The Global History of Social Dissent: Deconstructing Outlaws within the Conundrum of Crime, Conflict, and Violence

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Abstract
Outlaws have been formidable local authorities throughout history and some of their stories survived thanks to poems, ballads, and plays within a culture deeply colored by violence, avenge, injustice, punishment, and state response against them. I underscore the role of power relationship in society to examine the emergence of outlaws and utilize it to deconstruct the social, political, and cultural conundrum. Consulting the British, Mexican, Bulgarian, U.S., Ottoman, and Brazilian archives, I attempt to theorize the activities of bandits, brigands, and militants within the global history of social dissent. I argue that if we employ social dissent as an instrumental concept, we can effectively determine both local factors and uncover global connections that explicate why various outlaws and societal reactions against them demonstrate astonishing similarities in distant geographies and different time periods. This study contributes to our knowledge in the historical sociology of outlaws by offering new theoretical ventures and highlighting methodological challenges in studying outlaws within the conundrum of crime, conflict, and violence.

INTRODUCTION
Outlaws are formidable figures of their societies whose relationship with legal authority, political actors, and public legitimacy have contextualized them in a complex social, political, and cultural spectrum throughout history. Even though bandits, brigands, and militants were interchangeably used, special terms were also given to define them in local language. Outlaws were studied across diverse time periods in a vast geography by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, and political scientists (Hobsbawm, 1959; 1969; D’Alessandro, 1959; Molfese, 1966; Blok, 1972; Crumney, 1986; Slatta, 1987; Koliopoulos, 1987; Wilson, 1988; Brown, 1990; Bracewell, 1992; Barkey, 1994; Robinson, 2001; Frazer, 2006; van Till, 2011; Seal, 2011; Cayli, 2019). The interest of scholars in studying outlaws from different disciplines demonstrates that outlaws play a formidable role that needs to be deconstructed through which we can uncover how crime, conflict, and violence created social problems and...
political upheavals. The unfolding developments in the social and political arena leave its mark in collective memory and produce new cultural forms in which outlaws appear as principal subjects in literature, cinema, songs, poems, and art (Kemal, 1955[1961]; Sizer, 2004; Bayrak, 2014; Dabove, 2007; Naian, 2010; Kruth, 2017).

The complexity of social and political dynamics surrounding outlaws mainly lies in asymmetrical interdependencies of different segments of society, the vacuum of political power, repressive political force, and the closely tied social relationship of actors who have conflictual priorities and competing interests. On one hand, this type of multidimensional conjecture transforms outlaws into leading local and sometimes international actors representing the already existing social and political issues in troubled geographies wherever they flourish. On the other hand, their adaptable manner to the changing circumstances highlights how both human condition and collective reaction with the rise of outlaws are determined by the agencies that hold power, impose a certain political regime, organize social hierarchies, and create social, political, and sometimes cultural dissent. Tilly (1985) found similarities between the use of violence by bandits and state institutions which can be categorized in the same continuum of organized crime. This argument is based on a solid reasoning when we consider that bandits emerge from dissident communities and portray the major resentment defining the relationship between societal and state actors. As it was deftly demonstrated in the studies of Richard English (2016) and Siniša Malešević (2010; 2017) organized violence creates a common ground shared by both non-state and state organizations. This violent common ground gets transformed into a conflictual performative arena through mostly conflictual and asymmetrical relationships between the state, community, and outlaws. We can categorize bandits, brigands, and militants under the broad umbrella of outlaws who were marginalized by state institutions and law enforcement with the rise of crime, conflict, and violence in society. The studies on outlaws, therefore, may play a key role not only to deconstruct their identities but also to resolve the conundrum of crime, conflict, and violence through which the outlaws exercised power over local people or challenged the status quo.

