



Message from the Head of School, Professor Bridget Heal

Dear Friends and Alumni,

St Andrews has been at its very best this week for graduation: non-stop sunshine, making for an especially good afternoon drinks reception on 15th June in the garden of South Street.

Very many congratulations to this year's graduates, most of whom started their degrees in the first year of the pandemic. For them, and for the academic and professional support staff who helped them through, it's a huge achievement. This year has been a good one for History at St Andrews, ranked top in the UK by both The Times/Sunday Times and The Guardian. Many, many thanks to all the staff and students who contributed to that success, and more importantly who continue to make this a wonderful place to work and study. Thank you also this year to Dr Sarah Leith, who has put together a fantastic edition of The St Andrews Historian. It's a great pleasure to stay in touch with our alumni, and to hear your news - please keep us posted!



15 June 2023 Afternoon Graduation Procession. Photograph courtesy of Andrew Eccles.



From the Editor, **Dr Sarah Leith** (MA (Hons), 2014, MLitt, 2016 and PhD, 2021)

Welcome to the 2023 edition of *The St Andrews Historian*, and back to the 'Auld Grey Toon'! As a graduate of the School of History myself, it was an honour to be invited to edit this magazine, and it has been a huge pleasure to read all the contributions from both graduates and staff. I am sure you will enjoy reading them, too.

At the moment, purple lupins and pink peonies are blooming in St Salvator's Quadrangle, ready to greet the latest graduates of the University of St Andrews as they process through the gate to Sallies Quad and gather in a spiral on the lawn. Many of you may now be fondly remembering eating some delicious cakes in a marquee behind Upper and Lower College Halls (I know I am!) As you read, you will first meet with graduates and staff located here on the Fife coast. Rosa Fricker, School of History President, tells us what has been happening in the School, including the return of the Ides of March Ball, and Juan Pablo Rodriguez writes to us from the desk of the Association President on St Mary's Place. Then we turn our attention to our offices on The Scores and South Street to meet with staff members Dr Victoria Miyandazi, Professor Colin Kidd, Professor John Hudson and Dr Bernhard Struck. We shall also join Dr Rory Cox and Dr Konrad Lawson as they walk the Fife Pilgrim Way.

Our graduates travel all over the world, and we end this year's magazine with updates from the banks of Iceland's Ölfusá river to New Zealand's North Island. I hope you enjoy journeying back to St Andrews, and also around the globe, through the pages of this year's St Andrews Historian. If you would like to

keep up to date with the School of History wherever you are in the world, please do follow our Facebook, Instagram and <u>Twitter</u> pages. These are managed by our communications intern James Howe, a PhD student and another School of History graduate.



From the School of History President,

Rosa Fricker

It has been a fantastic year for the University. Finally, we have recovered from the pandemic and returned to a life akin to what it once was. As the final cohort of undergraduates with memories predating COVID move on with their lives, it was exciting to see normality return to St Andrews.



One of the main goals for my presidency this year was to resurrect the St Andrews I remembered so fondly from my first year, a time when St Andrews felt like home for so many students, past and present.

The year got off to a great start with the annual garden party in St John's. Despite the incessant downpour forcing everyone into the Undercroft, students, both new and returning, remained in high spirits. Inspired by fresh faces and the excitement of life beyond COVID, I worked this year to try and solidify a sense of community and camaraderie throughout the current cohort of historians. St Andrews is a special place for so many due to the connections and community it fosters, and there is a certain joy that has been lost to our sleepy Fife town since the pandemic. However, the old features and traditions of undergraduate life made a stunning comeback this year, with regular pub guizzes and pub crawls taking place with the help of the History Society. I hosted a History and Classics Symposium, where students were encouraged to drink wine from bowls and don togas, complete with a performance from the student production of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar. The Roman-themed events continued as I was delighted to be able to bring back the Ides of March Ball once again, celebrating (or mourning) the death of Caesar. The night was a true highlight of the academic year. The School also sponsored a dissertation drinks' party on the final deadline for the graduating fourth years, providing copious wine to celebrate (or forget, as the case may be) the joys and woes associated with writing a dissertation.

I hosted a multitude of careers events this year to give students a glimpse of life beyond their studies. These events aimed to show the variety of paths available to a historian. They ranged from panel events and Q&As, to workshops on how to apply for postgraduate study and how to make aspects of a history degree a strong interview answer. A major development this year was the Arts and Divinity Faculty Journal, a student-led project that encouraged students to submit coursework essays to their respective school presidents, who would consider the best ones for publication. Not only does this increase accessibility and achievement but it has allowed many students to add academic merit to their CV and make the pursuit of further study that bit easier.

The University has recently seen tremendous growth. Although the history department remains small it is intimate and close knit: a place where budding scholars can develop close relationships with tutors and supervisors and have a university experience like no other. The world-class education that a historian receives at St Andrews has never wavered, even in light of the unpredictability of recent events. As the University has surged to the top of multiple league tables, the academic and student experience is stronger than ever. It has succeeded in creating connections that will allow future generations of historians to see St Andrews as their home from home.

From the Undercroft to St Mary's Place

by Juan Pablo Rodriguez, Association President 2022-23

When I had my first History class in Room A in ELT's Kinnessburn building as part of my Foundation Year, I would have never imagined that 5 years later I would be sitting in the President's Office writing this wee alumnus update for the St Andrews Historian.



The journey, first from the Kinnessburn to St Katharine's between 2017 and 2018 and then from the Undercroft to St Mary's Place between 2018 and 2022 was filled with amazing experiences and lovely lecturers who nurtured my love for history and archaeology and unlocked my potential for academia. I still carry very close to my heart the lectures on death and the afterlife in the Middle Ages by Ana del Campo in the middle of lockdown in 2021, my meetings with Michael Brown to update him on the progress of my dissertation on Castles of Northumberland in my fourth year, and my archaeology lectures in Parliament Hall with Rebecca Sweetman and Andrea Brock. It is no surprise that such amazing teachers inspired me to apply for postgraduate studies on Archaeological Science and to hold an offer for this

course in the University of Oxford starting in October 2022. However, destiny had something different prepared for my 2022-2023 academic year after being elected for the sabbatical role of President of the Students' Association here in St Andrews. Postgraduate plans had to be placed on hold with the deferral of my offer and, as soon as I was off Younger Hall's stage, I started my responsibilities in the Students' Association.

