ingredients and multi-cultural artistry. Thus, craft beer can embody global demographics within a single regional context.

Craft beer has travelled from U.S. suburbia to even the most rural areas around the world, yet it is in urban contexts where you find higher concentrations of micro-breweries and craft selections.[47] The aesthetic of a micro-brewery is typically far from your traditional American bar or British pub. The majority of craft breweries, micro-pubs, and tap houses popping up across the U.K. and U.S. seem to aspire for a gritty urban or industrial feel. This aesthetic, of U.S. origin, is often the result of gentrifying or reclaiming city-spaces and industrial-spaces. For example, The Tap Social Movement, an Oxford micro-brewery, is located in a previously unused warehouse complex, while the Waterloo Tap House is nestled under one of the many arches supporting London's railways. The decor observed in locations such as these as well as the branding of craft logos, revolves around underlying themes of youth culture, city grit, and graffiti. The aesthetic favoured by craft breweries and recently opened or renovated bars supplying crafts is usually minimal, 'artsy', industrial, and prone to using recycled materials. Many of these venues exhibit graffiti-like murals and other forms of abstract or obscure art (figure 1).

Figure 1. Large spray-painted located inside The Tap Social Movement, Oxford, U.K.

[46] Kjeldgaard 231–247.
[47] Enkerli, p. 5.

We can see by the vibrant logos and provocative names on beer labels, that there is a strong focus on self-expression and a certain level of rebellion, compared to conventional beers, within the craft world. For example, Brewdog's (Scotland) most popular beer, Punk IPA, or Dark Horse's (Michigan), Plead the 5th, contribute to a 'youth in revolt' mentality; that is, a rebellion to the mass produced and uninspired beer of our parent's generations. Having been revealed as the most educated and underpaid generation in history, millennials are thus resisting the status quo in subtle and strategic ways which includes taking advantage of their purchasing power.[48] The rebellious nature of young adulthood and the millennial transition is uniquely wrapped within local and global conditions. In relation to these, craft beer is primarily localized but globally connected through mutual respect for the craft ethic as well as the current youth mentality.

3.3 Fashionable: 'Youth in revolt' & craft beer

'Youth is, for good reasons, thought of as the adult culture of the future'.[49] Similarly to craft beer, youth style is theorised as one that challenges, combines, and appropriates existing elements in new ways to create a distinctive style, described by Hebdige as a 'bricolage'.[50] The craft beer movement flirts with alternative styles and mentalities, while priding itself on a strong sense of identity. Kjeldgaard and Askegaard suggest that there are three dominant dimensions of youth cultural ideology: 1. *Identity construction* (experimentation with individual identity as a necessary response to transitioning from childhood to adult roles); 2. *Stylised consumption* (through which this identity search is handled); and 3. C*ultural innovation* (the combination of identity construction and stylised consumption arenas, which constitutes youth as a stage for innovation and cultural renewal).[51] Young adults often display stylised-consumption practices which emulate their transitioning identities and as such, have reinforced the cultural rise of innovative commodities like craft beer.

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[48] Anna Johansson, 'Why Are Millennial Salaries Disproportionately Low?' (2017) <https://www.forbes.com/sites/annajohansson/2017/09/28/why-are-millennial-salaries disproportionately-low/#6395120b23f8> [accessed 15 October 2018]
[49] Kjeldgaard, p.233.
[50] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (New York: Methuen, 1979).
[51] Kjeldgaard, pp.231–47.

A fashionable millennial style is that of the 'hipster' and 'there is definitely a hipster cachet to craft beer'.[52] Just as hipsters can be identified by their tattoos, vintage attire, and avant-garde record collections, arguably, craft beer's blend of retro authenticity and bold experimentalism appeals to the same demographic. Melissa Cole, beer expert and author of *Let Me Tell You About Beer*, describes a 'sense of whimsy about it, and of rebellion, pushing boundaries […]. Craft beer is seen as sexy right now, there's no doubt about it'.[53] Relating back to the urbanism mentioned above as the current youth ideology, youth culture observed in both the U.S. and U.K deals in uniqueness and boundary pushing. This is apparent when we consider the names and aesthetics of breweries and individual crafts. Tiny Rebel (Cardiff) or Rogue (Oregon) clearly plays upon a push against the establishment, while Beavertown (London) and Magic Rock (Huddersfield) use bold colours and cartoon-like imagery resembling that of urban street graffiti (Figure 3).

Figure 2. Examples of beer companies alluding to nonconformist ideologies. Dark Horse (Scotty Karate) & Rogue Brewery (Hazelnut Brown Nectar)

Figure 3. On the left we see the vivid and creative labelling of craft beers compared to the plain or 'old fashioned' labels of English Ales on the right

[52] Kelly.
[53] Ibid.

Yet, 'the craft beer scene wouldn't have exploded the way it has if it was only hipsters who liked it'.[54] While craft beer might be fashionable as far as 'hipster-aesthetics' are concerned, it is by far the 'hipster-mentality' that catches the interest of millennials. Correlating with a revival of local community engagement, the growing trend within youth culture today is to be socially and environmentally aware. This is, in part, related to the organic, home-grown, slow-food, and environmental grassroots movements that have gained momentum since the early 2000's. London's Toast Ale, for example, uses unsold loaves of bread from nearby bakeries and unused crusts from sandwich shops as part of a campaign to reduce food waste, with profits donated to charity.[55] The Tap Social Movement uses the slogan 'criminally good beer' because they not only provide people serving prison sentences job-training in brewing techniques and business start-up education but also provide ongoing support to aid in effective rehabilitation.[56] The ethical credentials of a product are more than ever before at the forefront of young consumers' minds [57]. Craft beer finds itself at the epicentre of a movement that aims to give back to the communities that support them.

Generally, being well-educated about the quality and source of the alcohol one consumes is associated with a level of grown-up sophistication or 'adulting'.[58] For many, craft beer became the transitioning point at which 20–35 year-old working professionals could reflect on the bland beverages they consumed back when they may not have known better. [59] Once passed the initial party phase of cheap young adult consumption, you often find millennials ordering crafts like Brewdog's hoppy Punk IPA (5.6%ABV) over a mass-produced bland lager like Stella Artois (4.6%ABV). An article in *Nightclub & Bar* reports that young adults seem to be drinking smarter, in that purchasing 'one high-quality craft beer instead of two bland beers comprises their night out'.[60] For a generation hit hard by the lingering economic woes of the recent recession, balancing quality and price is a crucial consideration. Macro-breweries

[54] Naylor.
[55] Monaghan.
[56] Tap Social Movement, 'Story' (2018) <http://www.tapsocialmovement.com/story/ > [accessed 7 March 2018].
[57] Steve Olenski, 'The Promises and Pitfalls of Socially Conscious Marketing', *Forbes*, 3 January 2018 <https://www.forbes.com/sites/steveolenski/2018/01/03/the-promises-and-pitfalls-of-socially-conscious-marketing/#7de72a2638ef> [accessed 9 November 2018].
[58] Enkerli, p.3.
[59] Lindsay Kirchoff, 'Why More and More Millennials Drink Craft Beer' (2016) <https://howtomarkettome.com/2012/03/31/why-more-and-more-millennials-drink-craft-beer/> [accessed 5 February 2018].
[60] Kirchoff.

pushing out millions of barrels of consistent, affordable, and easy-drinking beer will always have a place within the youth demographic.[61] Through craft beers, however, millennials will spend relatively the same amount, reach the same level of intoxication, and receive a more satisfying flavour experience in the process. It is then easily understandable why we are seeing young adults 'adulting' by spending just a bit more for a cold-brewed coffee porter like St. Arnold's Icon Blue (Texas) over a Foster's, thus securing craft beers' foothold in the industry.

4. Conclusion: 'Craft beer is just cooler'

Craft beer popularity is most noticeable within the U.S. and U.K.; however, the movement is expanding across the globe. Europe's craft beer scene has experienced huge growth with new craft beer product launches experiencing growth of 178% since 2013.[62] Indeed, a good friend from Chihuahua, Mexico recently brought me back a porter, an amber, and a blonde from a brand new micro-brew from her hometown where before there were none. This global expansion is largely credited to the demand of millennials. While 'taste' continues to be the leading element for this consumption choice, in the words of Lindsay Kirchoff, 'craft beer is just cooler. There. I said it'.[63]

Young adults, from every generation, often encourage innovation by using a 'bricolage' of elements but what we are seeing now is an emphasis on the balance between innovation, regional authenticity, community support, and the gaining of genuine experiences. This is not to say that the older beer enthusiast does not contribute to the growth in craft popularity — indeed, it was gen-x who started it. However, this movement gained momentum at just a time when millennials were searching out alternative spaces and consumption practices. Through craft beer's innate balance of tradition and innovation, focusing on quality and flavour, young adults took a local product and made it authentically global.

[61] Ibid.
[62] Mintel, 'Europe Now Dominates Craft Beer Innovation' (2018) <http://www.mintel.com/press-centre/food-and-drink/europe-now-dominates-craft-beer-innovation> [accessed 15 October 2018].
[63] Kirchoff.

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Franz Liszt, the Symphonic Poem and Audio-Visual Performance Practices as Pre-Cinema

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Film Music and Romantic Music

Film music didn't appear from nowhere. The history of early film music might appear to begin with silent cinema, and an image of pianists accompanying silent films with semi-improvised extracts from the classical canon, marches and popular songs. But in formulating a historical development from pre-cinema to the classical Hollywood score in the 1930s, film music historians have often looked to the nineteenth century for the traditions that early film music appropriated to accompany this new form of art or entertainment. This discourse often begins with the certainty, expressed by Peter Franklin, that 'film music is older than film'.[1] Attention has often turned to the Romantic era, and more specifically, to the music dramas of Richard Wagner. This paper will first address how Wagner became conceptualised as the 'father' of film music, and then ask: can we use the symphonic poems of Franz Liszt and their performance histories as another means of questioning this paternity? To approach an answer to this question we will explore certain multimedia performance experiments, developed by Liszt from his aesthetic approach to music and visuality, and attempt to relate them to a history of pre-cinema. But in approaching this issue, we must first understand how Wagner became involved in the discourse surrounding film music in the early twentieth century.