I claim that power relationship is in the fulcrum of sustaining unjust conditions within the social complexity of everyday life. Dissent is an ontologically an important concept to unveil how power relationships shapes the level of conflict against the established authority. Social dissent signifies the societal opposition or conflict between the agencies, communities or actors who have competing interests. Hence, the power relationship needs to be critically analyzed to fully uncover the bewildering social context from which outlaws emerge and labelled as social dissenters. For this reason, I suggest in this article that the studies examining power relationship may offer us innovative perspectives to understand how conflict and cooperation between the state and societal actors as well as between different social classes of the same community create and sustain unequal and unjust conditions. In doing so, we can map the factors that lead to the emergence and consolidation of outlaws as prominent authorities who accomplished to take attention of the public. Demonstrating different archival sources collected from the British, Bulgarian, Brazilian, Mexican, US, and Ottoman archives, I argue that theorizing efforts on outlaws can be better contextualized if our approach focuses on social dissent and its navigation within power relationship. My argument hinges on considering the diverse social and cultural codes of outlaws in the global history of social dissent. In doing so, I endeavor to theorize the outlaws in global history and shed new light on multiple factors that shape social structure and create a cultural impact.

The following sections are divided into four parts. First, I provide archival documents from the Ottoman and Bulgarian archives to tease out the contextual framework and highlight the importance of power relationship in historical sociology. This section attempts to unveil ontological and epistemological challenges in studying outlaws. Second, I provide archival documents based on Mexican, American, and Brazilian cases and illustrate how outlaws grabbed both national and international attention. In the third section, I provide an archival document from the British archives and attempt to theorize studying outlaws in historical sociology by focusing on the global history of social dissent. I conclude with my final remarks concerning the emerging issues in the studies of bandits, brigands, and militants. Finally, I explicate the importance and challenges of studying outlaws in historical sociology both theoretically and methodologically.
Eric Hobsbawm contributed to our understanding of social bandits by showing examples tenaciously from different parts of the world, stating: “social banditry is universally found, wherever societies are based on agriculture (including pastoral economies) and consist largely of peasants and landless laborers, ruled, oppressed and exploited by someone else lords, town, governments, lawyers or even banks” (Hobsbawm, 1969, p. 10). This statement of Hobsbawm offers us the relevant social context to determine the factors in the emergence of outlaws and delve into the labyrinthine networks of malevolent power which afflicts different social classes of society. The power relationship is particularly a key concept in historical sociology to scrutinize how social structures evolve throughout time. Yet, to dissect power relationship, we need to clarify the ontological and epistemological dimension of outlaws. This clarification helps us to familiarize with the social and political terrain where outlaws become formidable local authorities. The same objective is also instrumental to map the shifts shaping the social, political, and cultural equilibrium in society. In these shifts, we can find out how criminal activities, conflict between different actors, fierce competition for power, collective sentiments, the use of violence, and resistance against authority render outlaws a disputable social force.

Fraser (2006, p. vii) put it deftly as he attempted to demonstrate the ontological and epistemological dimension in the examination of bandits through the case of Mexico, stating: “the Mexican and foreign elites pinned the label of bandit on lower-class outlaws and rebels who resisted exploitation and oppression – not merely because most bandits emerged from among the poor, but also because these elites generally assumed that plebeian Mexicans were prone to criminal activity.” In my archival research in the Ottoman archives and the Italian state archives, I have found a very similar approach embraced by both state elites in their labelling of bandits and brigands with the assumption that they were inclined to engage with criminal activity (Cayli, 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020). The Italian state used different synonyms for outlaws ranging from barbarians and illegals to wild creatures (Cayli, 2018). The Kingdom of Italy’s repressive policies against bandits after the unification of Italy in 1861 was so intense that it influenced the development of the Italian School of Positivist Criminology which was led by Cesare Lombroso. The racist theories developed by Lombroso and his students defined prevalent outlaws in the country savage and genetically defunct with mostly ignoring severe social and political conditions of the time. (Dickie, 1999; Marchetti, 2014). Lombroso founded Museo di Antropologia Criminale in Turin in 1892 where visitors can find ceramic covered heads of brigand members and criminals. Lombroso’s ontological approach towards outlaws and the reasons of crime based on psychiatry and physiological feature of offenders also influenced the epistemological basis in the governance policy of the Kingdom of Italy to tackle social issues related to crime and violence. Providing the necessary scientific justification and the need of demonstrating authority of the newly established Italian state, state elites were convinced that repressive state policies would be the elixir to eliminate outlaws in the country savage and genetically defunct with mostly ignoring severe social and political conditions of the time. (Dickie, 1999; Marchetti, 2014). Lombroso founded Museo di Antropologia Criminale in Turin in 1892 where visitors can find ceramic covered heads of brigand members and criminals. Lombroso’s ontological approach towards outlaws and the reasons of crime based on psychiatry and physiological feature of offenders also influenced the epistemological basis in the governance policy of the Kingdom of Italy to tackle social issues related to crime and violence. Providing the necessary scientific justification and the need of demonstrating authority of the newly established Italian state, state elites were convinced that repressive state policies would be the elixir to eliminate outlaws in southern Italy and Sicily (Serra, 2009). In the late nineteenth century, new initiatives emerged by lawmakers by focusing on social and economic conditions that fostered the emergence of bandits. For this reason, Pasquale Villari organized a study tour in southern Italy in the 1870s and published his findings revealing that the unjust organization of agricultural economy in Sicily created different social classes based on the abusive rule of middle class (gabellotti) over peasants by controlling lands and sustaining social order by force (Villari, 1885). Later, two other politicians, Leopordo Franchetti and Sidney Sonnino, travelled to Sicily in 1876 for an unofficial investigation to document the social conditions of the island and they reported that an industry of violence form and govern the social relationships because criminal organizations were deeply entrenched within the social and political institutions (Franchetti and Sonnino, 1925).