The 2022-2023 academic year has been one of intense work and constant sailing against the current. I have worked with the University for the resolution of several concerns and crises such as the housing squeeze of August, the death of Queen Elizabeth II in the middle of Freshers' Week in September, the

Cost-of-Living crisis which sharpened during October, the UCU strikes of November, the closure of 601 in March and the Marking and Assessment boycott of April and May. It has certainly not been easy, but the unique skills that I was able to develop during my time as a history student in the middle of a world pandemic in St Andrews have definitely helped a lot. Aside from playing firefighter throughout the year, my role has also allowed me to lead in the creation of the Students' Association Strategic Plan 2023-2027, a document that sets out the goals of our organisation for the upcoming 4 years to ensure that we continue to offer the best representation, activities and support for the students of St Andrews.

My role as President also presented me with the once-in-alifetime experience of representing the student body in the Address of Privileged Bodies to Charles III. This event only takes place on rare especial occasions such as the Queen's Diamond Jubilee or, in this year's case, the coronation of Charles III. The

event takes place in Buckingham Palace, and you can imagine my historian's head running at 100 miles per hour while walking in the State Rooms thinking of all the historical events that those walls have seen and the fortune I had of being part of one of them.

My term as sabbatical officer will finish on the 30th of June, and then, if things go well and I secure funding, I will be starting my Masters in Archaeological Science in October. I cannot wait to get back into academia and use the skills that I have been developing during this year to improve the way in which I do research as well as potentially engage in a more strategic/ administrative role with my College. In spite of the chapter that closes for me in St Andrews at present, I am hopeful to return to this small town in the near future to do a PhD and then, who knows, perhaps work here for a long time to continue to give back to this community that has given me so much.

The Fife Pilgrim Way

by **Dr Rory Cox**

It's a clear and chilly winter morning on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth. I'm standing outside the 400-year-old edifice of Culross Palace with Dr Konrad Lawson, a fellow historian at the University of St Andrews. The date is 27 November 2022, and our plan is to walk the Fife Pilgrim Way, arriving in St Andrews for November 30th: St Andrew's Day. Prior to the Reformation and the destruction of the cathedral, this was the one day of the year when the saint's relics were taken out and processed around the old burgh. The festival drew flocks of pilgrims from all over Scotland and beyond, and it seems a fitting way to mark our own journey across Fife.

The Fife Pilgrim Way is an odd mixture of medieval and modern. Officially opened in 2019, parts of the route (especially its eastern sections) do indeed track medieval pilgrim paths. Between Culross and Markinch, however, the Pilgrim Way is dominated by modern rather than medieval history. For over a hundred years, from the mid-nineteenth century until 1988, central Fife was one of the UK's largest coal mining regions. Dunfermline's cathedral and ruined palace provide a sense of faded glory, but as we make our way along byways and B-roads, through guiet villages that have clearly seen better days, it's easy to appreciate how the coal industry's boom and bust has left permanent scars on both the landscape and the communities of this region. This is nowhere more obvious than the disturbingly unnatural landscape of the former St Ninian's coalfield. We walk through it at dusk of the first day, and with its strange undulations, overgrown with rough grass and gorse, it reminds me of Tolkien's Mordor.

Happily, there are far more hopeful places too. The mirrored waters and cheerful birdsong of Lochore Meadows – once nothing more than a toxic waste dump – are a delight in the early morning. It's testament to the incredible ability of nature to recover, if given time and opportunity. Later, we eat sandwiches and cakes beside the medieval holy well at Kinglassie – outlawed after the Reformation – and must then climb to higher



Dr Rory Cox and Dr Konrad Lawson, Culross

ground with full stomachs. We're rewarded for our efforts with a sweeping panorama, from the bulging lump of West Lomond all the way to Largo Law and the North Sea.

We arrive in Markinch just as the light is failing on the second day, having stopped off at the little-known Balfarg Henge, a prehistoric gem hidden amongst a modern housing estate. We treat ourselves to a seven-course dinner at Balbirnie House Hotel - which was genuinely the only place to stay the night! - and are then off again the next morning. The temperature is below zero and ice crunches beneath our boots as we begin what proves to be the prettiest day's walk of the trip, taking us from Markinch to Ceres. Switching between field tracks and patches of woodland, we make our way over Clatto Hill and stop for lunch at the picturesque Clatto Reservoir.

We leave Ceres the next morning amid a thick veil of mist. The haar has swept far inland, so that as we look back from the top of Kinninmonth Hill, just outside Pitscottie, the Eden valley appears like a sea, with only the occasional hilltop island peaking above the ghostly waters. A couple of hours later, descending from Craigtoun Park, we pick up the Lade Braes for the final stretch into the centre of St Andrews.

Almost before we know it, we've arrived. After seventy miles of relatively easy walking and four days of unbelievably good weather, Konrad and I stand outside St Andrews cathedral. Having traversed Fife from west to east, it seems that we're the only 'pilgrims' to have completed the Way for this year's saint's day. Nevertheless, we're certainly not the only visitors to the historic town. Rather than pilgrims flocking to the bones of a saint, the streets are full of students enrobed for winter graduations, accompanied by finely dressed parents and loved ones. It's a celebration of the living rather than the dead, and I can't help but smile. It's also gratifying evidence that the medieval university, if not the medieval saint, is still in rude health.

Rory Cox is currently working on his next book, *Pilgrim:* A Journey Through Britain's Landscape and History.



Dr Rory Cox and Dr Konrad Lawson, St Andrews Cathedral

Career, Research and Work at the Institute of Legal and Constitutional Research

by **Dr Victoria Miyandazi**

My career so far has been a unique combination of academia and legal practice, which has shaped my passion for research, writing, and making a practical impact in the field of law. It all began during my undergraduate studies at Kenyatta University School of Law, where a lecturer recognised my research and writing skills and offered me a position as a Research Assistant at the African Center for International Legal and Policy Research (CILPRA). Working at CILPRA exposed me to the power of the written word, and I became passionate about academia and legal practice.