Due to the technological development of synchronised sound many years after the institutionalisation of cinema, music has sometimes been discursively positioned as a secondary element for films. Consequently, those historical approaches that sought to place film within established aesthetic traditions turned to Wagner as a suitably respectable precedent. Wagner's 'total work of art' (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) concept was recontextualized as a kind of precursor to cinema. Wagner's later operas, such as *Tristan und Isolde* (1865) and the *Ring* cycle (1876), present an idealised amalgamation of music and drama, but also acting, stagecraft and poetry, all brought

[1] Peter Franklin, *Seeing Through Music: Gender and Modernism in Classic Hollywood Film Scores* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 3.

together in an environment that appears to foreshadow corresponding aspects of early and institutionalised notions of cinema. It was easy to assume that cinema picked up where Wagner left off.

The influential film critic and theorist André Bazin placed cinema within a history of art's pursuit of the perfect reproduction of reality, evoking an idea of 'total cinema'.[2] Although Wagner and Bazin's concepts are far apart theoretically, they share a cosmetic similarity, appearing to place cinema and Wagnerian opera within a trajectory of artistic evolution. In contrast to Bazin, Wagner was not interested in the perfect reproduction of reality, but rather the reinvigoration of a 'people's art', derived from Greek drama, and fuelled by the aesthetic theories of Friedrich Schiller and the nationalist legacies of the 1848 European revolutions.[3] Influenced by these ideas, Wagner's musical alterations to operatic musical practice were complimented by physical alterations in the methods of production. Wagner's famous opera house in Bayreuth exemplified the pre-cinematic features of the 'total work of art': the invisible orchestra hidden under the stage foreshadows the invisible orchestra of the 'non-diegetic' film soundtrack (music where the source is not visible on screen, and may be implied to be part of the film's narrational rhetoric). Wagner's music dramas were also often performed in darkened theatres, throwing more focus onto the staged action and music, in similar fashion to cinema. Some of the ideas explored by psychoanalytic film theorists such as Christian Metz and Jean-Louis Baudry, in terms of the cinema experience being a dream-like space where the supposed unity of selfhood is potentially altered by the apparatus of spectatorship, have, if not an origin, then at least a significant precursor in Wagner's work.[4]

As the philosopher Ernst Bloch noted, after the establishment of cinema as an independent economic institution, musical practices, removed from the need to entice customers by a sideshow rallying-call approach, then functioned 'solely in conjunction with the moving images. […] the result bore a natural resemblance to

[2] André Bazin, 'The Myth of Total Cinema', in *What is Cinema?*, 2 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005 [1946]), 1, pp. 17–22 (p. 22).
[3] Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music,* 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3: *Music in the Nineteenth Century,* pp. 487–90; Matthew Wilson Smith, *The Total Work of Art: From Bayreuth to Cyberspace* (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 8–21.
[4] Christian Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982 [1977]), pp. 42–52; Jean-Louis Baudry, 'Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus', in *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology: A Film Theory Reader,* ed. by Philip Rosen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986 [1970]), pp. 286–298 (p. 294).

opera'.[5] In other words, as Scott D. Paulin similarly noted, the opera parallel was a retrospective appropriation of Wagnerian aesthetics that served not only to locate film music within an established historical tradition, but also to justify film music and film itself as an object of academic study.[6] Prominent film composers such as Max Steiner and Miklós Rózsa publicly stated their Wagnerian inheritance to increase the respect afforded to their profession.[7] This tendency was solidified by the Marxist philosopher Theodor Adorno, who, along with his co-writers Max Horkheimer and Hanns Eisler, regularly accused Wagner of being the father of cinema's role in the 'culture industry' in several publications in the 1940s and 1950s; specifically, Wagner and cinema shared a tendency towards what Adorno termed 'phantasmagoria': an illusion that the consumed product is self-producing.[8] In these works Adorno suggested that the hidden orchestra, the darkened auditorium and the supposedly narcotic qualities of the music itself all achieve questionable political effects on the viewing and listening subject.

Adorno's contribution appeared to provide the authoritative link between Wagner and film, a conclusion that might have seemed inevitable considering the discourses surrounding Wagner as an agent of cultural change during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Arthur Elson wrote in 1904, during the early expansion of cinema: 'it seemed as if Wagner summed up in his works the whole range of musical possibilities'.[9] Like Beethoven before him, Wagner was often being used by various commentators to exemplify whatever trends they wished to invoke. Carl Dahlhaus similarly noted that it was less Wagner's theoretical writings that carried the burden of change, than the general 'feel' of his music dramas, their

[5] Ernst Bloch, 'On Music in the Cinema', in *Literary Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998 [1913]), pp. 156–159 (p. 157).

[6] Scott D. Paulin, 'Richard Wagner and the Fantasy of Cinematic Unity: The Idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* and the History and Theory of Film Music', in *Music and Cinema*, ed. by James Buhler, Caryl Flinn and David Neumeyer (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), pp. 58–84 (p. 79).

[7] See, for example, Matthew Bribitzer-Stull, *Understanding the Leitmotif: From Wagner to Hollywood Film Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 273; Caryl Flinn, *Strains of Utopia: Gender, Nostalgia, and Hollywood Film Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 13; David Bordwell, 'The Classical Hollywood Style, 1917–60' in David Bordwell, Janet Staiger and Kristen Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), pp. 3–84 (p. 34).

[8] Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagner* (London: Verso, 1991 [1952]), p. 149; Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (London: Verso, 1997 [1944]), p. 124; Theodor Adorno and Hanns Eisler, *Composing for the Films* (London: The Athlone Press, 1994 [1947]), pp. 4–6.

[9] Cited by Leon Botstein, 'Wagner and Our Century', in *Music at the Turn of the Century: A 19th Century Music Reader,* ed. by Joseph Kerman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 167–180 (p. 167).

iconographies and the disparate currents of inspiration they engendered in those who followed him.[10] In terms of specific musical production methods, as Paulin suggested, one of the discreet tasks assigned to Wagner's cultural heritage was to provide cinema with a greater sense of cultural capital, by the 'talismanic' citation of Wagner in both industrial and critical discourses.[11] The appropriation from Wagner of the leitmotif and the 'total work of art' concepts gave value to film, even as it muddied the concepts themselves.

Liszt and the Symphonic Poem

One contemporary of Wagner, the Hungarian pianist and composer Franz Liszt (1811-1886), was also a key figure in the Romantic era of music. In searching to complicate the simple answers presented by the above history of film music discourse, we might ask if there is room for Liszt in this history? Why look to make room for Liszt now? Recent innovations against the Wagner-centric arguments have explored other areas of nineteenth century music and their relevance to film.[12] Caryl Flinn, Peter Franklin and Katherine Preston, to name only a few, have explored Italian opera and melodrama as alternatives to Wagner.[13] Liszt himself was the inventor of a new concept he called the symphonic poem (*Sinfonische Dichtungen*). The only known study to address symphonic poems in their relation with film is Dean Duncan's *Charms that Soothe,* which addressed Liszt's ideas as part of a broader history of program music which stretched back beyond the eighteenth century.[14] As significant as Duncan's comparison of program and film music is, his work can be built upon. Since this article forms part of an ongoing project, we can here briefly summarise a specific element of Liszt's relevance to pre-cinematic interactions between music and visual image, one that offers another alternative to the Wagnerian approach, and was not explored by Duncan.

[10] Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980 [1974]), p. 10.
[11] Paulin, p. 79.
[12] See, for example, the overview provided by Jeongwon Joe, 'Introduction: Why Wagner and Cinema? Tolkien was Wrong', in *Wagner and Cinema*, ed. by Jeongwon Joe and Sander L. Gilman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 1–24.
[13] Flinn, passim; Franklin, passim; Katherine K. Preston, 'Introduction: From Nineteenth-Century Stage Melodrama to Twenty-First-Century Film Scoring', *Journal of Film Music*, 5 (2012), 7–14.
[14] Duncan develops the idea that all music is programmatic to some degree, an interesting and accurate idea as Duncan employs it, but one that potentially ignores and confuses a very real distinction to be made between historically significant discourses surrounding absolute and program music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; Dean Duncan, *Charms That Soothe: Classical Music and the Narrative Film* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), pp. 94–123.

Liszt scholar Alan Walker attempted to define the Lisztian symphonic poem as 'a one-movement composition, connected in some way with the other arts', although earlier definitions testify to a general sense of freedom, both from traditional reception practices and musical form, as an essential feature of the genre in addition to an emphasis on extra-musical interaction.[15] The symphonic poem was, for Liszt, a celebration of the formlessness of the 'natural' world from a Romantic perspective; in his famous essay on Berlioz, Liszt stated that music should have 'luxurious, unfettered growth'.[16] This sense of freedom could be achieved by partially dispensing with traditional musical structures, such as those associated with sonata form, allowing each program to shape the music in a different, unique way. How far Liszt pushed this issue in practice has been extensively debated.[17]

Liszt's conception of the symphonic poem can be roughly, and incompletely, defined as an orchestral musical interpretation of a previously existing myth or historical event, which may be expressed with a narrative element. However, this definition is inaccurate when applied to many symphonic poems by subsequent composers, such as those by Claude Debussy, Richard Strauss or Anton Rubinstein. We will see below how the concept of 'poetic idea' is also useful for understanding Liszt's specific conception of the form. In all, Liszt wrote thirteen symphonic poems, mostly in the late 1840s and early 1850s.[18] They comprise a diverse group that can be stretched to include his two symphonies after Goethe's *Faust* and Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, mostly inspired by pre-existing paintings or works of literature. Although several were initially conceived as overtures or festival music, they were retrospectively rebranded symphonic poems (*Sinfonische Dichtungen*) after 1854.[19]

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[15] Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years*, *1848-1861* (London: Faber, 1989), p. 304; Herbert Antcliffe, 'The Symphonic Poem since Liszt', *The Musical Times,* 52 (1911), 520–21 (p. 521); R.W.S. Mendl, 'The Art of the Symphonic Poem', *The Musical Quarterly,* 18 (1932), 443–462 (p. 443).

[16] Franz Liszt, 'Berlioz and his Harold Symphony', in *The Romantic Era: Source Readings in Music History*, ed. by Oliver Strunk (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1965 [1855]), pp. 106–33 (p. 113).