When political dissent combines with social dissent, a strong amalgamation appears and renders outlaws a highly multidimensional and complex social issue. In a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire, the combination of social and political dissent would result with grim outcomes with the rise of nationalism and socio-economic decline. A challenging socio-political situation emerged in the late 19th century and the early 20th century for the Ottoman Empire. Eşkıya, şaki, or haydut were commonly used by the Ottoman authorities along with pejorative
The concerns of Ottoman internal affairs ministry bureaucrats regarding the bandit activities of Ilyo Voyvoda against the Ottoman Empire. Source: DH.MKT, (The Ottoman Archives - Ministry of Internal Affairs Records), 641-32, 27 January 1903. The archival document is currently kept at the Ottoman Archives, ©2021 Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

connotations signifying thieves, thugs, and rebels (Cayli, 2019). The narrative in the Ottoman state archives portrayed outlaws as the enemy of state representing the independence struggle of ethnic communities from which many outlaws emerged. For example, Ilyo Voyvoda is the type of bandit leader that polarized collective sentiments for the Bulgarian people and Ottoman authorities of the time. The state archives in the Ottoman Empire defined Ilyo Voyvoda as a şaki (an outlaw) and perceived the bandit group controlled by him as a threat to the state security after his band attacked the Ottoman authorities in Macedonia and created security concerns on the border (DH.MKT 1903). (see Figure 1).
Ilyo Voyvoda was born in the Ottoman Macedonia and rebelled against the Ottoman authority by cooperating with other militias in the Balkans and fighting with his band fiercely against the Ottoman Empire for the liberation of Bulgaria which was officially recognized by the Ottoman Empire with the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878. Ilyo Voyvoda (see Figure 2) took also his place on the table to sign the Treaty of Stefano. His victorious efforts were commemorated after his death by promoting him as a national hero. The house-museum Ilyo Voyvoda and a monument dedicated to him nearby the museum that can be found in Kyustendil, Bulgaria where he lived for twenty years before his death.

The case of Ilyo Voyvoda shows that how he became a hero for the Bulgarian liberalization movement while the enemy of the Ottoman Empire. Ilyo Voyvoda rebelled against Ottoman authorities for the independence of Bulgarian nation from the Ottoman rule and engaged criminal activities according to the Ottoman state authority mostly defying the local official representatives and attacking local people supporting the Ottoman regime (Alexieva, 2016). The labelling process of outlaws by the more powerful agencies carries the risk of examining outlaws from the perspective of the more powerful agency, particularly state and legal authorities consisting of judges, military force, lawmakers, and state bureaucrats. The authoritarian information, which perceives outlaws as nemeses of the state and registers their stories in the archives through a single narrative, may be misleading so our ontological position matters to fully uncover the power relationship. These risks may also create epistemological barriers in the examination of outlaws by covering social facts and mystifying the bewildering social and political

**FIGURE 2** The photo of Ilyo Voyvoda taken by photographer Anastas Karastoyanov in 1867. Source: Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Inv. No.: Ф. 3K, on. 1, a.e. 1212-86
spectrum which makes the existence of outlaws possible. The obstruction in the identification of outlaws, therefore, may cloud the factors explicating why they existed and how they operated.