During my time at CILPRA, I worked on various tasks such as writing policy briefs, conducting fieldwork research on human rights issues, and writing reports on topics like

transitional justice, refugee protection, and economic marginalisation. As my research skills progressed, I realised the importance of refining my craft to consistently produce high-quality and publication-ready work. To achieve this, I decided to pursue further studies in the areas of human rights, constitutionalism, and international law that I had developed a passion for.

After completing my undergraduate studies, I was one of the best speakers at a conference organised by the International Development Law Organization (IDLO). This led to an internship and later a Legal Researcher position with the Kenya Judiciary Working Committee on Election Preparations (now Judiciary Committee on Elections (JCE)), funded by the

IDLO. During my time there, I learned valuable lessons about the real-life impact of legal work and the importance of recognising the human aspect of each case. As one of my supervisors aptly

expressed, a case file is more than mere paperwork and evidence. It represents the lives, hopes, and dreams of individuals or families who

have invested time, resources, and emotional strain in attending court hearings. These cases carry not only financial costs but also psychological burdens for those involved. This perspective influenced my research approach, ensuring its relevance to practical issues and everyday problem-solving.

My experiences at the JCE solidified my resolve to pursue a career in academia. We worked on significant reports and training materials related to electoral dispute settlement, and I also gained insight into legislative drafting. Our work

involved extensive research on innovative local approaches to handling election disputes, we also drew inspiration from comparative experiences of other jurisdictions and international best practices, all while ensuring alignment with Kenya's unique context. These experiences were essential as Kenya was, at the time, undergoing significant electoral reforms under the 2010 Constitution.

It was during my time at the JCE that I was awarded the Rhodes Scholarship, which funded my postgraduate studies at the University of Oxford. During my time there, I focused on international law, comparative equality law, and constitutionalism. The experience grew my legal knowledge, particularly on International Law topics as

well as global and country-specific approaches to different human rights issues. I learnt about human rights within the UK, European Union, India, South Africa, Canada, and the US. I found



Dr Victoria Miyandazi, Kenyatta University Graduation

joy in creating materials that could contribute to constitutional cases, activism, and policy making. This was especially the case during my tenure as an Executive Committee member of the Oxford Pro Bono Publico (2014-2015), where I coordinated research reports on various subjects, including sexual violence by the police in Kenya and sex and gender discrimination in employment within the European Union. I then became an

Editor for the Oxford Human Rights Hub, where I developed an appreciation for different writing styles, which ultimately helped me refine my own unique style. Later, as a Researcher for the Hub, I led the Action4Justice Kenya project as a consultant for Oxfam (Great Britain). The project aimed to promote access to justice for vulnerable individuals and groups through public interest litigation, and developing detailed guides on various rights, such as land/ property rights and the right to health in Kenya. These experiences honed my research skills and allowed me to explore comparative and transnational approaches to the law.

After completing my doctorate, I qualified as an advocate of the High Court of Kenya and began practising law. I focused on human rights-related constitutional petitions, land and property cases, succession

cases, and family law cases. My research experience and some of the work from my doctorate thesis proved useful when preparing pleadings and submissions for human rights-related constitutional cases, such as Victoria Madong Taban v Attorney General & 2 Others, High Court Constitutional Petition No. 29 of 2019. In this case, we successfully advocated for the admission of South Sudanese law students as advocates of the High Court of Kenya, despite previous ineligibility. During this time, I also transformed my doctoral thesis into a book titled Equality in Kenya's 2010 Constitution: Understanding the Competing and Interrelated Conceptions (Oxford, Hart Publishing, 2021).

Simultaneously, I secured a permanent lecturing position at the University of Embu. Teaching brought me immense joy, and I excelled in it, feeling a sense of fulfilment and purpose and utilising my legal practice experience to provide relevant examples in class. I also enjoyed coaching students for moot court competitions and providing mentorship to aspiring scholars. Initially, I managed to balance practice and teaching effectively, although my caseload reduced as I took on administrative roles at the university. Experiencing some burnout made me realise the need to slow down and dedicate more time to my writing projects. This led me to seek research fellowships, and I joined the University of St Andrews' Institute of Legal and Constitutional Research (ILCR) as a Research Fellow in September 2022.

My time at the ILCR has been truly rewarding and filled with joy. I enjoy co-teaching the MLitt in Legal and Constitutional Studies and just finished working on a significant consultancy project related to International Humanitarian Law. The guidance and mentorship I have received from the co-Directors of the ILCR have been invaluable and played a pivotal role in my successful application to become an inaugural member of the UK Young

> Academy. Their support has greatly enriched my academic journey.

Further, I have received invaluable support for my research, including a research grant from the School of History that allowed me to attend the 11th World Congress of Constitutional Law, where I presented a paper and spoke on a panel. This event expanded my professional network and led to my involvement in the African **Network of Constitutional** Lawyers (ANCL), where I now serve as an editor for their blog. I am collaborating with ANCL on a policy paper examining the role of women and youth in challenging presidential term limits in Africa. During the Congress, I also discovered the 2023 Stellenbosch Annual Seminar Series on Constitutionalism in Africa. I submitted a paper that explores the intersection of ethnicity,



Dr Victoria Miyandazi, University of Oxford Graduation

constitutional design, and marginalised groups in Kenya, which was accepted, and I am currently in the process of writing it.

At St Andrews, I also actively engage with the St Andrews Centre for Minorities Research (CMR), participating as a discussant in a book launch event for 'Minoritarian Liberalism: A Travesti Life in a Brazilian Favela' by Moisés Lino e Silva, and presenting a paper in the 2023 CMR Seminar Series.

Thanks to funding from the ILCR, I will be attending the International Society of Public Law (ICON•S) 2023 Conference in Wellington, New Zealand, where I will present a paper and participate in panels on various constitutional law topics. Following that, I will join a conference on female chief justices and court presidents in comparative perspective, presenting a paper on Kenya's first female Chief Justice, Martha Koome.

By the end of September, I am on track to finalise six papers for publication, including journal articles, book chapters, a book review and a policy paper. Overall, my career journey thus far has been a dynamic blend of academic pursuits and practical legal work, leading me to contribute meaningfully to the field and address real-world challenges.

