SOUTHAMPTON JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE HISTORY | ISSUE 6 | 2022



SJUH

SUSU. Our Students' Union
UNIVERSITY OF Southampton

Contents

Foreword by the Editor
Anna Hubbard……2

Considering the 1932 Ukrainian famine as 'Premeditated Mass Murder'
Sean Firth……3

Class, Castles, and Conquest: How Norman integration differed in Wales and Ireland
Imogen Tozer……16

Identifying the Influence of Emerging Ideas of Modernity on Early Twentieth-Century Art in Vienna
Luke Roberts……25

'The Squatter': Ann Hicks and Victorian Attitudes Towards the Poor
Megan Sheridan……34

Cultural fusions and legacies: Alexander the Great in Egypt and Persia
Charlie Burgess……43

The United States Strategic Bombing Survey: Air Power and the War in the Pacific, 1941-45
Adam Tobin……50

Gunpowder, Treason, and Plot: How and why the Catholic plot of 1605 was exaggerated by the state authorities
Esme Henry……61

Malta and its Metropole; Empire and its Britain: An analysis of nineteenth century metropolitan thought in relation to the Crown Colony of Malta
Benjamin Allen……69

Guilt, Gossip, and God: Understanding the Rise in Prosecutions for Witchcraft in Elizabethan England
Ella Bowkett……82

Gerald of Wales's Views of the Irish: Religious Disdain or Ethnic Hatred?
Jamie Biltcliffe……90

The Evolution of the Study of Julian 'the Apostate': An Analysis on the Approaches to the Last Pagan Emperor
Millie Clark……97

Foreword by the Editor

This year has highlighted that we are living in an important time for history as the world experiences seismic shifts in politics, human rights, and military conflict, making it perhaps the perfect opportunity to turn to and reflect on the past. With that in mind, it is my absolute pleasure to present the sixth edition of the *Southampton Journal of Undergraduate History*.

It has been absolutely wonderful to witness the continued enthusiasm for the journal this year, especially since this is the first year for two years where students at Southampton have been able to study history again in person on campus. After receiving so many fascinating and thought-provoking submissions, it was extremely difficult to narrow them down to those featured in this edition. The ones that were selected span across a hugely diverse range of history intended to interest a wide range of readers, from Alexander the Great's military conquests, to ideas of modernity in twentieth-century Viennese art, to Elizabethan witchcraft persecutions.

I am extremely grateful to all of the student markers who helped to select the articles featured in this year's edition of the journal. The markers this year have been Luke Taylor, Frankie Pugh, Jamie Biltcliffe, Daniel Lane, Milly Jones, Sacha Robson, Patrick Boyle, Megan Sheridan, Alyssa Leeding, Sean Firth, Samuel Marsh, and Jaya Shukla. I would like to give an extra special thanks to the journal's social media editor, Charlie Burgess, who has been crucial in creating and solidifying an online presence for the SJUH this year, and to my assistant editor Immy Tozer, who has been an invaluable and continuous help throughout the whole year, aiding in the editing process and so much more.

Many thanks also to Dr Eleanor Quince for her invaluable guidance, as well as the wider history department for their continued support for the journal. I sincerely hope that you enjoy reading this year's journal as much as myself and the SJUH marking team have enjoyed creating it.

Happy reading!

Anna Hubbard
Editor-in-Chief, 2021-2022

Considering the 1932 Ukrainian famine as 'Premeditated Mass Murder'

Sean Firth

Abstract: *The devastating famine of 1932 in Ukraine has been attributed to variety of both natural and political reasons. This essay examines the claim that the Moscow Government deliberately premeditated the famine in order to exact revenge on Ukraine for their political disloyalty to the Soviet Union. While certain measures were imposed specifically upon Ukraine after the famine was already underway, these are insufficient alone to prove premeditation. Instead, this article examines policy decisions, letters, propaganda, and data, to show that there is evidence of premeditation against class enemies instead – and that while Ukraine was badly affected as a result of this premeditation, the initial target was not Ukraine directly.*

The 1932 famine in Ukraine is said to have caused between two and four million deaths, although both the true death toll and extent to which it was premeditated remain a point of heated debate among historians.[1] Timothy Snyder boldly claimed that it was 'clearly premeditated mass murder' and points to measures taken specifically against Ukraine as an act of political revenge.[2] Amartya Sen similarly stated that 'no famine has ever taken place […] in a functioning democracy […] famines tend to occur in one-party states (as in the Ukraine in the 1930s)'.[3] Some historians such as Naimark go even further in labelling it as a 'genocide'.[4] However, to prove premeditation specifically against Ukraine is trickier, when other areas were also affected by the famine and the policies that caused it – collectivisation and dekulakisation. There are certainly political reasons which made Ukraine unpopular with the Moscow leadership such as their previous anti-Bolshevik loyalty and links with Polish intelligence. Equally, there is evidence that Stalin was more focussed on eliminating the kulak class regardless of nationality, and even that Moscow attempted to help Ukraine. This essay will argue that while there is evidence of a wider famine being premeditated against kulaks, there is insufficient clear evidence of earlier premeditation (before late 1932) specifically against Ukraine. However, once underway, the situation in Ukraine was deliberately worsened and the country was denied adequate help.