If we move from the Ottoman territories to the South America, we can also find out a similar situation in which outlaws indicate dreadful social conditions. However, the transformation of an outlaw to a hero depends on the public support and the sustainability of this support after the outlaw was deceased. In this respect, the outcome of political ideologies, such as nationalism, offers outlaws the necessary public support as the political ideal enmeshes with the deteriorating social conditions. For example, different from the case of Ilyo Voyvoda, no museum-houses or memorials can be built for the socially marginalized bandits with no strict political agenda. If we look at the case of Cangaço we can tease out this difference better. Cangaço is the term that was commonly used to define social banditry in Brazil in the late 19th and the early 20th century who emerged from the lower social classes and targeted mostly wealthier people as their victims whereas they mostly made payments while purchasing goods from the poor (Slatta, 1987). Different from the ruling state authority, many cangaceiros did not have a political agenda that hindered them to lead a revolution. Their fundamental needs to survive in the rural areas canalized them receiving the support of peasants in the exchange of offering protection to them (de Souza, 1972, p. 131). One of the most notorious and well-known bandit leaders was Lampião whose bandit seriously challenged the state authority in Brazil. Yet the state authorities became victorious after a long attempt to arrest them. Lampião and nine members of his bandit were captured, killed, and their heads were cut off on July 28, 1938 (see figure 3).
Beheading the heads of victims and demonstrating them publicly is an illustrative method of state authorities which can be defined as a public performance of state authority to justify its power to public as a supreme authority. However, such public performance also erodes the distinction in the excessive use of violence between the legal and extra-legal forces. The heads of Lampião and nine members from his band were sent to Salvador to be investigated by the experts at the State Forensic Institute after which the state authority used heads for public exhibition and the families of bandits were only able to receive the heads and buried them in 1969 (Chandler, 1978, p. 9). What is more, volantes, who were a special armed group ranging between twenty to sixty people, were sent by the state to destroy the cangaceiros. A similar attempt was also delivered by the Ottoman Empire by hiring bashibozuks, irregular soldiers, to repress eşkıya (Cayli, 2017). This form of state intervention draws our attention to the global connectedness of state power and its punishment mechanism to repress outlaws which was practiced by using similar methods in different time periods and diverse geographies. The social context defining outlaws-community relationship, state-community relationship, and state-outlaws relationship are highly dynamic and changeable. Nevertheless, the power relationship emerges as the main driver that shapes the social context and these three different forms of relationship. In the center of power relationship, the conflict between the outlaws and their enemies provides us an ontological panorama to define the social position of actors and how these positions determine the level of tension and social dissent in society.

HOW BANDITS, BRIGANDS, AND MILITANTS GAINED A NATIONAL AND GLOBAL ATTENTION

We can find out the main characteristics that define outlaws who use violence and intimidation to reap the benefits of a chaotic social and political environment in the case of John Morgan and his militia group (see Figure 4). John Morgan was a businessman before dedicating his strong bandit consisted of 900 mounted soldiers to support the confederate state against the Unionists during the American civil war. John Morgan and his bandits stole horses, raided homes, destructed bridges and captured the soldiers of the Union (the North) (Mackey, 2014).

Harper’s Weekly, the most popular magazine of the time, informed its readers about the attacks of John Morgan and his band in Kentucky from the front page on 16 August 1862 dated issue with a narrative taking attention to violence afflicting civilians and the increasing conflicts between the bandit group and Home Guards:

This man was a well-to-do planter in Kentucky when the war broke out. Having predatory instincts, he collected together a band of dare-devil vagabonds, proclaimed himself their captain, and commenced the life of a guerrilla chief. He has distinguished himself by burning bridges, tearing up railway tracks, robbing supply trains, and plundering and wasting the few remaining prosperous portions of Kentucky...Being well aware of the doom which awaits them if caught, he and his men display the most desperate courage in their encounters with the soldiers and the Home Guards, and thus far none of them have been captured alive. They have just completed a most successful raid through Kentucky, stealing their food, clothing, and other necessaries from the people of whom they claimed to be the friends. John Morgan is said to possess some of the chivalrous qualities of his namesake and prototype, Morgan the Buccaneer of the Caribbean Sea: they will not, however save him from being hanged if he falls into the hands of his fellow citizens in Kentucky (Harper’s Weekly, 1862, p. 555).