Reflections on the Ford Lectures 2023

by **Professor Colin Kidd**

It was a great honour to be asked to give the Ford Lectures in British History at Oxford; it was an even greater honour for St Andrews that both of Oxford's major public lecture series in History – the Fords and the Carlyle Lectures in the History of Political Thought – were being given in Hilary Term 2023 by historians from St Andrews. In the case of the Carlyles, the lecturer was my medievalist colleague Professor John Hudson, a near-neighbour in Strathkinness, whose back garden abuts

That was not the only element of familiarity about the Fords. Both John and I were being hosted by All Souls, my old college where I had been a Fellow between 1987 and 1994, and again between 2005 and 2019. So it was a great pleasure - not least after the restricted movement and sociability of covid lockdowns - to renew auld acquaintance with former colleagues that I hadn't seen, except in a few cases on Zoom, since 2019. It was also a huge pleasure to see old faces from St Andrews at the lectures, including former staff members, David Allan and Michael Bentley, as well as former students, Emily Betz and Madeleine Armstrong.

However, notwithstanding the joys of rekindling old friendships, I have to confess that my principal emotion was terror: sheer terror at the prospect of delivering six public lectures to an audience, largely comprising postgraduates and academics, many of them formidably erudite and far from diffident about expressing criticism. My main objective was to survive the course without too much bruising.

'conservative Enlightenment', and on the other side of the debate, Professor Peter Ghosh of St Anne's College and Professor John Robertson of St Hugh's, who both reckoned that England was such an outlier in the eighteenth

century that to talk of an English Enlightenment made a nonsense of the very concept of Enlightenment. The trouble was that I found both sides of the debate very persuasive.

> Given the anglophilia of a French Enlightenment that celebrated the achievement of Newton and Locke, it seemed ridiculous to exclude England from the Enlightenment; and yet, at the same time, eighteenth-century England saw neither the emergence of an adversarial intelligentsia nor the rise of a new science of society. The only sensible way forward, I concluded, was to focus directly on the matter of eighteenth-century English intellectual life rather than on the secondary question of how one framed it. Description, in other words, would be given priority over labelling.

I chose to focus on particular aspects of eighteenth-century English culture. My starting point was the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns which dominated both French and English intellectual life in the final decades of the seventeenth century and first decades of the eighteenth. Recent work by intellectual historians has emphasised the importance of this debate in the making of the French Enlightenment. Yet this was a phenomenon which occurred on both sides of the Channel. In addition, I

intended to approach the topic by way of eighteenth-century England's acknowledged fascination with classical antiquity, including the emergence of a tradition of critical philology, the promotion of some of the ancient philosophical schools (and not others), and preference for some forms of ancient literature over others. I wanted to get intellectual historians to think as much about the types of genre deployed as they did about the arguments advanced in works of literature.



Woodcut from Jonathan Swift's Battle of the Books Battle of the Books (woodcut).jpg Public Domain

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My subject was the English

Enlightenment, or more particularly to give the lecture series its full formal title, 'Pecularities of the English Enlightenment: Ancients, Moderns and Pagan Pasts.' I reckoned that a successful series of lectures ought to gnaw on a bone of historiographical contention, and there was no doubting the divisions generated by the question of an English Enlightenment. Indeed, those divisions were made flesh among members of my audience: Professor Brian Young of Christ Church, an authority on eighteenth-century England's

The first lecture took an overview of debates about English exceptionalism, relating these to the particular question of whether England had experienced an Enlightenment. The second lecture looked more directly at the Battle of the Books between the ancients and the moderns. Two questions were uppermost here. How far did the pioneering critical scholarship of the Modern Richard Bentley shape a more distinctively philological 'Enlightenment' in England? But was the party of the Ancients, then, necessarily anti-Enlightenment? In the third lecture I asked why ancient philosophy occupied such an honoured place in the arguments of Church of England clerics. Why were certain pagan values so easily absorbed into a Christian culture? The fourth lecture focussed on the dominant intellectual figure in mid eighteenth-century England, William Warburton, author of *The Divine Legation of Moses* and later bishop of Gloucester. Warburton huffed and puffed at David Hume and is now best known as an anti-Enlightenment ogre for his insolence and vituperation; but there was another side to his reputation, and the lecture focussed on Warburton's enthusiastic and widespread reception among the French philosophes and his own use of naturalistic, non-divine right arguments to defend church establishment. The fifth lecture looked at both Platonists and deplatonizers. From the Cambridge Platonists of the late seventeenth century through

to the late eighteenth-century Platonist Thomas Taylor, from the deplatonizing attempts of Bolingbroke to those of Gibbon and Joseph Priestley, the Platonic legacy occupied a central, contested and highly ambiguous place in English culture. The dominant mode was critical, blaming Platonism for corrupting and complicating the simple purity of Christianity, but Platonism continued to have its champions. The final lecture investigated the place of linguistic and scientific scholarship in the eighteenth-century English reception of the classics, with a particular focus on the era of the French Revolution.

I fear that I may have to reduce the findings of the Ford Lectures to a crude soundbite: the central patterns in eighteenth-century English intellectual life were adherence to the probabilistic Academic scepticism associated with Cicero and a type of intellectual satire, the Menippean, largely derived from the Hellenized Syrian writer Lucian, which mocked windy intellectual presumption. On the question of whether the label 'English Enlightenment' was appropriate, the verdict of the lectures was not proven. However, the lecturer emphasised that Voltaire's combination of scepticism and Menippean satire bore surprisingly strong affinities with the world of Swift, Pope and Sterne.



The Carlyle Lectures

by **Professor John Hudson**

Giving the Carlyle Lectures on the History of Political Thought, at Oxford in January to February 2023, was both a pleasure and a challenge. My subject was 'Custom, Common Law, and Civil Law', drawing upon

the work that I and others had done for my European Research Council project on the development of law in England and Continental Europe during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. The pleasure came from interaction with so many friends, colleagues, and new acquaintances, from first-year doctoral students to Emeritus Fellows. For the formulation and testing of ideas the period was ideal and intensive.