[17] For the central issues in this debate see: Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1997), pp. 5–82; Michael Saffle, 'Orchestral Works', in *The Liszt Companion,* ed. by Ben Arnold (Greenwood Press, 2002), pp. 235–79; Joanne Cormac, *Liszt and the Symphonic Poem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 1–31, passim.

[18] *Ce Qu'on Entend sur la Montagne* (1849–54), *Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo* (1849–57) *Les Préludes* (c.1844–59), *Orpheus* (1853–54), *Prometheus* (1850–61) *Mazeppa* (1826–54), *Festklänge* (1853–61), *Héroïde Funèbre* (1830–54), *Hungaria* (1854), *Hamlet* (1857[?]–58), *Hunnenschlacht* (1857), *Die Ideale* (1856–57) and *Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe* (1882). These dates are as stated in Cormac, pp. 8–9.

[19] Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Liszt's "Weimar Mythology"', in *Analecta Lisztiana I: Liszt and His World*, ed. by Michael Saffle and James Deaville (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1998), pp. 61–73 (pp. 64–65); Saffle, pp. 239–61.

Liszt's symphonic poems form an important part of a mid-century controversy over music's linguistic or emotional capacities, whether it could 'express' anything at all. Opponents such as the influential musicologist and critic Eduard Hanslick maintained a strong opposition against Liszt's ideas, an opposition that led to Liszt being critically out-of-favour around the time Wagner was being appropriated to contextualise film music within a historical tradition. Hanslick's central formalist tenant, as expressed in his famous monograph *On the Musically Beautiful* (1854), was that music should keep apart from other arts, such as poetry or painting, since every medium had a function that it performed best.[20] This struck at the very heart of what Liszt wanted to achieve with the symphonic poem: the raising of the status of orchestral music by the appropriation of the cultural capital already held by these other forms, by mixing them together. Liszt was also responding to earlier challenges to the status and function of instrumental music forwarded in various ways by Beethoven, Berlioz, Hegel, Kant and Herder.[21]

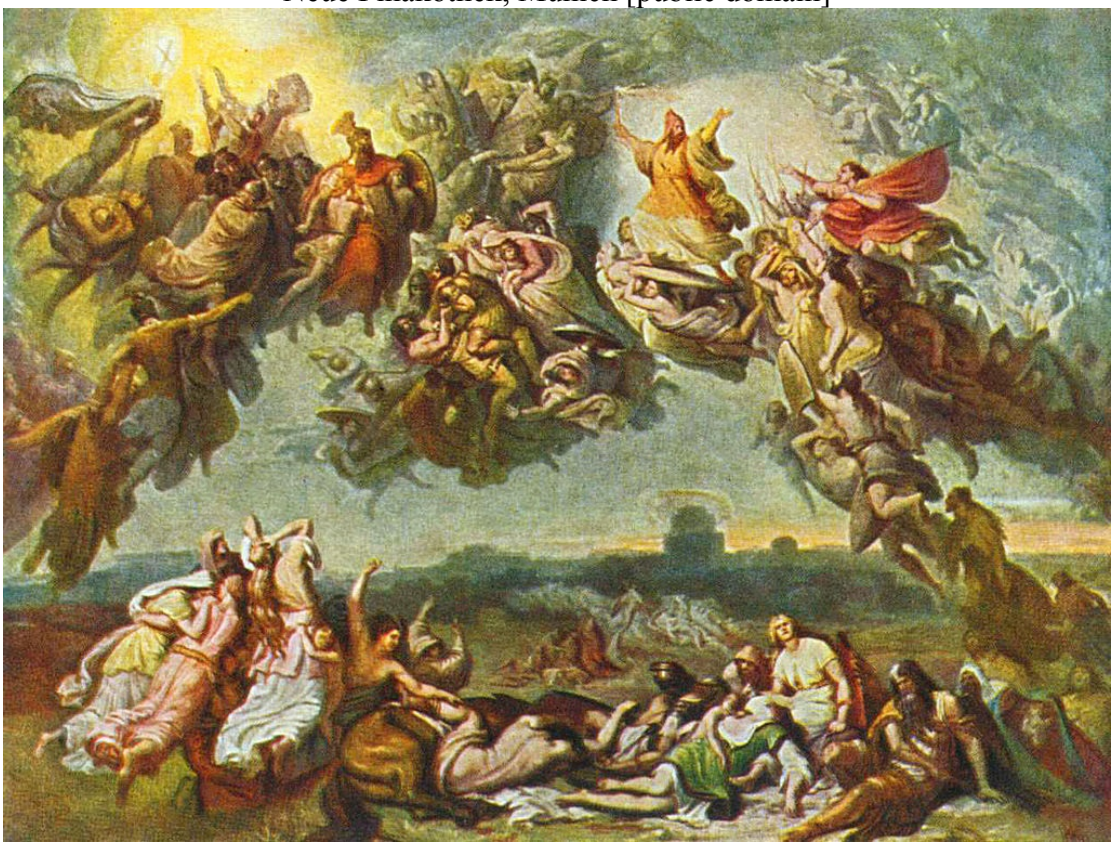
Liszt's symphonic poems, though differing in many respects, can be understood to share a distinctive structuring principle that separates them from similar forms, such as the overture, and works such as Mendelsohn's *The Hebrides* (1833), Beethoven's *Leonore* overtures (1805–06) and Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* (1830). Liszt's symphonic poems can be seen to function as expressions of a 'poetic idea', a concept that Liszt appropriated from Beethoven, who, according to Carl Dahlhaus, originally used the term to express music's legitimate social status.[22] For Liszt, 'poetic idea' was the mythic content of an image, figure or story, and could exist independently from textual manifestations of that content. 'Poetic' here means a value judgement associated with a non-musical vessel of malleable, abstract 'meaning'.[23] Following Beethoven, Liszt's goal was to raise the cultural capital of instrumental music by increasing its poetic value. This was to be achieved by forming a hybrid compositional practice that allowed instrumental music to cooperate with non-musical arts. Liszt implies that a symphonic poem could be inspired by an

[20] Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1986 [1854]), pp. 10–11.
[21] Liszt engaged with aesthetic philosophy in his essay 'Berlioz and his Harold Symphony', pp. 106–33.
[22] Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989 [1980]), pp. 81–82.
[23] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, pp. 386–88.

existing work of art, such as a painting, and express the same poetic idea as that painting whilst being independent of the specific program source.[24]

A program source such as Wilhelm von Kaulbach's painting *Die Hunnenschlacht* (figure 1) supposedly endowed the music of its associated symphonic poem, Liszt's *Hunnenschlacht* (1857), with its underlying poetic idea; this connection was established by a programmatic title, written preface, and strengthened by topical devices and registers in the music itself. The symphonic poem could then, hypothetically, be performed and express the poetic idea it shared with the painting. In theory, it was the poetic idea, the mythic symbol or image, that determined the entire content, form and dimensions of the Lisztian symphonic poem. In practice, even if the poetic idea was not the sole determining influence on his work (Keith T. Johns and Joanne Cormac explore several other key issues) the concept remains a useful one for clarifying Liszt's aesthetic ideas.[25]

Figure 1. Wilhelm von Kaulbach, Die Hunnenschlacht (1850)
Neue Pinakothek, Munich [public domain]



[24] Franz Liszt, 'About Beethoven's Music to *Egmont*', in *The Collected Writings of Franz Liszt, Volume 3, Part 1: Dramaturgical Leaves, Essays About Musical Works for the Stage and Queries About the Stage, its Composers and Performers,* ed. by Janita R. Hall-Swadley (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014 [1854]), pp. 83–94 (p. 87).
[25] Johns, passim; Cormac, passim.

Liszt's Symphonic Poems and Performance Experiments in Pre-Cinema

Liszt's ideas were controversial, as the criticisms of Eduard Hanslick attest, yet he was intrigued enough to attempt several experiments that explored the potential of the multimedia connections the symphonic poem appeared to invite. According to existing historical accounts, Liszt was profoundly interested by a visual dimension to music. He often had some 'poetical image' in mind when he performed, constructing a mental picture of the music, then finding a way to project it in a way that supposedly improved the music; he would point to a sunset and advise his pupils to 'play that!'[26]

Such ideas formed part of a broader tendency in the reception discourses of Romantic music, which often encouraged subjective, internal and visualised listening practices. Nineteenth century orchestral music, in particular, was potentially seen as well as heard, including a phenomenon termed 'cinematic listening', explored by Peter Franklin, Ben Winters and Michael Long, when musical experiences were frequently 'described in proto-cinematic visualised narratives'.[27] Against this background of reception practices, Liszt's multimedia experiments with his symphonic poems evidence an attempt to further unite the implicit visual, as well as auditory, dimensions of Romantic musical experience. Some of these experiments appear today as striking instances of pre-cinema, distantly related to pre-cinema devices such as the kinetoscope, zoetrope and panorama, only from a musical-aesthetic rather than a scientific-technological perspective. Two examples can illustrate the comparison, displaying Liszt's interest in authoring a proto-cinematic audio-visual performance apparatus as a means of further uniting music, poetic idea, and an audience's comprehension of that relationship.

Liszt's symphonic poem *Hunnenschlacht* was once performed in a two-piano version before an audience who sat facing the painting that had inspired the music.[28]

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[26] Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Final Years, 1861-1886* (London: Faber, 1997), pp. 232, 247–49.

[27] Peter Franklin, 'Underscoring Drama – Picturing Music', in *Wagner and Cinema*, ed. by Jeongwon Joe and Sander L. Gilman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 46–64 (p. 52); Ben Winters, *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film: Shared Concert Experiences in Screen Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 119–46 (p.126); Michael Long, *Beautiful Monsters: Imagining the Classic in Musical Media* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 50, 66–72, 111–12; Peter Franklin, 'The Boy on the Train, or Bad Symphonies and Good Music: The Revealing Error of the "Symphonic Score"', in *Beyond the Soundtrack: Representing Music in Cinema,* ed. by Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer and Richard Leppert (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 13–26 (p. 16).

[28] See Marsha L. Morton, '"From the Other Side": An Introduction', in *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Marsha L. Morton and Peter L. Schmunk (New York:

This visual representation of a battle between the Romans and the Huns in 451 CE would have been viewed by an audience who sat listening to Liszt's piano rendition. As the composer, Liszt wrote and performed this music, not so much to provide a kind of 'silent film' accompaniment to the picture, because the picture, of course, didn't move. But rather, the music and the picture point towards the same poetic idea. The picture gives it a visual dimension, confined to a frame, the music gives it an audible dimension and duration. The two were presented together as an event of multimedia aesthetic appreciation.