Harper’s Weekly also predicted the end of John Morgan and similar outlaws in his position in its April issue in 1862 by referring him as “slave-holding Robin Hood until they are hunted down” (Harper’s Weekly, 1862, p. 242). This definition ironically reflects the polarizing identity of outlaws who can be hated and admired at the same time.
by different actors. John Morgan, a hero and fighter for a Confederalist, but a nemesis for the Unionist soldiers who shot and killed him 1864 while he attempted to escape from the prison.

Alvan C. Gillem, the adjutant general of Tennessee, commenced a campaign against East Tennessee rebels in August 1864, sent a telegraph on September 4, 1864 and addressed to Abraham Lincoln to report the death of John Morgan:

I surprised, defeated and killed John Morgan (expressed in footnote about John Morgan: was a Confederate general who had embarrassed and frustrated his Union adversaries by leading successful cavalry raids into Kentucky and Ohio) at Greenville this morning. The killed are scattered for miles and have not been counted — probably number from fifty to one hundred — prisoners, seventy — among them Morgan’s Staff.— Captured one piece of artillery & caisson.— The enemy’s force outnumbered mine, but the surprise was complete. (signed) Alvan Gillen—”— This is the third battle Gen. Gillen has had with Morgan, defeating him with heavy loss each time—” (see figure 5). (Abraham Lincoln Papers, 1864).

The social and political conditions define the identity of bandits and determine their destiny. This is the reason that bandits and their activities revolve around intersectional contexts in which diverse conditions both related to the bandits and the place where they flourish influence their modus operandi. One of the examples to this intersectionality can be found in the case of Geronimo and his band who were well-known in the 19th century Apachi land and organized a number of raids both for economic need and defence of their lands during the Apache–Mexico Wars and armed conflicts between various Apache nations and the US army (Utley 2012). (see Figure 6). His tribe, the Chiricahua Apache, unyieldingly resisted against the Mexican and the US attacks aiming to control their land. He later also
attacked the Mexican forces to take the revenge of his family who were murdered by the Mexican forces. His surrender on September 4, 1886 brought the complete invasion of the lands of native people by the U.S. The bandits are generally on the run with the risk of being captured, imprisoned, or brutally killed. Nevertheless, what makes Geronimo different from this conventional end is that after he surrounded, he became still a prisoner, but converted to Christianity, participated in exhibitions, and even he attended the President Theodore Roosevelt’s inaugural parade in 1905. Later, he dictated his biography, *Geronimo’s Story of His Life*, which was published in 1906.

Bandit leaders are commemorated by culturally important symbols as I demonstrated in the case of Ilyo Voyvoda. The interest of bandits in politics, their revolutionary aims, and liberation efforts of their countries portray them heroes of their nations. Pancho Villa, similar to Ilyo Voyvoda, can be categorized under this form of banditry group. Pancho Villa was born into a poor sharecropper family in Durango, north-western Mexico and according to his dictated biography, he started his criminal career after killing a landowner, Agustín López Negrete, who raped the sister of Pancho Villa (Katz, 1998). He escaped with a horse and became a thief. Later, he joined one the most
well-known bandits of the time led by Ignacio Parra. His participation to the Mexican revolution as a general ushered in a new phase of conflict with the Carranza regime and he successfully recruited around 500 men to attack on the U.S territories believing that he was betrayed by the U.S government after learning the President Wilson support for the Carranza regime and the lack of arm supply by the U.S to his guerrilla group (Quintana, 2012). What made him internationally notorious is the Battle of Columbus on 9 March 1916. Pancho Villa and his bandit group attacked on a small border town, Columbus, in New Mexico which resulted with death of U.S soldiers and 15 civilians (Katz, 1998). After the attack, the U.S army defeated the band of Pancho Villa and took prisoners a number of his bandit group (see Figure 7). Yet Pancho Villa achieved to escape to Mexico and continued mostly unsuccessful raid attempts which he later gave up with the assassination of his life-time nemesis Carranza. The change of regime in Mexico offered Pancho Villa an opportunity who recognized the leadership of Adolfo de la Huerta (the 45th President of Mexico) in exchange of peace agreement so the national government provided him 25,000-acre land and assets, pension salaries to his ex-bandit members and the right to reside with him (Katz, 1998). Pancho Villa was born into a poor, family, ascended into politics, lose its political power, founded his bandit, engaged in both successful and failed raids, retired as a rich landowner, and assassinated by his enemies. He was reburied in the Monument to the Revolution in Mexico City in 1976 and the Francisco Villa Museum was opened to honor his name and life.