The greatest challenge came from the need to give 6 lectures in just over five weeks. I of course intended to go to Oxford in January with all six written, then more reasonably with the first three written, and eventually with the first one written. Thereafter I at last felt the benefit of the essay-writing regime I had experienced as an Oxford undergraduate: three essays every fortnight. Except that the lectures were much longer than the essays. And the audience now contained many of the leading experts in the relevant field, not just one, as in a tutorial. So a weekly pattern developed: give lecture on Tuesday at 5pm, write next lecture by Saturday but always overlength, cut lecture on Sunday and Monday, refine lecture on Tuesday until 4pm ... and then repeat whole process. That the lectures had no questions at the end was in some ways a relief, but left no sense of how successful (or not) the lecture

had been. All one could do was tell whether numbers in the audience held up week-by-week, and here my knowledge of how to influence early medieval courts worked to my advantage: bring your friends along and supply them with food and drink. And thus again did challenge and pleasure meet.



Esperanto

by **Dr Bernhard Struck**

Would you learn Esperanto? Yes? No? Perhaps? Tempted or rather asking; what would be the point? I know. Why learn a language and join a language community of (only) around two million speakers today? And these Esperanto speakers are scattered all around the world. There is not even a place to go to where you would speak the language. We associate languages with place, territory, culture, literature or our own nation and national identity. Esperantujo (*ujo* meaning place in Esperanto) is different.

As a planned or constructed language, invented by the Polish-Jewish doctor, Ludwik L. Zamenhof, in the late 1880s, it was exactly that: a language, easy to learn, designed for communication between places and people, across borders and against linguistic barriers. A language that no one owns and speaks as a first, native or 'mother' language. A bridge of words, an auxiliary second language and in that sense 'neutral' as Esperanto side lines the linguistic (and cultural) hegemony of any native speaker vis-à-vis a non-native speaker. Intrigued? No?

I know. You are reading this in English after all. You are an alumnus of St Andrews. The likelihood that you are a native speaker of English is high. And, even if not, you master English. If you have acquired English as one of your second languages, do you remember the process? Surely, learning a language is rewarding. But it is a long

process, often never ending. As a non-native English speaker myself, I can testify: it is a long process.

So, why Esperanto? Is English not the global language after all? Looking at global statistics it is not a global language. Most English speakers today have learned it to some degree as a second language. English is one of several lingua francae at best. And it is not affordable or accessible to all. My own journey into Esperanto as a language and historical research topic goes back to 2019. And one of my first encounters with Esperanto speakers was very moving. It was with a few young Brazilians here at St Andrews. One of our PhD researchers on the collaborative project "Esperanto & Internationalism, c. 1880s-1920s", who works on today's Esperanto speakers and millennials as a younger generation, had invited them. They were touring Europe with the help of Esperanto both as a language and a community, that is

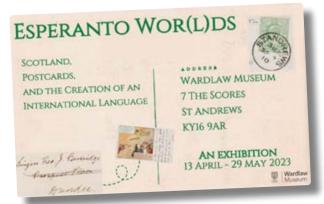
with some limited funds coming from Esperanto organisations.

When asked what had brought the young Brazilians to Esperanto, the answer was poignant: it had to do with

their upbringing in what we may call a 'deprived' area in Río de Janeiro. One of them had the dream of seeing the world beyond

just a poverty-stricken district in Río and he had typed into a browser: easiest language to learn. And up came: Esperanto. And off he went to learn Esperanto.

It was touching to hear from a young man from Río that Esperanto had opened a whole new world to him. At first, he thought teaching himself an easy to learn international language may just be a means of communicating with other youngsters from other places and countries. And for a Portuguese speaker or any speaker of a Romance language, Esperanto is indeed an easy to pick up language. Around 70% of word roots are taken from Romance languages, another 20% derive from Germanic languages and the few grammatical rules are based on largely western European languages. It was only later that the young Brazilians found out more about the Esperanto movement, its world and opportunities, including travel and making friends abroad.





Esperanto Wor(1)ds. Scotland, Postcards and the Creation of an International Language

The encounter and the stories behind their lives (with Esperanto) are good ones. Good in the sense that Esperanto had made a significant impact on their lives. And they are very personal ones. That is what I am after in my current research. That is what interests me about the early Esperanto movement that started taking shape around 1900.

Invented at a desk in Warsaw in the late 1880s, the language community started taking shape just after 1900. And once the first international congress of Esperanto speakers came together in Boulogne-sur-Mer in France in 1905 Esperanto was literally in the news. Everywhere and omnipresent as I was soon to find out and it was a thing. A big thing and there were reasons for it. English was even less of a global language than it is today. There was no global language at the time. But the need for one was deeply felt.

The decades around 1900 were a time of rapid transformation and novel technologies from telegraphy to steam ships. It was an era of science, knowledge, creativity, congresses and world

fairs. In other words, it was a key era of modern globalisation but also one of its contradictions and counter-movements and side effects. Nationalism between speakers of different languages and antisemitism. The latter were key factors for Ludwik Zamenhof to invent a neutral language in the first place. Esperanto came with a dream, if not a utopian promise: what would the world look like if we all went a step beyond our (small) worlds of nation and national language and cultures. It is a tempting one.

And around 1900 one can see this. People learned the language. flocked to congresses (still run today) in Europe and beyond. The Jarlibro, the yearbooks of Esperanto speakers at the time, were growing year by year by the thousands. Quantitatively speaking the Esperanto movement reached a peak in the 1920s when many workers driven by internationalism and the ideal for peace was an integral part to the nascent Esperanto speech community.

At the core of our St Andrews based project "Esperanto & Internationalism" are simple questions: Who were the thousands of 'ordinary' Esperanto speakers? And what were they doing with the language? How did they use it? What did they communicate? And the reasons for asking these are equally simple. We do not know much about the Esperanto movement on the ground, about the thousands and thousands of rather ordinary people who learned and practised the language.

Aberdeen Esperanto Society, May 1919



Postcard from Harmanli, Bulgaria to John Beveridge, 1908



Postcard from Kymi, Finland to John Beveridge, 1910

Esperanto club from 1905 onwards. Two of his daughters, Lois and Heather, were also active in the movement. Lois was a teacher and certified Esperanto teacher. Heather was a young

> chemist with a degree from St Andrews who published some of her scientific works – you may guess it – in Esperanto. These are the kind of Esperanto speakers I am interested in. While active in the movement they were rather ordinary Esperanto speakers in the sense that they were not the inventers, makers and shakers or leading figures in the movement. Yet it is hard to reconstruct such lives in and around Esperanto as much of the material is lost.