Liszt's *Dante* Symphony provides another interesting example of multimedia experimentation. According to Alan Walker, Liszt had planned to perform this symphony accompanied by lantern slides from drawings by the German artist Bonaventura Genelli.[29] It would appear that the slides were never made, but would have depicted scenes from Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, the work of literature that inspired the music. There are records of these multimedia ideas being considered by Liszt as early as 1842, although the project was eventually abandoned.[30] The sitting audience would, again, have listened to the hour-long Romantic symphony in a presumably darkened space, whilst facing a screen showing a succession of images sharing the poetic idea identified in the music. We can only speculate as to what images would have been shown at what point in the music, what they would have represented, or what associational relationships might have been constructed in their counterpoint – these questions themselves result from a perspective that has already inscribed the pre-cinematic quality of such a multimedia experience. What is perhaps most significant is that a Romantic fascination with music and visuality extended, with Liszt, in a different, but in retrospect no less 'cinematic', direction to that of Wagner. In terms of flat-screen or projected light experience, he may be *nearer to film* than Wagner.

In the preface to *A History of Pre-Cinema* Stephen Herbert presents a definition of pre-cinema that requires three features: 1) 'time-based visual media', distinguished from visual media 'in which the entire work was visible at an instant'; in addition, pre-cinematic artefacts must attempt 2) the 'reproduction of reality'; and

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Routledge, 2000), pp. 1–21 (p. 9); According to Liszt scholar Michael Short, this event may have been a private gathering in Weimar at a Pension Fund concert in April 1858, but more detailed 'information on such concerts in Weimar is virtually impossible to track down', personal correspondence, 6 April 2018.

[29] Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years*, p. 50.

[30] Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years*, p. 50.

3) approach 'large-screen cinema' experience.[31] Unsurprisingly, Herbert's definition prioritises visuality at the expense of sound, though even with this limitation we can see how Liszt's experiments meet several of his requirements. The temporal dimension of the music prevents the work from being consumed in a single instant, and the similarity with 'large-scale cinema experience' is clear from the above descriptions. And, if we accept a historicist position on the 'reproduction of reality', we might expect that Liszt, as a Romantic composer, considered his multimedia performances to offer a more 'real' representation of his subjects than any photograph could achieve.

Conclusion

The symphonic poem is an elusive concept to theorise. A perceived lack of respectability, exemplified by the criticisms of Eduard Hanslick, was combined with a rapid expansion in popularity around 1900. Composers such as Richard Strauss, Delius, Tchaikovsky, Debussy, and many more, were doing often very different things with the symphonic poem, and diverging from Liszt's original models. R.W.S. Mendl's comment, that 'the scope of the symphonic poem is almost infinite', appears to reject any attempt to pin down what it actually was.[32] But in the broadest possible analysis, the symphonic poem was an interaction between music and the extra-musical, be it visual, emotional, conceptual or mythical. As Duncan realised, this brings it tantalisingly close to cinema. We must, however, recognise that the freedom identified by Mendl's comment invites equal amounts of licence and caution.

This article has, more specifically, suggested that Liszt's experiments with multimedia symphonic poem performance be considered an element of nineteenth century pre-cinema innovation. Liszt's ideas for performance interaction between music and visual image, demonstrated by his symphonic poem project, appear to capitalise on a broader Romantic tendency towards 'cinematic listening', or the film-like subjective experience of visualising music. We have seen that Liszt's performance of *Hunnenschlacht,* and his plans for the *Dante* Symphony, might be understood to idealise a film-like apparatus of spectatorship, one that was distinct from, but related to, Wagner's more famous experiments in Bayreuth. Further studies will hopefully expand this field to contribute another innovative reappraisal of cinema

[31] Stephen Herbert, *A History of Pre-Cinema,* 3 vols (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1, p. xi.
[32] Mendl, p. 461.

and the legacies of Romanticism, once again throwing more light on those areas of music history that have so long been in Wagner's shadow.

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The Impact of Phonological Explanation on Second Language Learning

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The learners´ native language (L1), as I have also explained elsewhere,[1] has been acknowledged to have a role in the second language learning (SLL) process.[2] This role might be either positive or negative, helping or hindering such a process: mutual elements in both languages are thought to enable positive transfer whereas different elements may result in negative transfer.[3] Since they can hinder the SLL process, these non-mutual elements deserve special attention in language teaching practices.

When Mexican learners of English make grammatical errors, in-depth grammatical explanations have been traditionally considered an effective solution. In comparison to such grammatical explanations, on the other hand, detailed explanations are not so frequent when learners make phonological errors. However, phonology might be explicitly approached as well, especially when negative phonological transfer occurs, offering an innovative alternative underpinned by traditional explanations. It is thus suggested in this paper that in-depth phonological explanations should be supplied to improve learners´ phonological skills. It claims that by raising phonological awareness through explicit instruction, learners of English might obtain a better grasp and understanding of English sounds, especially those absent in their L1 phonological system. To put it differently, this paper suggests that by being more phonologically aware learners might enhance their phonological discrimination.

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[1] José Nájera, 'The Influence of L1 in Second Language Acquisition' (unpublished essay, University of Southampton, 2017), p.2.

[2] Deborah Araujo, 'Loanword Phonology versus Second Language Phonology: Evidence from Brazilian Portuguese' (unpublished master's thesis, Sony Brook University, 2010); Vivian Cook, *Second Language Learning and Language Teaching* (London: Hodder Education, 2008); S.P. Corder, *Error Analysis and Interlanguage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); Rod Ellis, *Second Language Acquisition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Jeremy Harmer, *The Practice of English Language Teaching* (Cambridge: Longman, 2007); Rosamond Mitchell and Florence Myles, *Second Language Learning Theories, 2nd edn* (London: Arnold, 2004); Stephan Schmid, 'The Naturalness Differential Hypothesis: Cross-linguistic Influence and Universal Preferences in Interlanguage Phonology and Morphology', *Folia Linguistica* (1997), 331–48; Jilani Warsi, 'Effects of Transfer on Interlanguage Phonology' (unpublished master's thesis, California State University, 1992)

[3] Cook, p.13.

In order to demonstrate the above, a mixed quasi-experimental research project conducted in a Mexican context is described in this paper.[4] From the myriad of phonological transfer instances, this study focused on /b/ and /v/ sounds since they have been observed posing difficulties for Mexican learners due to the non-existence of /v/ in the Spanish phonological system. In this study, participants were divided into groups, with students in the experimental group expected to improve their phonological discrimination in comparison with the control group — in accordance with the nature of experimental design.[5] Participants from the experimental group were given explicit phonological instruction in order to establish the extent of influence it had on their phonological discrimination. In accordance with Archer and Hughes's explicit instruction principles, participants from this group were supplied with scaffolded instruction;[6] they were shown how sounds are anatomically produced – the parts of the articulatory system involved in the production of a particular sound, how the air flows and what the role of vocal cords is. They also received instruction on phoneme features, on articulatory phonetics and on grapheme-phoneme correspondence, before finally being provided with an opportunity to practice.

Phonological issues

At first glance, language sounds are fairly easy to make, the production or perception of a vowel or a consonant involves relatively little effort; however, these apparently simple sounds are rather fascinatingly complex. For instance, from an articulatory phonetics view, in order to produce a single consonant sound in isolation, specific and irreplaceable parts of the articulatory system are involved; additionally, the way the air coming from the lungs passes through such parts should be precise and, last but by no means least, the action of the vocal cords is essential. All in all, the place of articulation, the manner of articulation and the voicing process are in charge of providing uniqueness to consonants.[7] From this perspective, a slight change in articulation results in the production or perception of a different consonant. These

[4] José Nájera, 'The Effect of Phonological Explicit Instruction on Phonological Transfer' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Southampton, 2018).
[5] Dale Griffee, *An Introduction to Second Language Research Methods: Design and Data* (Berkeley: TESL-EJ Publications, 2012), p.72.
[6] Anita Archer and Charles Hughes, *Explicit Instruction: Effective and Efficient Teaching* (New York: Guilford Publications, 2011), p.1.
[7] Adrian Underhill, *Sound Foundations: Learning and Teaching Pronunciation* (Oxford: Macmillan, 2005), p.30.

changes are difficult enough for learners when L1 and L2 phonological elements are mutual; however, when phonological elements do not exist in the learners´ L1, significant difficulties tend to appear. In such cases, learners tend to make L2 elements conform to L1 restrictions.[8] According to behaviourists, this is called negative phonological transfer and it can be exemplified by the case of Mexican learners of English: they are unable to discriminate /v/ from /b/ owing to the absence of the first in the Spanish phonological system.[9]

This above case is relevant for the purposes of this paper. It means that Mexican learners of English consider both /v/ and /b/ phonemes as being identical and that they are thus unable to tell the difference. Paradoxically, however, from an articulatory phonetics perspective, such phonemes are rather dissimilar:

Sound	Point of articulation	Manner of articulation	Voicing process
/b/	Bilabial	Plosive (stop)	Voiced
/v/	Labiodental	Fricative	Voiced

As can be seen from the table above, the only similarity between /b/ and /v/ is the voicing process. In this context it should be pointed out that phonological systems are described in terms of similarities and differences called phonological oppositions.[10] These oppositions consist of particularities shared by both elements of an opposition characterized by the same distinctive feature;[11] for example, /b/ is the phonological opposition of /p/, since the role of the vocal cords comprises their only different feature. From this view, /b/ and /v/ share more dissimilarities than commonalities and can therefore by no means be considered as a phonological opposition.

The case of Arabic can be used to exemplify an actual phonological opposition since Arab learners of English find no differences between *ferry* and *very.*[12] Interestingly, from the same articulatory view, the fact that these leaners consider /v/ and /f/ phonemes as equal appears to be more reasonable since both phonemes comprise an actual phonological opposition. Their distinctive feature is created by the voicing process as can be seen in the chart below:

[8] Warsi, p.3.
[9] Mitchell and Myles, p.31.
[10] Antonio Quilis, *Tratado de Fonología y Fonética Españolas.* (Gredos: Madrid, 1993), p.42.
[11] Quilis, p.42.
[12] Harmer, *Practice,* p.137.