THEORIZING OUTLAWS: THE GLOBAL HISTORY OF SOCIAL DISSENT

Historical sociology, as a discipline, is formed by precious analyses of relevant materials, data, and archives which are enhanced through theory-construction and critique so we can reveal the social complexity of the subject we study and its evolution throughout history. Hence, by using the methods of historical sociology, we attempt to
create new pathways of knowledge to understand the operative pillars of social, political, and cultural forces that shape our lives. Theorizing outlaws is such an attempt to explicate how social dissent reverberates across different time periods and diverse geographies ranging from great empires to the peripheral states. Social dissent is entrenched in the governance of social organizations, unequal conditions imposed on less powerful social actors, and the political rule which jeopardizes public interest. The strong cultural resonation of social dissent conveys the voice of marginalized people who are pushed to live on the margins of society. The manifestation of social dissent imperils public safety with the use of excessive force by the legal or extra-legal authorities for the elimination of social dissent. Yet this manifestation also exposes injustice in the public sphere and brings questions concerning power relationship and the legitimacy of authorities to the fore. The interconnectedness of social factors revolving around social dissent transforms outlaws into global figures demonstrating what social dissent signifies for different actors in an unequal and unjust world. The global history is about “writing a history of demarcated (i.e., non-global) spaces, but with an awareness of global connections and structural conditions” (Conrad, 2016, p. 12). I argue that we need to read the social, political, and cultural codes defining outlaws through the lenses of global because the commonalities underlying the conditions of banditry in different territories and time periods provide us fundamental elements to theorize outlaws. Social dissent is an instrumental concept reflecting the magnitude of connection between the individual and collective trauma. Examining this magnitude of connection, we can clarify how bandits, brigands, and militants emerged, ruled, and were dissolved. Anger, frustration, perceived injustice and
power competition are common sentimental and behavioral outcomes that we see in the cases of different outlaws, and they are all attributed to various forms of social dissent. This is the reason that social dissent is composed of both individual and collective suffering that are influenced by multiple factors. Seeking justice on the basis of social dissent bring dramatic changes to the local setting, political conjecture, and social structure. Even though our archival materials provided in this study show different reasons in the emergence of outlaws in distant geographies from Brazil and Ottoman Greece to Mexico and the USA, the resonance of social dissent is astonishingly similar. Putting this into theorizing process of outlaws, we can claim that the conditions that make outlaws important actors whether publicly supported or refuted in different societies and time periods are grounded in the global history of social dissent.

The most explicit example of our theorization can be found in the story of Pasquale Bruno who was a legendary Sicilian bandit from Villafranca Tirrena in the late 18th century and his legacy influenced Alexandre Dumas who heard the story of Pasquale Bruno from a notary in his visit to Bauso in Villafranca Tirrena (Dumas, 1842, pp. 71–73). The father of Pasquale Bruno rebelled against the Prince of Castelnuovo and Conte of Bauso who attempted to practice droit du seigneur (‘lord’s right’), which is notoriously known as jus primae noctis (‘right of the first night’), was a supposed legal right of feudal lords to have sexual relations with their female subjects on their wedding night. The father of Pasquale Bruno attempted to kill the Conte but failed and his head was hanged on the walls of Castle of Bauso. Pasquale Bruno, who was traumatized and frustrated because of injustice that he was subject to, rebelled and organized a number of attacks with his band against the military force of the Conte. After Dumas published his book in Italian and then in French, the book was translated to Spanish under the title of “Bruno el Bandolero” and reached to the millions of readers. St James Theater in London adopted the story for a theatre play with the help of English humorist Gilbert Abbott à Beckett and the story of Pasquale Bruno gained global fame.