One of the first items I ordered from our John Beveridge Collection was a simple envelope. It contained around 50 postcards, all sent to Beveridge in Dundee between 1908 and 1910. The sheer geographical spread is astonishing as they came from Bilbao, Sarajevo, Kymi in Finland, Harmanli in Bulgaria, Gothenburg, Flöha in Saxony, from Tunis, India and Brazil. To name just a few. The postcards triggered the idea for the exhibition - and a book in the making as I am writing.

Based on the postcards and against the backdrop of the Jarlibro, as the worldwide directory of Esperanto speakers of the time, and material from the Beveridge Collection, such as his involvement in the translation of the New Testament, the exhibition showcases the vibrant Esperanto community that spanned continents, bridged languages and forged friendships through the local lens of Dundee and the Beveridge family.

In a recent exhibition and outreach project in collaboration with the Wardlaw Museum at St Andrews entitled "Esperanto Wor(I)ds. Scotland, Postcards and the Creation of an International Language" we tried to give some tentative answers and insights into our work. At some point in my research I had come across our own local and rather astonishing John Beveridge Collection in our Special Collections at the University Library. John Beveridge (1857-1942) was a Presbyterian clergyman based in Dundee for most of his life. He must have come to Esperanto around 1903 and was an active member of the local Dundee

We would like to thank a number of funding bodies and institutions that support "Esperanto & Internationalism" including the University of St Andrews, the School of History, the Leverhulme Trust, the Fritz-Thyssen Foundation and the Esperantic Studies Foundation (ESF). If you are interested in Esperanto – or even better – if you have any personal or family related Esperanto stories to share, please do reach out to us.

bs50@st-andrews.ac.uk

Alumni Updates

Dr Elvar Ingimundarson and Dr Meagan Clark

Elvar and Meagan both graduated in 2018 with MLitt degrees and are now married. They have also both received PhDs respectively from McMaster University and George Fox University.

Elvar Ingimundarson, a graduate of the MLitt from the School of History in 2018, was awarded a full scholarship for his PhD at McMaster University in Canada. In February of 2023, Elvar successfully defended his PhD thesis titled Renting Out the Empire: A History of the Royal Niger Company. His thesis received the mark of distinction and he has been nominated for several research awards. During his education, Elvar assisted and taught several history courses at McMaster University. Elvar is currently teaching history at Fjölbrautaskóli Suðurland in Selfoss, Iceland, and plans to publish a book based on his doctoral research.

Meagan Clark (also a graduate of the MLitt from the School of History in 2018) completed her Doctorate of Education in 2019 from George Fox University in Portland, Oregon, focusing on the impact of anxiety, self-harm, and suicidal ideation in graduate

student populations. In August of 2022, Meagan completed a Master of Studies in Local History from Cambridge University. Her dissertation received distinction and is titled 'Attendant

Oualification and Virtues of Care in the York Retreat from 1840-1880.' Meagan has been an assistant professor of orthotics and prosthetics at Northwestern University School of Medicine for the past four years and has recently accepted a new role as a university education specialist at Háskólinn í Reykjavík in Reykjavík, Iceland.

Elvar and Meagan met while studying at St Andrews and have been married for 4 years. They live near Selfoss, Iceland where they enjoy traveling with their dog, Lily.



Dr Matthew Birchall

Matthew graduated with an MA (Hons) International Relations and Modern History in 2014, and he received his MPhil and PhD from the University of Cambridge. He now works in the public policy sector.

Kia ora from Wellington, New Zealand!

It's hard to believe that nearly nine years have passed since I completed my history degree at St Andrews. But

I am incredibly grateful for all the hours I spent at St Katherine's Lodge. I absolutely loved my time there, and you'd be hardpressed to find a better place to learn about the past. The staff and students are truly world-class.

After finishing my MA, I went on to an MPhil and PhD at the University of Cambridge, with a brief interlude working for a technology startup in London. My PhD dissertation looked at the role that companies played in the colonisation of Australia and New Zealand. I then undertook a short postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Auckland, where I continued to publish and teach imperial history before deciding to transition to the private sector. Currently, I am working in public policy with a specific focus on infrastructure. Trust me, it's more exciting than it sounds!

New Zealand was hit by a number of devastating floods earlier this year, including Cyclone Gabrielle. This has raised all sorts of difficult questions around managed retreat and infrastructure resilience in the face of weather-related emergencies. In my role, I collaborate with economists to develop evidence-based solutions to these problems, which are then packed into easily digestible reports for a general audience. There's a big emphasis on influencing policy. And it's this dimension of my work that I most enjoy. The think-tank that I work for has close ties to some of New Zealand's movers and shakers which means that you get good access to people with real influence. This week, for

example, I gave a talk on the past and future of infrastructure in New Zealand to a gathering of the country's leading CEOs and also the leader of the opposition. It's fulfilling to use my history skills in a context that often lacks such perspectives. We also have regular spots in the media. I've now contributed numerous articles to The New Zealand Herald and The Australian, and I recently finished filming a short video discussing my upcoming research report.

My history degree at St Andrews has set me up well to tackle these challenges. But I don't miss the cold! I'm an avid surfer, so the chance to explore New Zealand's beautiful coastline has been one that I've savoured. As election year here heats up, I'm sure I'll be out there more than ever.



Taranaki, New Zealand



Ashley Douglas

Ashley graduated with an MLitt in Scottish Historical Studies in 2016, following her MA (Hons) in German in 2014, and has established a rich and varied career covering language, history and politics.

Since graduating in 2016, I am pleased to say that I have developed a successful career as a freelance researcher, writer, translator, consultant and speaker, with

specialisms in the Scots language and LGBT history, drawing on both my undergraduate degree in languages and my MLitt in Scottish Historical Studies.

Earlier this year, it was a great honour and accolade to be named as one of the "15 most influential women" working in Scottish culture in an annual list to mark International Women's Day.

I have worked with and written for a wide range of national heritage and literary organisations, including the National Library of Scotland, Historic Scotland, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and the British Library. My most recent work has been focused on the Maitland Quarto manuscript, a 16thcentury Scots manuscript penned by Marie Maitland, and containing among the earliest examples of lesbian poetry in any language in Europe since Sappho herself.