Sound	Point of articulation	Manner of articulation	Voicing process
/v/	Labiodental	Fricative	Voiced
/f/	Labiodental	Fricative	Voiceless

Both of the above descriptions suggest that another factor might be involved in the association of /b/ with /v/ rather than with /f/ that Mexican learners make. Taking into consideration that written language represents a substitution of oral language it can be deduced that letters correspond to sounds.[13] In this sense, *f* corresponds to /f/ and *b* to /b/ in Spanish; however, *v* does not correspond to /v/ but to /b/ instead, which probably derives from the non-existence of the first sound in this language. This so-called grapheme-phoneme correspondence, and the extent to which letters correspond to sounds in a language, is known as the alphabetic principle, which, in a similar way to transfer, varies from one language to another.[14] Although Spanish is a language that conforms intimately to this alphabetic principle, the /v/-*v* and /b/-*b* isomorphic relationship is absent in this language. Conversely, in spite of the fact that English contains more isomorphic irregularities (e.g. *write – right, read* Pres – *read* Pret) the interrelation in question does exist in this language: /v/ and /b/ correspond to *v* and *b*, respectively.[15]

Phonology and meaning

Up to this point, the sounds in question have only been shown to be dissimilar at a sound level and in isolation; a minor difference in perception or production, thus, does not seem to entail important consequences. However, the articulation of linguistic sounds conveys meaning and a variation in such articulation evidently causes a change in meaning. The importance of these changes may be noted when analysing the smallest phonological units that convey meaning: phonemes.[16] Meaning can be modified by a single phoneme; in English *vote*/vəʊt/ and *boat*/bəʊt/ carry different meanings by substituting only one phoneme. These pairs of words where the difference in pronunciation is minimal are known as minimal pairs.

[13] Fernando Trujillo and others, *Nociones de Fonética y Fonología para la Práctica Educativa* (Granada: Grupo Editorial Universitario, 2002), p.29.
[14] R. Frost and L. Katz, *Orthography, Phonology, Morphology, and Meaning* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers, 2006), p.2.
[15] Petr Sgall, `Towards a Theory of Phonemic Orthography´, in *Orthography and Phonology*, ed. by Philip Luelsdorff (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1987), pp. 1–30 (p.23).
[16] Underhill, p. xiii.

Nonetheless, when learning a language, learners should not only learn phonemes but also the fact that, at word level, minimal articulatory differences carry major differences in meaning.[17] It is at the level of minimal pairs where complexity starts emerging. For example, the phonological difference between *vote*/vəʊt/ and *boat*/bəʊt/ is only the initial sound but the change in terms of meaning is substantial. Moreover, at sentence level, deficient perceptions or productions may lead to misunderstandings, such as: `He wants to buy my *boat´* versus `He wants to buy my *vote´*.[18] These comparative examples demonstrate how the shift of a single sound involves a radical change in meaning. Nonetheless, in my observation of oral communication, Mexican learners of English appear to be unable to either perceive or produce this slight but significant difference. Therefore, an alternative to help learners to overcome this difficulty consists in aiding them to be aware that second language sounds 'are not just variants of their native sounds'.[19]

Phonological awareness and explicit instruction

Broadly speaking, language acquisition is subconscious and language learning requires a degree of consciousness.[20] When acquiring the L1 phonological system, there is no need to notice phonological elements; however, L2 learners are in need of being phonologically aware especially when phonological elements of their L1 are not shared with those of the L2. In this context, it is claimed that language learners transfer their use of L1 elements to L2; in other words, they tend to 'see the L2 through the lens of their L1´.[21] However, in response to this, it might be worthwhile highlighting the role that noticing plays in helping learners move from 'primitive and deviant versions' to 'more elaborate and target-like versions'.[22]

Although relatively uncommon aspects of the way this challenge is addressed, phonological issues can be detailed and explained when dealing with unshared phonological elements. Thereby learners are helped to be aware that a given phonological point works in a different way in the target language than it does in their L1. By raising phonological awareness, learners may firstly know how L2 sounds

[17] Cook, p. 73.
[18] Judy B. Gilbert, *Clear Speech: Pronunciation and Listening Comprehension in North American English* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 155.
[19] Cook, p. 71.
[20] Jeremy Harmer, *How to teach English* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), p.47.
[21] Cook, p. 71.
[22] Mitchell and Myles, p. 16.

work and may make a comparative analysis between sounds of L1 and L2 and they may, consequently, start seeing L2 sounds from a different angle. The above can be achieved through explicit instruction. Such instruction precisely involves the raising of learners' consciousness through the use of an unambiguous and direct approach.[23] This method, involving a process of steps or scaffolds with explanations and demonstrations, might gradually help learners develop phonological awareness. Explicit instruction on how sounds (phonemes) are anatomically produced might help learners of English have a more tangible perception of how to produce such sounds. The potential and drawbacks of this approach were explored in the Mexican research project described below.

Research Project: Context and methodology

The study was conducted in a Mexican university where students with Spanish as their first language learn English as a foreign language (EFL).[24] These students always interact both academically and socially in their L1 and their twice-a-week English lessons constitute their main, if not only, contact with the English language. Once permission from institutional authorities and the teacher of the groups was obtained, 26 students, aged 19 to 20, agreed to participate in the study, once it had been explained to them. They then comprised the participants of both the experimental group (EG) and the control group (CG).

It is worthwhile mentioning that since participants of the study were enrolled in two different classes and, since the study was carried out during the participants´ English lessons, they could not be randomly allocated; this is why one class formed the CG (14 participants) and the other class the EG (12 participants).

As the first step of the study, prior to the experiment, all participants were required to complete a questionnaire which aimed to identify if they had previously acquired understanding of the phonological system of English. Any threats to internal validity were thereby minimized. This questionnaire consisted of factual questions about the participants' cultural and linguistic background to confirm that participants had not lived in an English-speaking country. In this questionnaire participants were also asked whether the sounds in question were similarly or differently pronounced and whether they previously knew how to pronounce such sounds. The nature of

[23] Archer and Hughes, p.1.
[24] Nájera, 'The Effect of Phonological Explicit Instruction', p.18.

interactions during the study constituted another way to guard against threats to internal validity.[25] Since testing the level of English was not intended in this study, all kinds of both written and oral interactions — the treatment, explanations, instructions, questionnaires, questions formulated by participants, answers to questions — were held in the participants´ L1.

With regards to the methodology, a mixed quasi-experimental method was designed for this study whereby data was gathered through listening tests eliciting specific, precise answers and through written open-ended questions eliciting open-ended answers. High and low-frequency words, minimal pairs and cognates were included in the tests whereas questions in the questionnaires aimed to discover participants´ previous knowledge, previous phonological instruction and the strategies they used to complete the tasks. Results from the tests supplied the quantitative data while results from the questionnaires constituted the qualitative data. Since comparison is at the core of experimental design,[26] both EG and CG were given pre-tests and post-tests and the results of the two groups were compared. Both pre-tests and post-tests consisted of dictations of high-frequency and low-frequency words with the initials ‘b’ and ‘v’ equally distributed. Both EG and CG completed the pre-tests with no explanations provided whereas by the time post-tests were taken, EG had received detailed phonological explanations, 2 hours a week for one month. These explanations — the treatment — consisted of explicit phonological instruction aimed at raising phonological awareness. In accordance with explicit instruction principles, this treatment was supplied in 'manageable instructional units' built up over 8 teaching sessions each lasting 1 hour.[27] During these stages participants were taught the concepts in general and then expected to transfer this general knowledge to the pronunciation of previously unknown words during the post-test.

Participants were given presentations on the articulatory system, the characteristics of consonant sounds and how they are produced; participants also had explained to them in detail the phonemes /v/ and /b/ and the correlation of the first with /f/, and demonstrations were also given. They were then introduced to the concept of grapheme-phoneme correspondence and were presented with examples in both English and Spanish. Afterwards, they were given details of the repercussion

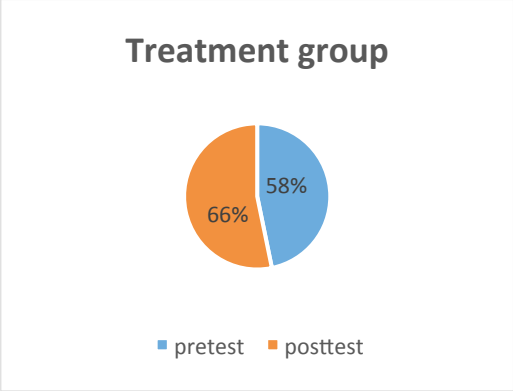
[25] A. Mackey and S. Gass, *Second Language Research: Methodology and Design*. (New Jersey: LEA Publishers, 2005), p.117.
[26] Griffee, p.72.
[27] Archer and Hughes, pp. 5, 3.

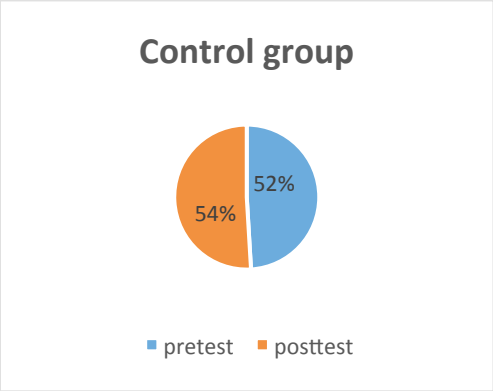
sounds have on meaning and were given examples of minimal pairs. Participants were finally provided with supported practice, which consisted of verbalization of rules, aural identification of sounds in isolation and then in individual words at their initial position, as well as visual identification of the sounds (by watching the mouth of the producer) and emulation of sounds.

Following the premises of mixed methods where 'quantitative and qualitative data support and inform each other', after both pre-tests and post-tests, participants were asked to answer open-ended questions in order to supplement and inform the results.[28] In other words, these questionnaires were aimed at discovering the participants' opinions about the pre-tests, post-tests, the treatment (in the case of participants from the EG) and the lack of it (in the case of participants from the CG). The questions also helped to identify the potential influence of previous knowledge of the words included in the tests (participants were asked to write down the words they previously knew). As regards variables, phonological discrimination and grapheme-phoneme correspondence constituted the dependent variables whereas the independent variable was constituted by the explicit phonological instruction.