The legacy of outlaws in society continues after the death of outlaws in the collective memory of people. The social decay and conjectural situation enable outlaws to emerge, and they also achieve to survive even against the most repressive methods of state forces. Their thorny path to survive and defeat the authorities fascinates the public and lead to curiosity about their lives. The 19th century English society offers us a socio-cultural laboratory to delve into their modes of living that allured many people to learn more about the lives of highwaymen and outlaws. With the decrease of printing cost, true crime stories became very popular in the 19th century in England. Highwaymen and Pirates series published a number of stories narrating the lives of outlaws, thieves, and revengers for justice. The Lives of the Most Notorious Highwaymen is one of the first popular series published in this period (see Figure 8).

These publications do not only show a public interest on the subject, but they also manifest the great social change transforming the English society by creating a growing middle class with the cost of exploiting a lower social class in the 19th century. The sympathy of the public for highwaymen illustrates how tales and realities were conflated and would become a source of popular consumption. One of the opening paragraphs in Charles Mackay’s accomplished publication, Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds, states: “Among English thieves of a later date, who has not heard of Claude Duval, Dick Turpin, Jonathan Wild, and Jack Sheppard, those knights of the road and of the town, whose peculiar chivalry formed at once the dread and the delight of England during the eighteenth century?” (Mackay, 1852). Jack Sheppard is particularly an important figure in the collective memory of local people. He escaped four times from prisons after pocketing offences and was executed by hanging at the age of 22 in 1724. His escape stories became so popular among Londoners so much so that books were written, and plays were organized in the theatres narrating his life. For example, John Gay’s The Beggar’s Opera (1728) revolves around the character of Macheath who was created with the inspiration from the life of Jack Sheppard. William Harrison Ainsworth’s serial novel, Jack Sheppard, was published in 1839 and 1840 with detailed and well-elaborated illustrations designed by George Cruikshank.

The social dissent and its global influence connect different communities and geographies in our attempt to understand the outlaws and their heritage. Songs and ballads play a critical role in the sustainability of their cultural heritage narrating both the tragedy of the past and highlighting how outlaws were perceived by local
people. Antonio Gramsci, the early twentieth century notable Italian philosopher, explained his views on brigands and how the Italian state spent a great effort to narrate them from their own perspective to conceal the social class struggle that shaped the violence between the brigands and the state. Gramsci stated: "the Italian state was
a ferocious dictatorship that ruled southern Italy and the islands through fire and sword, quartering, shooting, and burying alive the poor peasants who were defamed by salaried writers by labeling them as brigands” (Zingales, 2018, p. 115). The popular Italian singer, Eugenio Bennato, who is critical of the Italian state’s violence in the unification process of Italy penned also a number of poem and sang related to brigands. One of the most important and well-known songs that he wrote and sang was entitled: “Il Sorriso di Michele” (The Smile of Michele). The song was written for Michelina Di Cesare. Her bandit became infamous particularly in the 1860s in Campania region, southern Italy. As the newly established state, the Kingdom of Italy, used the suppression of brigandage as a motif to prove its authority and used extensive media propaganda. After Michelina Di Cesare was killed by the law enforcement, her clothes were ripped and her naked body was demonstrated to the public in the town square of Mignano Monte Lungo, close to Caserta in Naples, Southern Italy (Romano, 2007, p. 99). She was clearly tortured in the photos taken by the state media and her face in the photo gives the impression of a smiling person. The title in n the song of Eugenio Bennato refers to the photo of Michele and a part of the lyrics below demonstrates a counter-narrative describing her struggle to survive against the rules of the regime:

You who are there, prisoner, because you are a woman from the South
On your heart, there is a flag that you have never betrayed.
On your face, there is a smile that you will carry forever, you will carry.
You are Michela’s smile and so you pose.
And the dress you are wearing is not a wedding dress.
And the shotgun you carry is a real shotgun and not a rose.
And you are the one fighting at the forefront of border
You are Michela’s smile, and you are a woman from the South
And it is you who defend your land at the forefront.¹

In those petty crimes committed by outlaws, massacres in which many innocent people were killed, in their fight to resist against injustice, we find out a struggle to survive, an opportunity to reap, and a reaction against the codes of social and political order which canalizes outlaws to determine their own destiny based on available and appropriate methods. This is the reason that social dissent defines the source of this determination as it glimpses the possibility of liberation for outlaws when social dissent was put into practice through intimidation, violence, and the violation of social, political and legal order.