In September 2021, Scotland wonderfully became the first country in the world to embed LGBT inclusive education in schools, helping to ensure that all children see themselves and their families reflected in their learning. It was a great professional and personal honour to work with the charity Time for Inclusive Education (TIE) to develop teaching resources, based on my own research, about the remarkably early and explicit lesbian love poem in Scots that is Poem 49 of the Maitland Quarto, written by Marie Maitland.

I am driven by telling the stories of and representing entire groups who have traditionally unfairly been excluded from Scottish history and culture, yet who have always been part of it, from women and LGBT people to people of colour. In more recent times, since it has become a minoritised language, Scots speakers have also been marginalised. I recently worked with the Scottish National Portrait Gallery to write interpretation boards in both Scots and English to accompany an imagined portrait (commissioned by myself and TIE) of Marie Maitland. This is the first time that there have been Scots interpretation boards in the gallery, and they tell the story of a crucial figure of Scotland's LGBT history – representing Scots, women, and LGBT history at one and the same time. I encourage you to go and see the portrait for yourself at the portrait gallery, where it remains on display!

I am also excited to be involved in a big project with Historic Scotland at the moment, piloting the first ever audio tours in Scots, at Linlithgow Palace. For the first time, Scots speakers will be able to experience the palace's history, which took place largely in (medieval) Scots, in the Scots they speak and understand today.

I am also currently working on my first book, which I hope to share more news of in a future update!

Alongside my freelance career, I also work for Holyrood's Official Report or Hansard; that is, I am part of the team that produces the authoritative, substantially-verbatim written record of all public parliamentary proceedings. It is very rewarding to work at the heart of Scotland's democracy, both witnessing the making of history in real time and creating the primary written records of the future, which has always appealed to me, as a historian! I also lead on our reporting of Scots and Gaelic, so it is also great to put my language skills to use and support Scotland's minoritised, but reviving, languages of Scots and Gaelic in my role in Parliament.

Dr Will Eves

Will received his MLitt (2012) and PhD (2016) from St Andrews. He is now Assistant Professor in Law at the University of Nottingham.

After a decade at the University, I left St Andrews in August 2021 to take up a position as Assistant Professor in Law at the University of Nottingham. The job title might sound strange for a historian, but my research focuses on the development of law in the Middle Ages. I'm very grateful that the School of Law at Nottingham was happy to give me a home where I could continue my research into the medieval origins of the English common law and teach an undergraduate course on legal history.

My time at St Andrews was memorable for many reasons. Having previously completed an LLB and LLM elsewhere, I arrived at St Andrews in 2011 to begin an MLitt in medieval history – the first steps through which I hoped to become as much a historian as a lawyer. The MLitt provided an excellent foundation for

my PhD, which I undertook in the Department of Medieval History, supervised by Professor John Hudson. I have fond memories of the closeknit postgraduate community in the School of History, the legendary

Halloween parties, and reading weekends spent at country houses in various stages of dilapidation (the houses, rather than the participants, I should add).

Serendipitously, once I had completed my PhD, I had the opportunity to work as a post-doctoral research fellow on an ERC-funded comparative legal history project at St Andrews. Again, I have many happy memories from this project, from welcoming project members from Italy to St Andrews, to



attending workshops in Rome and conducting archival research in the Vatican Library.

The August of 2021 was something of a whirlwind, in which I got a job at Nottingham, nearly got Covid, actually got married, and then departed to pastures new down in England. My wife, Joanna, is also a St Andrews History PhD alumnus and is now forging a very successful career in policy at the British Academy. The wedding in St Salvator's Chapel was the perfect end to our time in St Andrews.

The School of Law at the University of Nottingham has been an excellent place for me to continue my research in medieval legal history. It has also provided me with the opportunity to combine my research interests with my teaching. Last year saw the introduction of my undergraduate course on the 'Creation of the Common Law'. I was pleasantly surprised by how popular medieval legal history turned out to be amongst the undergraduate Law School population. I now hope to build on the momentum created by this module, and by the fact that I have won a few colleagues over to the joys of legal history, by establishing an interdisciplinary research centre on the history of law and governance in the School. As I continue my career at the University of Nottingham, I will look back fondly to my time at St Andrews and always be grateful to the people who have helped me along the way so far.

The Truth Behind the Fakes: Two Exhibitions Explore the World of Counterfeit Books

by **Dr Drew Thomas**

Drew Thomas (PhD, 2018, FRHistS) is the PI for the "Visualizing Faith" project at University College Dublin, funded by Science Foundation Ireland and the Irish Research Council. Using computer vision, he is examining how Catholics and Protestants used visual communication in their propaganda and devotional literature during the Reformation. He is the author of The Industry of Evangelism: Printing for the Reformation in Martin Luther's Wittenberg (Brill, 2022).

Historians are always looking for ways to share their research with the wider public. I recently had the opportunity to curate two exhibitions about my research on counterfeit books, a physical exhibition at the Reformation History Research Library in Wittenberg, Germany, and an online exhibition at the Pitts Theology Library at Emory University in the United States.

Martin Luther, the German theologian who started the Protestant Reformation in 1517, quickly became the most published man in history. Printers across the Holy Roman Empire and beyond reprinted his works at astonishing speeds. Many of these printers did not have Luther's permission to reprint his works and several even falsely printed that their books were published in Wittenberg, the home of Luther's movement. This practice was so widespread that printers in every major publishing centre in the Empire produced such illicit texts. By 1525, when Luther was writing at a prolific pace, one in five of his books was a counterfeit.

The two libraries had excellent collections for exhibitions on Reformation counterfeiting. The library in Wittenberg is relatively new, resulting from the merger of two older, local libraries, one from the Lutherhaus located in Luther's former residence and the other from the library of the local seminary. Housed in the former Electoral Castle adjacent to the church where Luther supposedly nailed his Ninety-Five Theses, it is an excellent facility with plenty of exhibition space.