Findings

Analysis of the numerical data showed that explicit instruction (the treatment) had a positive statistical effect since results from the EG post-tests showed a higher percentage of correct answers compared to pre-tests and compared to the results from the CG. [29]





[28] Zoltán Dörnyei, *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 42.
[29] Nájera, 'The Effect of Phonological Explicit Instruction', p.22.

Interestingly, however, after the qualitative data was examined, it was found that the most significant results were actually in terms of awareness: participants from the EG significantly showed a marked increase of phonological awareness. In addition to showing an upper level of phonological understanding, participants demonstrated a high degree of interest in phonological instruction.

However, with specific reference to pre-tests, observation suggested participants from both EG and CG might have been using their previous knowledge — whether orthographical or lexical — to complete the words, influencing their answers and results and, consequently, minimizing their phonological perception. This fact was corroborated when they were asked how they managed to complete the task and when asked to write down the words they previously knew or were familiar with prior to the test: their correct answers were frequently the words they previously knew. Remarkably, this aforementioned tendency considerably decreased in EG post-tests. While CG participants were consistent in the way they managed to complete the words (use of previous knowledge), participants from the EG were found to have failed to complete words they knew before. In this aspect, it is unarguable that the treatment actually produced a negative effect. However, in spite of this sort of fluctuation in results, if seen from a different angle, participants from EG were actually not using their previous knowledge anymore since, as they commented in the open-ended questionnaire after post-tests, they were attempting to differentiate the sounds using their recently developed phonological awareness. Additionally, participants referring to sounds using phonological terms supplied supportive evidence for this. In this sense, it seems that their approach had undergone a change by the time of the post-tests; they had started disassociating both /v/ and /b/ sounds, considered as equal before the treatment. Therefore, the main benefit of the instruction was evidently helping students to enhance their phonological perception even if, as previously stated, these attempts to rely on phonological ability did not necessarily lead initially to relevant performance improvement. To this degree, although wide supported practice (which might then have improved performance) could not be provided due to time restrictions, numerical and non-numerical results showed that the treatment had a positive effect for the learners.

Pedagogical implications

Based on the study results, this paper suggests explicit phonological instruction in SLL would be productive. It also suggests that English language teachers might supply detailed phonological explanations to their students; especially to adult learners, owing to their proclivity and well-developed capability for analysing language elements. In addition, the small-scale study described above found that phonological explicit instruction had a positive effect in terms of phonological awareness, and has the potential to eventually lead to enhanced phonological discrimination if learners are provided with more supported practice.

Also, although the study was conducted in a Mexican context, its results can be transferred to other non-English speaking contexts. Since some sounds appear to be more challenging than others and since shared or unshared phonological elements depend on the learners' linguistic background, it is suggested that those willing to provide phonological explicit instruction should previously identify non-mutual phonological elements between the respective L1 and L2 languages.

Final thoughts

This paper has explored the potential impact of phonological explanations which are proposed as an innovative alternative for teaching English sounds and to reduce phonological negative transfer. It has identified that due to the absence of /v/ in Spanish, Spanish speakers treat /v/ as equivalent to /b/ when learning English, but it has also proposed that this drawback might be overcome by raising phonological awareness through explicit phonological instruction. Findings from the study showed that this forward-looking phonological approach positively influenced phonological discrimination but it also revealed potential negative implications since in an attempt to use their conscious knowledge, participants were no longer relying on their previously acquired knowledge and made more mistakes. However, as revealed in the study as well, the participants' most significant results were in terms of phonological awareness-raising and confidence-raising since participants receiving the treatment were observed making plausible attempts to stop treating the sounds in question as equivalent. Therefore, it is proposed that, provided more practice is supplied, such phonological awareness and confidence building might provide the foundations to eventually enhance learners' phonological perception of English.

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Tradition and Innovation:
Charles Causley and the Ballad in 20th Century Poetics

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The work of the poet Charles Causley (1917–2003) spanned the second half of the twentieth century. This paper will illustrate that his narrative poems, with the characteristics of ballad form and roots in the tradition of folk-song and pre-industrial communities, provide examples of the survival of, and innovation in, the ballad tradition. The Sixties and beyond was the era of experimental and underground poetics in Britain, identified by Eric Mottram as the post-war British Poetry Revival.[1] This so-called 'revival' was a renewal of British poetic activity. It was not the resuscitation of a poetic form such as the ballad whose order, apparent simplicity and long history could be seen as irrelevant to the upheavals which had lurched the twentieth century out of any sense of complacency as expressed in the conventions of the literary past. Causley was writing and editing in an era of the rejection of inherited traditions and of the rejection of the whole concept of the canon. The post-war literary context emphasized the value of experimentation with syntax and language and of questioning ordered structure in poetic form.

Discussing Causley's work against this background, the critic Christopher Ricks described Causley's work as an ineffective attempt in poetry to 'tap again the age-old sources which have become clogged, cracked, buried.'[2] One of those sources was the tradition of the ballad. Causley wrote ballads for his own collections and included contemporary examples of writing in this genre in his 1964 anthology *Rising Early*, subtitled *Story Poems and Ballads of the 20th Century*.[3] Reviewing *Modern Folk Ballads* edited by Causley, John Leopold Fuller in the *Times Literary Supplement* in July 1966 saw no future in the 'self-contradictory category' of modern

[1] Eric Mottram, 'British Poetry Revival', in *New British Poetries: The Scope of the Possible* ed. by Robert Hampson and Peter Barry, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).
[2] Christopher Ricks, 'One with talent: one with genius: *Collected Poems 1951–1975* - Somewhere Is Such a Kingdom', *The New York Times,* 11 January 1976 <https://www.proquest.com/products-services/pq-hist-news.html> [accessed 10 November 2018].
[3] *Rising Early: Story Poems and Ballads of the 20th Century,* ed. by Charles Causley (Leicester: Brockhampton Press, 1964).

folk ballads, which, he argued, Causley was 'valiantly battling to establish'.[4] Despite a reputation which centred on his ballads, Causley did not want his legacy to be solely that of a balladeer and commented retrospectively:

> I've written a certain number of ballads, but curiously enough if you count them up they are by no means the majority of the poems. To begin with I wrote some ballads and the result was that I was categorised that way — it's a label you have to live with.[5]

This label followed him. As he entered old age, the literary assessment which had clung to him all his life was that of a 'bard' writing primarily ballads and children's verse. Robert Nye, *The Times's* literary critic, focused on the ballads in his review of Causley's *Collected Poems 1951-1975*.[6] He claimed that Causley had 'few modern rivals in the field of ballad' praising the 'jaunty, strutting hyperbole' and high spirits, while later in a review of *A Field of Vision* judged that Causley had 'no living rival in his strongest suit, that of ballad'.[7] It is the predominance of the narrative structure of the ballad form with its causal and chronological structure, the unitary voice of the narrator and the confines of character and plot, all of which resist fragmentation, which partly explains Causley's reputation from the Fifties onwards as a poet who did not experiment. As Michael Schmidt commented, Causley 'knows about modernism but what he has to say requires not fragmentation but narrative'.[8]

To ignore the contemporary emphasis on fragmentation identified by Schmidt and employ the ballad as a poetic form in the post-war world of the Sixties and beyond seems, on the surface, to have been doomed to the failure prophesied by Ricks. For example, Raymond Williams made a distinction between the ballads of post-industrial society which form a dissident element but not the whole of a culture, and the 'traditional popular' form. The latter Williams described as irretrievably weakened to the point of near extinction by the Industrial Revolution and as 'small and narrow in range. It exacts respect but is in no sense an alternative culture'.[9] It was

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[4] *The Pocket Poets: Modern Folk Ballads* ed. by Charles Causley (London: Studio Vista, 1966); John Leopold Fuller, 'Tame Vistas', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 28 July 1966, p. 657.
[5] *A Certain Man: Charles Causley In His Own Words*, ed. by Simon Parker (Callington: Scryffa Books, 2017), p. 30.
[6] Causley, Charles, *Collected Poems, 1951–1975 (*London: Macmillan, 1975).
[7] Causley, Charles, *A Field of Vision* (London: Macmillan, 1988); Robert Nye, 'High Spirits and Hyperbole', *The Times,* 21 August 1975, p. *5*; 'Knocked off a wordy perch', *The Times,* 25 February 1989, p. 40.
[8] Michael Schmidt, *Lives of the Poets* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998), p. 987.
[9] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society: Coleridge to Orwell* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1982 [1958]), p. 320.

this genre of the 'traditional popular' which Causley was to sustain as a continuing strand of popular poetic sensibility in the unlikely literary climate of the second half of the twentieth century. Because of their origins and production in the ordinary life experiences of closely rooted 'knowable' communities, ballads with their songlike quality and simple and accessible language, sequential narration and often repetition, resist the commodification of artistic forms produced for but not by the ordinary life experiences of these communities.

Lived experience and practical consciousness within social relationships are integral to this vision of literary discourse, which connects experience, articulation and communication in the common language of those who live in a community. Williams regarded these elements as central to what could be defined as 'culture'.[10] Both Richard Hoggart in his *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working Class Life* (1957), and Williams in *Culture and Society* (1958), highlighted the increasing domination of commercial, artificially manufactured 'popular' literary culture which Williams was to deal with more explicitly in his later work, *The Country and The City* (1973).[11] This development was seen by Williams as inevitably arising from a society and its culture which prioritised profit and the minority ownership of production inevitable in a capitalist system. Causley had sympathised with left-wing politics in his adolescence and in 1957 he wrote a favourable review of Hoggart's book.[12] His preference for the ballad form was not primarily politically motivated, but his independent stance towards both academic approval and commercial manipulation was nevertheless a contribution to the struggle against this domination.