CONCLUSION

Outlaws connote both positive and negative perceptions. They are either portrayed as unyieldingly fighting avengers against perceived injustice or they are blamed for ravishing and plundering. In a number of cases above, I endeavored to demonstrate that many of them engaged in criminal activities while showing altruistic behaviors at the same time. This inclination toward the good and the bad as well as the cooperation and conflict of outlaws with state actors constitute the factors that make challenging to consider them through a single narrative. As a result, I proposed that concentration on power relationship can open us new ways of thinking to deconstruct the relationships established by outlaws with various actors. By the same token, asymmetrical social networks need particular attention because they bond different social classes on the basis of interdependent relationship in which the more powerful actor exploits the weaker actor. This exploitation feeds into complex governance models and sophisticated bureaucratic structures of the political and legal sphere which prevents the weaker and the exploited actors to have access to the ontological and epistemological instruments; thus, they are not able to topple the exploitative social system through mobilizing and developing a collective rebellion.
The agrarian dissent which led to the emergence of heroic social bandits fighting for justice is the social outcome of such an exploitative system. The grim realities that peasants were subject to passed on to the next generation and the rebelling bandit leaders from their own community transformed into principal figures of the tales delivering hope to the relevant audience. This is another reason why the accomplishment of outlaws and their criminal activities receive the admiration of local people in a decayed social system which is controlled and governed by a corrupt social and political class who are not less immoral than the outlaws that they are attempting to arrest. From this perspective, a systematic analysis of power relationship in future studies can stimulate the identification of powerful agencies and systems that use organized and institutionalized violence excessively and viciously to maintain power. This identification may also canalize us to chart analytically how social hierarchies, economic organization models, and political aspirations push outlaws living on the margins of society while preserving their organic attachment to their communities.

Theorizing outlaws is a risky venture in an ambiance of uncertainty defined by multiple relationships and contradictory occasions. I recommended in the third section of this paper that theorizing on outlaws can be a more feasible attempt if we contextualize them within the global history of social dissent. Even though the aims and objectives of outlaws differ, what unify them is social dissent as it indicates the social conditions where they flourish, and these conditions may be based on economic, political, cultural factors or the intersectionality of all these motives. Yet an outlaw may also embrace such identity by coincidence and engage with relevant activities without any individual or political agenda because the circumstances might have not left them many options except a career in banditry. The mere existence of outlaws provides us a tundra of historical and sociological observations which we can illuminate the social, political, and demographic conditions of a neighborhood, village, or town where the outlaws emerge and prevail. On the other hand, the attempts to analyze multiple cases through a comparative approach might fill the gap that we need to build up a strong theoretical framework on outlaws. Therefore, we can focus on the global connectedness of outlaws through meticulous comparative studies by studying relationships, circumstances, and the origins of dissent rather than swiftly moving towards unconvincing conclusions.

In addition to the need of theorizing attempts about outlaws, there are a number of methodological issues that might be overcome if future researchers pay attention to it in their studies. The collection and analyzing of archival sources carry the risk of portraying outlaws and social events different from the reality. The principal reason is that many of the state archival documents narrate events from their own perspective and outlaws might appear as demonized and barbarian figures that must have been obliterated. Consultation of multiple sources in addition to reading state archives with such awareness may direct us to validated outcomes. Besides, delving into the social, political, and cultural context of the time which are not even directly related to the inspected outlaws might be a helpful attempt to examine their actions empirically. This also allows us to understand how the reactions against outlaws are evolved by identifying other factors in the relevant historical period.

The emerging issues in the historical sociology of outlaws contain the exploration of cultural materials such as poem, novels, ballads, plays, symbols, graves, monuments, and memorials which are common in different countries and shape the collective memory of local people. The comparative and systematic examination of such materials may delineate the factors explaining how people build connections with local history and how these connections shape their collective behaviors on contemporary issues and common concepts on justice, victims, power, violence, equality, and hope. The concerted actions of outlaws created dramatic outcomes in the past. Yet, thanks to those dramatic occasions, new questions emanate from history on the dichotomies of power and dissent. Our efforts to respond these questions offer us new vistas to unravel drastic changes surrounding outlaws in the conundrum of crime, conflict, and violence.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
There is no data available apart from the paper.
ENDNOTE

1 The translation belongs to the author.

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