The other collection, the Richard C. Kessler Collection at Emory University, is a much newer collection and the largest of Luther's works in North America. Founded in 1987 by the



donation of a private library, it has more than a thousand works by Luther. The two exhibitions focused on examples in each of the collections that demonstrated the different ways printers produced "false Wittenberg" books and the methods used to identify them. In Wittenberg, I identified more than two hundred counterfeit books. Some were particularly difficult to identify as printers in other cities often copied the original artwork from the Wittenberg editions, such as the title page borders created by the famed Renaissance artist Lucas Cranach the Elder. These illustrations were made by carving the design into wood and inserting it onto the printing press with the metal type. Because printers would reuse these woodblocks in multiple books, if you can match repeat instances, you can often identify the counterfeit printers by locating instances used in their non-counterfeit books. This work has greatly benefited from my work with Professor Alexander Wilkinson (also a St Andrews alumnus) at University College Dublin where we used artificial intelligence and computer vision to assist in such identifications.

One aspect I was particularly interested in was when these libraries recognized that their books were counterfeit. Because the Wittenberg collection is much older, I figured such books would have more likely entered the collection undetected. However, because the Emory collection is modern, such books should have been identified with more recent bibliographic reference works. In the end, though, both collections had evidence of undetected counterfeits.

Although online catalogue records in Wittenberg have been updated, the old card catalogue demonstrates that previous

librarians thought these books were published in Wittenberg, only down the street from where they now reside. There is also evidence that librarians recognized these books were counterfeit and sought to notify readers. Many of the books have the truthful place of publication, such as Augsburg or Strasbourg, written in pencil, a practice thankfully relegated to librarians of the past.

Because the collection in Emory is much newer, the books usually have had more owners over the centuries and thus, more opportunities that they were catalogued incorrectly. When these pamphlets were originally published, they were often sold unbound. If readers wanted their books bound, they could hire a binder. Likewise, it was common in later centuries for collectors to rebind old books with a modern fashion or to replace old, tattered bindings. The Kessler Collection at Emory has a copy of a book with a false Wittenberg imprint that has been rebound. The front cover has gold lettering of the title and Wittenberg, demonstrating that this collector thought their book was an original from Wittenberg.

Another work has a handwritten note that it was purchased in 1930 from the library of Eduard Griesebach, a German diplomat and book collector. His library catalogue, as well as the auction catalogue for his estate, listed the book as an original edition from Wittenberg when it was actually published in Augsburg.

Luther was well aware of the many counterfeits of his books. While some printers produced such books to avoid local prohibitions, many in places friendly to Luther's movement published them because readers wanted books from Wittenberg, as they were more authentic having passed under Luther's watchful eye. By studying how these books were passed down in history, we can see how they continued fooling readers long after they left the press.

The Emory exhibition is available to view online at: https://digital.pitts.emory.edu/s/reformation-counterfeits/ page/exhibition-home

Alumni News

As of July 2023, Dr Chelsea Reutcke (MLitt Early Modern History, 2014 and PhD, 2020) will be the Gordon Hinckley Postdoc in British Studies at the University of Utah, teaching British history and serving as the Assistant Editor for the Journal of British Studies. Chelsea has a chapter, 'A coordinated Catholic press: The editing and dispersal of Nicholas Sander's Schismatis Anglicani, 1580-c.1600', forthcoming in an edited collection, *Early Modern* Catholicism and the Printed Book. Agents – Networks – Responses (Leiden, 2023).

Dr Emily Betz (PhD, 2023) is now working with the Royal Historical Society in London.

Dr Panayiotis Christoforou (MA (Hons) History, 2010) is a Departmental Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Oxford and is attached to Oriel College and Jesus College. Panayiotis's book *Imagining the Roman Emperor: Perceptions* of Rulers in the High Empire is forthcoming with Cambridge University Press.



Recently published academic books by Staff in the School of History



Frank Lorenz Müller

Royal Heirs: Succession and the Future of Monarchy in Nineteenth-Century Europe Cambridge University Press; ISBN 9781316512913

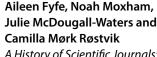


Malcolm Petrie

Politics and the People: Scotland, 1945-1979 Edinburgh University Press; ISBN 9781474456982

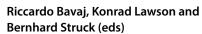


Parliament and Convention in the Personal Rule of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542 Springer; ISBN 978-3-030-89376-7



A History of Scientific Journals: Publishing at the Royal Society 1665-2015

UCL Press; ISBN 9781800082328 Open Access and free to download https://www.uclpress.co.uk/products/187262



Doing Spatial History
Routledge; ISBN 9780367261566



Scribal Cultures in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Linne R. Mooney Boydell & Brewer; ISBN 9781843845751

Emily Michelson

Catholic Spectacle and Rome's Jews: Early Modern Conversion and Resistance Princeton University Press; ISBN 9780691211336

Dimitri Kastritsis, Anna Stavrakopoulou, and Angus Stewart (eds)

Imagined Geographies in the Mediterranean, Middle East, and Beyond

Harvard University Press; ISBN 9780674278462

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Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov (eds)

Roma Portraits in History: Roma Civic Emancipation Elite in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the 19th Century until World War II

Brill, ISBN; 978-3-506-70519-8 Open Access and free to download https://brill.com/display/title/58333



Elena Marushiakova, Vesselin Popov and Lilyana Kovacheva (eds)

Shakir M. Pasov: History of the Gypsies in Bulgaria and Europe: Roma

Brill; ISBN 9783657790302 Open Access and free to download https://brill.com/display/title/63617



Milinda Banerjee and Jelle J.P. Wouters

Subaltern Studies 2.0 Chicago; ISBN 9781734643534



Nicoline van der Sijs en Arthur der Weduwen m.m.v. Bernt Feis, Merle Lammers en Elly Landzaat

Franse Tirannie: Het Rampjaar 1672 op school Waanders Uitgevers; ISBN 9789462624009



Arthur der Weduwen and Malcolm Walsby (eds)

Reformation, Religious Culture and Print in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Andrew Petegree: Volume I Brill; ISBN 978-90-04-51529-1



Arthur der Weduwen and Malcolm Walsby (eds)

The Book World of Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Andrew Pettegree: Volume 2 Brill; ISBN 978-90-04-51809-4



Ushehwedu Kufakurinani, Eric Makombe, Nathaniel Chimhete and Pius S. Nyambara (eds)

Zimbos Never Die? Negotiating Survival in a Challenged Economy, 1990s to 2015

Brill; ISBN 978-90-04-54732-2



Felicity Hill

Excommunication in Thirteenth-Century England: Communities, Politics, and Publicity Oxford University Press; ISBN 9780198840367

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