'The Ballad of Charlotte Dymond' is an example of this concept of the 'traditional popular'.[13] It recounts an actual murder on Bodmin Moor, near Causley's home town of Launceston in Cornwall, in the 1840s. The realities of the servant and labourer economy are present in the circumstances of Charlotte, a domestic servant, who has Sunday evenings off. She goes to meet her young man, Matthew, a farm hand. Matthew is disabled and consumed by thoughts of Charlotte's unfaithfulness. He slashes her throat with a razor and leaves her on the moor where a stone still marks the spot. Matthew is later hanged:

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[10] Raymond Williams, 'Culture is Ordinary', in *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism,* ed. by Robin Gable (London: Verso, 1989), pp. 3–14.
[11] Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working Class Life* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957); Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973).
[12] Charles Causley, 'Book Review, *The Uses of Literacy'*, *London Magazine,* 1 June 1957, p. 70.
[13] Causley, Charles, *Collected Poems 1951-2000* (London: Picador, 2000), p. 108.

They took him off to Bodmin,
They pulled the prison bell,
They sent him smartly up to heaven
And dropped him down to hell.

In 'The Ballad of Charlotte Dymond' Causley uses the particularity of a local legend with the elements of poverty, disability and jealousy to evoke the description of the execution and challenge the reader. Ballads such as 'Charlotte Dymond' provide examples of what Williams perceived as common resources of meaning arising from the social, economic and material aspects of lived experience. Ballads, often based on historical sources and actual people are, as A. L. Lloyd argued, a collective and retrospective local memory which can mirror society and express the realities of lower class life past and present.[14] They portray the lives and experiences of those without any option of agency for change, excluded from the material benefits of a class stratified and dominant culture system centred on the ownership of land or capital. Causley makes no overt comment on the political structure under which Charlotte and Matthew live. Rather, his choice to highlight the lives of the dispossessed in the traditional form of the ballad lends his characters the dignity of such lives being taken seriously as the concern of literature. Beyond this he brings out no explicit political implications.

In the final verses Causley integrates this narrative from the life of the community with an appeal to the reader:

All through the granite kingdom
And on its travelling airs
Ask which of these two lovers
The most deserves your prayers.

And your steel heart search, Stranger,
That you may pause and pray
For lovers who come not to bed
Upon their wedding day.

These final two verses break with the narrative simplicity of the rest of the poem to introduce into the ballad a plea for reflection and subsequent fair judgement. To accomplish this, Causley changes the tone, moving from descriptive action and narrative to a typical folk-song ending which reflects on the story. The tonal change from the previous verses takes the ballad beyond mere commemoration and is achieved through the carefully constructed combination of the nouns 'kingdom',

[14] A. L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (St Albans: Palladin, 1975), pp. 127–130.

'airs', and 'heart' with the adjectives 'granite', 'travelling' and 'steel' respectively. This provides contrast whilst at the same time keeping the unity of the poem in the associated realms of ballad and folk-song. A more direct question in less stylised language would disrupt this unity.

In making this intervention, Causley introduces an ethical dimension to the poem. A continuing preoccupation with foregrounding those excluded by class and poverty from effective power over their own circumstances, such as the servants and labourers of the world of 'The Ballad of Charlotte Dymond', can be seen in Causley's respect for the ballad tradition as expressed in an interview on Desert Island Discs in December 1979.[15] One of his choices was the ancient and mysterious ballad adopted during the Peasant's Revolt, 'The Cutty Wren'. The structuring devices of the ballad present in this example — the unity imposed by sequential narrative, regular rhyme and metre, repetition and a variety of voices speaking directly to the reader — were all characteristics which Causley would incorporate and adapt in his own ballads and can also be seen in those he anthologized. The origins and potential referents of the lyrics in 'The Cutty Wren' are very mysterious. Do they refer to human sacrifice, the sacrifice of a wren to bring good fortune for the New Year, or to the martyrdom of St Stephen on Dec 26th? The sense of mystery beneath the surface was another aspect of the ballad which Causley perceived as important: 'the ballad has always fascinated me because it is seemingly simple yet has to have another face, another meaning.'[16] His perception points to the apparent paradox of the simplicity presumed by the direct narrative form, communal history and concerns of the ballad, and the complexities of story, character and language which he saw as a potential of this genre.

By his own admission, Causley felt drawn to poetry which resonates with story and song: 'I've always loved music and songs and ballads and really couldn't live without it all'.[17] In *A Test Of Poetry,* Zukofsky issued a warning that 'There is no use in modern sophistication trying to get back to folk art; the result will always be modern sophistication'.[18] Yet, Causley's choice of the ballad aligned with an objectivist focus on the immediacy of direct language and imagery from felt experience, often with historical resonance. For him the genre was not a contrivance

[15] BBC Radio 4, *Desert Island Discs* Charles Causley (7 December 1979) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p009mwsm> [accessed 22 June 2018].
[16] Parker, p. 30.
[17] Parker, p. 30.
[18] Louis Zukofsky, *A Test Of Poetry* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1952), p. 70.

to return to the past but a living form for the present, independent of any critical and academic preoccupations. His contribution to innovation in ballad form in the second half of the twentieth century, in both his own work and his choice of ballads for anthologies, avoids the pitfalls of metaphysical abstraction. The ballads are carefully constructed objects, an apparent contradiction for a basically spontaneous and collective form, of specifically chosen combinations of phrases and of images offering layers of meaning. In poems such as 'The Ballad of Charlotte Dymond', Causley saw and practised the potential for ballads to combine these layers of meaning, thereby achieving what Zukofsky describes as 'the sincere convictions and the almost unexplainable completeness of the art of simplicity'.[19]

This potential of the ballad form to address contemporary issues within a traditional form and often a historical context became apparent to Causley in his adolescence in the Thirties. He admired W. H. Auden in two respects. Politically he felt that Auden told the truth about the gravity of the pre-war situation. In poetics Auden's work had illustrated the potential of a contemporary and creative use of the ballad form and simple lyric with chilling undertones such as the drumbeat in 'O What Is That Sound' and the sinister forebodings of the 'Song of the Ogres'.[20] After World War Two, Causley decided to follow his instincts and take a personal, independent stance towards theories of art and aesthetics. In this he exemplified Williams's definition of culture and art as common concerns and experiences expressed in accessible language. The validity of this decision became more apparent to him in his working lifetime experience as a primary school teacher in his home town of Launceston. Recalling his own primary school days, Causley recalled singing from Cecil Sharp's collected folk songs as ninety children on a Friday afternoon 'chanted their way through this, Hymns Ancient and Modern, and National Songs of the British Isles'.[21] When it came to his own teaching career he found that:

> I tried to read A. A. Milne and they were really bored out of their minds, and so was I, and I remember one day I went into the classroom and I took a wrong set of books and I'd got on the top a collection of English and Scottish ballads edited by Robert Graves. And this was a crowd of about forty rather tough little Cornish boys who I certainly shouldn't leave behind in the classroom while I got the right books, so I just opened it and started to read one of the ballads. And it really worked, they understood all the implications.

[19] Zukofsky, p. 103.
[20] W. H. Auden, *Collected Poems,* ed. by Edward Mendelson (London: Faber, 1976), pp. 105, 586.
[21] Charles Causley, 'A Kitchen In The Morning', in *Causley At 70,* ed. by Harry Chambers (Calstock: Peterloo Poets, 1987), pp. 94–104 (p. 28).

> It taught me how very sophisticated children can be in their apprehension of what goes on in a poem. They knew all about the coinage of the ballad; they knew all about betrayal and illegitimacy and family disasters — all these things that happen but which we didn't really talk about in school in those days.[22]

The directness with which the Scottish ballads communicated with the 'tough little Cornish boys' did not preclude the potential of the genre to articulate emotional complexity. Such ballads connected with the hearer's knowledge and experience of everyday human existence, the 'coinage' or raw materials of violence, deception, ambition and failure in the struggle for satisfying relationships and a sense of identity. Causley also valued the specific origins of the ballad in song as an effective means of the transmission and communication of the text without the need for poetic articulation through a stylised and refined vocabulary. This is demonstrated in Lloyd's survey of folk song in England, where he traces the popularity of ballads back to the 17th and 18th centuries when the propensity of upper-class poetry to focus on high affairs of state confined the poetic expression of the local, oral artistic imagination to the rural lower classes.[23]

Despite this long history and although the ballad form has certain foundational criteria, it has always resisted stagnation. In the 'Preface' to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads* William Wordsworth suggested the fusion of lyric and ballad has a capacity to express 'the essential passions of the heart [...] the fluxes and refluxes of the mind when agitated by the great and simple affections of our nature', to choose 'incidents and situations from common life', and to employ 'a selection of language really used by men […] whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual way'.[24] Wordsworth later had some reservations about these sentiments. Causley remained true to his conviction that the ballad could express sensibilities articulated in everyday speech, which he believed transcended historical limitations and validated the adoption and adaptation of the genre in the twentieth century. He was himself to supplement the traditional unadorned discourse of the ballad with the subjective voice and increased emotional intensity of the lyric, articulating the deepest of feelings in accessible image and language. Causley maintained that:

> stuff written for the child audience has faded away. What has remained are those essentials of human existence, those native human properties, that burn

[22] Clive Wilmer, 'Charles Causley in Conversation', *PN Review 79,* 17 (May–June 1991), 52–55.
[23] Lloyd, p. 137.
[24] William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads,* ed. by Michael Mason (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 53, 59.

like permanent flames in the structures and compositions of the folk-songs and ballads which were taught in the singing (not the literature) class.'[25]

Romantic sensibilities within Causley's ballads are rescued from being simply a nostalgic return to the literary past by his World War Two experience of naval service and of fatalities among his contemporaries. It was war, the guilt of survival and the realities of loss of innocence, separation and death, which were the catalysts for the poetic expression of 'those essentials of human experience' and 'those native human properties' in much of his poetry. In post-war culture, to employ the ballad form was to present what had been the 'ordinary experience' of many in 'an unusual way'. The 1953 poem, 'Ballad Of The Faithless Wife', is an example of his poetry of war, explicitly titled as a ballad.[26] It can be analysed as counter-evidence to Ricks's judgement that Causley's attempts to revive traditional form were unable to transcend pastiche and were mere copies of a poetic tradition. In Ricks's terms, it could be seen to be unsophisticated and derivative in its poetic conventions and direct imagery. The rhyming scheme is ABCB and the first two lines of the first three stanzas carry the movement forward with the repetition of phrases common in sea shanty and ballad: 'Carry her down to the river/Carry her down to the sea'; 'Down by the writhing water/Down by the innocent sand'; and 'Under the dainty eagle/Under the ravening dove'. The imagery is clearly articulated: the 'white as fleece' wife is Peace who runs away with the soldier, War. Despite employing these traditional ballad conventions, the rhythm, pace and imagery of the narrative of adulterous War seducing the purity of Peace help convey the treachery and ultimate destruction of human flourishing which is the result of war.

Another positive feature of the poem aligns with Louis Zukofsky's contention that the essential technique of folk art is not in the rhyme schemes and four line stanzas but in 'its simplicity, its wholeness of emotional presentation'.[27] In the centre of the poem comes a glimpse of its lifelong emotional implications for the poet. The windows are shattered, the chairs are broken. It will only be possible to view life through cracked windows, there is nowhere to settle, and the effects of war have cut open the poet's consciousness with enduring gruesome images:

O splintered were all the windows
And broken all the chairs

[25] Charles Causley, 'Some Thoughts on Poetry and the Child', *Education, 31* (1982), p. 32.
[26] Causley, *Collected* (2000), p.54
[27] Zukofsky, p. 70.

War like a knife ran through my life
And the blood ran down the stairs.

'Ballad Of The Faithless Wife' has no specific temporal designation but a common applicability to the felt experience of war. In speaking for himself Causley is giving voice to those survivors for whom it was guilt at their survival, rather than the more commonly articulated horrors of actual combat, which haunted their consciousness for the rest of their lives.

In addition to demonstrating the possibilities of the twentieth century ballad through individual poems such as 'Ballad Of The Faithless Wife', Causley countered Fuller's challenge that the ballad could not be re-established with some specific claims in his 'Introduction' to the 1964 anthology *Rising Early*. Here he explicitly explained ways in which adaptations to traditional ballad form could be made in the twentieth century. The introduction to this anthology provides the clearest expression of Causley's conviction that the ballad was a form relevant to his own time. He makes it clear that it is not just an excuse for indulging in the nostalgia of looking back to the tradition of ballads and story poems and replicating past characteristics. He states: 'The poet of today, I believe, makes no attempt to "imitate" the ballads of tradition. Rather, he has adapted freely a living form for his own needs'.[28] This desire accords with the spirit of T. S. Eliot's censure in *Tradition and the Individual Talent* that tradition is too frequently relegated to 'the reassuring science of archaeology'.[29] Eliot regarded tradition as more than mere inheritance but a historical sense which included and affirmed the presence of the past. Causley's telling phrase 'for his own needs' does not follow Eliot in describing the depth of 'surrender to something more valuable', the 'continual extinction of personality' which Eliot goes on to advocate as an essential part of 'the progress of an artist'.[30] Rather, in his introduction Causley confined his commentary on the ballad's status as an example of tradition living in the present to its more practical attributes. Causley saw potential for:

> slightly more complicated stories than those in the more straightforward ballads. The characters are developed with more subtlety, the language is usually more elaborate: though there are exceptions, for poets — very properly — are apt to adjust a form as they please.[31]

[28] *Rising Early*, p. 10.
[29] T. S. Eliot, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', in *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition* ed. by Ronald Schuchard, 8 vols (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press and Faber, 2014–18), II, *The Perfect Critic, 1919–26,* ed. by Anthony Cuda and Ronald Schuchard (2014), p. 105.
[30] Eliot, pp. 106, 108.
[31] *Rising Early*, p. 11.

'The Ballad of Jack Cornwell' is an example of these more sophisticated innovations the ballad offers, in this case to move from pure narrative to express ironic distance.[32] Jack Cornwell enlisted illegally as a minor in World War One and was killed at the Battle of Jutland. Irony pervades the final verse:

> The great Sir Edward Carson,
> First Lord of the Admiralty,
> Asked men and women who grumbled
> If ever they heard of me.
> It was the second year of the war:
> Thiepval, the Somme, Verdun.
> The people were encouraged.
>
> And the Great War went on.

The allusion to song rhythm is evidenced in the positioning of 'ever' before rather than after the pronoun 'they' in the final verse, ('If ever they heard of me'). The regular rhyming scheme of ABCB in each quatrain of the eight line stanzas is maintained throughout to sustain a lilting pace. The final verse slows the action as Causley carefully inserts the contrast of 'grumbled' and 'encouraged' and links Carson, Verdun and the continuation of the war. Irony abounds in the linking of 'great' Sir Edward Carson to the 'Great' War which sent Cornwell to his death, in the Gilbert and Sullivan associations in the rhyme and metre of the 'First Lord of the Admiralty' and in the patriotic sentiment of using Cornwell's death as an example to encourage others — of which Cornwell himself appears to be boasting. These lead abruptly on to a list, evocative in hindsight, of the horrendous casualties and a substantial line break before the last line: 'And the Great War went on'. The white space encourages a pause, silence and reflection. This allows the ironic implications of the young sailor's patriotic attitude to be contrasted with the endless, destructive progress of the war. It reinforces the absence of a glib, positive and patriotic ending to the poem.

'The Ballad of Jack Cornwell' illustrates Causley's faith in the legitimacy of the ballad to comment on the nature of war in the twentieth century. This is evidenced not just in his own work, but also in the 1964 anthology, *Rising Early*. The selection embraces the diversity of individual poets adapting the form yet keeping its typical simplicity, and of poets adjusting it to more complicated stories, characters and language. Causley chose adaptations of the ballad form including the sparse narration

[32] Causley, *Collected* (2000), p.163.

in regular four line stanzas of Auden's 'James Honeyman' and Bertolt Brecht's 'Children's Crusade 1939'.[33] These are both sequential narrations of humanity's potential for evil. They are written in the third person using direct narrative in immediately accessible vocabulary with no authorial reflection. The anthology also includes poems which feature more complexity in narrative and character, such as the struggle between good and evil in 'Birkett's Eagle' by Dorothy Howard.[34] Adam Birkett takes his gun and kills the eagle which is attacking his lambs. A voice warns Birkett, 'What was it, Adam Birkett,/that fell onto the scree?/For I feared it might be Lucifer/That once was dear to me.' After he kills it, the eagle takes on a more profound identity. 'But Lucifer the Morning Star/walked thoughtfully away/from the screes beyond the Gavel/Where the eagle's body lay'. Lucifer goes off to take the form of Tom Ritson whom the reader is led to assume will seduce Birkett's wife. Ballads have traditionally dealt with the intervention into human affairs of the mysterious and supernatural alongside various human contexts of war and individual issues of betrayal and family disaster. As anthologist here, Causley acted on his conviction that contemporary ballads had the potential to powerfully introduce transcendent elements regarding the struggle between the origins and practices of good and evil, alongside the 'coinage' of human struggles with identity, fulfilment and aggression recognised by the children of his primary school class.

This conviction that traditional forms such as the ballad could adequately convey the experience of living in the twentieth century accords with Seth Lerner's contention that tradition is always positing the question 'what is the felt experience of literary objects?' For him, it is a continuous process, an activity with renewal at its heart that is by implication in a mutually enriching relationship with innovation.[35] This dialectic between tradition and innovation can also be seen in Williams's discussion of residual and emergent elements of culture. Causley's ballads illustrate Williams's assertion that 'a culture has two aspects: the known meanings and directions' and 'the new observations and meanings'. Williams contends that 'culture is always traditional and creative', combining 'the most ordinary common meanings and the finest individual meanings'.[36] Williams also argues, at the beginning of the

[33] *Rising Early,* pp. 100, 106.
[34] *Rising Early,* p.27.
[35] Seth Lerer, *Tradition: A Feeling for the Literary Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. vii, viii.
[36] Williams, 'Culture is Ordinary', p. 4.

chapter 'Structures of Feeling' in his book *Marxism and Literature*, that 'the tendency of reducing culture and society into a past tense or 'finished products' is the strongest barrier to the recognition of human cultural activity'.[37] Causley's ballads reveal his ability to produce contemporary narrative poems which, whether or not they are constrained by a historical context and boundaries or a sequential relationship between successive events, are examples of causal storytelling which do not necessarily end in the closure of events and situations. Often the imagery of his ballads does not foreclose the past or determine the future, ending in indeterminacy. For example, 'I lie here alone' is the suspended and unresolved state of loneliness for the narrator in 'A Ballad For Katharine of Aragon'.[38] Dana Gioia summarised Causley's work as bearing:

> little relation to the most celebrated achievements of the Modernist movement but refers back to older, more specifically English roots. Taking his inspiration from popular folk song and ballad, Causley stands with writers […] who are part of a conservative counter-tradition in English letters that stresses the fundamentally national character of its poetry and the critical role of popular forms in its inspiration.[39]

The 'counter-tradition' within which Gioia placed Causley's ballads correctly locates them as untypical of their literary historical context. However, his unspecified use of the adjectives 'national' and 'conservative' assumes an overarching classification of culture which fails to recognize the diversity of social, material and literary production within which both anonymous and authored ballads exist.

In expressing in his own work the consequences of his personal survivor's guilt, and in this and his anthologies choosing ballads which articulate loss of innocence, fear of death and the complexities of human violence and betrayal, Causley promoted the ballad form as a worthy survivor in twentieth century poetics. His ballads blend images based on everyday and historical experience with rhyming and song-like cadences and common diction. His art is in making this appear effortless and not contrived. Causley's rootedness in his West Country identity, with the survivor's guilt, loss of innocence and fear of separation and death arising from his World War Two service, informed the content of many of his ballads. These elements sparked the 'felt experience' which he brought to the tradition of the ballad.

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[37] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 128.
[38] Causley, *Collected,* p.2.
[39] Dana Gioia, 'The Independence of Charles Causley', in *Causley At 70,* ed. by Harry Chambers (Calstock: Peterloo Poets, 1987), 28–35 (p. 28).

They also sparked the 'new observations and meanings' which he contributed to the continuing life of the 'traditional popular' ballad with its origins in pre-industrial oral and sung transmission. For Causley, the twentieth century ballad illustrated, against probability, that the 'traditional popular' could survive as an element in the discourse of twentieth century British poetics. Gioia described this phenomenon as 'a conservative counter-tradition'. An alternative reading would see the relationship between tradition and innovation in Causley as a radical independence from the orthodox expectations of experimentation in post-war poetics and a daring affirmation that the 'traditional popular' could continue to flourish in the evolving era of media and mass culture.

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