To show any extent of premeditation, it is necessary to show why and how Ukraine specifically was targeted. Proving Moscow had a dislike of Ukraine is not difficult – proving that they would

[1] Kuromiya, p.667 estimates the death toll at 'between two and three million'. Werth, p.167 estimates the death toll at '4 million'. Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.53 states 'no fewer than 3.3 million Soviet citizens died in Soviet Ukraine of starvation and hunger-related diseases'.
[2] Timothy Snyder, "The Soviet Famines," in *Bloodlands* (Basic Books, 2010), p.42.
[3] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 1999 <https://www.uio.no/studier/emner/matnat/ifi/INF9200/v10/readings/papers/Sen.pdf> [accessed 10 April 2021], p.16.
[4] Norman M Naimark, "The Holodomor," in *Stalin's Genocides* (Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 70–79 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7ss0k.8> [accessed 19 April 2021], p.77.

engineer a famine in an attempt to force obedience to the Communist Party, or out of malice, is trickier. There had been an ongoing border dispute between Ukraine and the USSR as late as 1929, with Ukraine feeling it had consistently been deprived of land by border changes throughout the 1920s – even to the point where Stalin 'acknowledged that the frequent border changes […] had exacerbated ethnic conflict'.[5] In addition to this, Ukraine was seen politically as a threat to Moscow, having voted 'overwhelmingly for Ukrainian parties in the 1917-18 constituent assembly elections, and had fought obstinately against the Bolsheviks' during the civil war.[6] Martin states that 'Soviet officials at the central and regional levels were strongly predisposed to distrust the peasantry of Ukraine' due to the strong concerns around nationalist feeling in the country.[7]

This tension was further heightened by the threat of a Polish invasion into Ukraine, and the presence of Polish intelligence within the country. As Kuromiya rightly states, it is important for historians to remember that 'the famine did not take place in an international political vacuum. The sharp rise in the foreign threat was likely to have been an important aggravating factor'.[8] This foreign threat came about as other countries including Germany, Poland and Japan saw Ukraine as 'fertile ground for espionage and subversion'.[9] Many peasants fled Ukraine for Poland after the failings in collectivisation policy, with Poland sending spies into Ukraine encouraging revolt and peasants begging for a Polish invasion.[10] Polish propaganda accused Stalin of being a "Hunger Tsar" who exported grain while starving his own Ukrainian citizens – Polish intelligence were fully aware of the situation within the country, but had already signed non-aggression pacts with Moscow and the Soviets no longer deemed the Polish threat of invasion a real one.[11] Therefore, according to Snyder, if the famine were intentional, it would be an act of revenge and a result of Stalin choosing to 'interpret the problem in terms of the bad faith of Ukrainian peasants'.[12] After all, peasants fleeing Ukraine to Poland was 'an international embarrassment' to Stalin, who had only recently taken charge of the USSR after the leadership contest following Lenin's death – it undermined him.[13]

Stalin's central agricultural policy of collectivisation was also being undermined by the Ukrainian peasants. Enforced as part of an attempt to reform a struggling agricultural system, many peasants saw little incentive to work for a collective farm and share their livestock, tools, food and

---

[5] Terry Martin, "The National Interpretation of the 1933 Famine," in *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Cornell University Press, 2001), pp.280-81.
[6] Hiroaki Kuromiya, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1933 Reconsidered," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60.4 (2008), 663–75 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20451530> [accessed 19 April 2021], p.669.
[7] Martin, p.293.
[8] Kuromiya, p.674.
[9] Kuromiya, p.672.
[10] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.30.
[11] Timothy Snyder, "Stalin's Famine," in *Sketches from a Secret War* (Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 99–114 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vkwqz.10> [accessed 19 April 2021], p.104.
[12] Snyder, *Sketches from a Secret War*, p.104.
[13] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.30.

money for the benefit of the state - particularly if they were opposed to the ideological control joining a collective farm would entail, or if they already were producing enough grain to have surplus.[14] This opposition would in many cases be enough to result in being labelled as a 'kulak' – a class enemy. Up to 1930, peasants had resisted joining the *kolkhozes* to the point where Stalin temporarily withdrew and wrote "Dizzy with Success". In this, Stalin attempted to scapegoat local party officials for being excessive in their efforts at collectivisation when there was no need – writing 'they became dizzy with success, lose all sense of proportion […] they show a tendency to overrate their own strength and underrate the strength of the enemy'.[15] The dekulakisation and collectivisation scheme had quickly become extreme with the state police (OGPU) arresting and deporting over two million people, thus depriving farms of skilled labour.[16] Snyder views as a purely tactical withdrawal so that 'collectivization would come because peasants would no longer see a choice'.[17] This withdrawal could, on the other hand, be a recognition of failure and that it was having an adverse effect on agricultural productivity, at a time when the rising foreign threat made a stable food supply essential. It is important to state while dekulakisation and collectivisation was not specific to Ukraine, nearly half of all peasant uprisings against collectivisation in 1930 took place in Ukraine.[18]

When collectivisation was enforced again in time for the 1931 harvest, the combination of a number of factors meant it was disastrous. Snyder cites poor weather, a pest problem, and a lack of: livestock (slaughtered in protest); equipment such as tractors; skilled farmers (who had been deported), and any incentive to work.[19] With the exception of the weather and pests, the other reasons listed can be attributed solely to political failings (collectivisation/dekulakisation) which worsened the existing rift between Ukrainian peasants and Moscow. Indeed, Stalin even complained in a letter to Kaganovich on 18th June 1932 that 'several tens of thousands of Ukrainian collective farmers are still traveling around the entire European part of the USSR and are demoralizing our collective farms with their complaints and whining'.[20] It is important to stress that by this point, the summer of 1932, the famine was underway – Stalin acknowledges in a letter dated 15 July that the food situation in Ukraine is 'not very good'.[21] This summer of 1932 can therefore be seen as a decisive moment, a turning point, where

[14] Alec Nove, "When the Head Is Off ...," *The New Republic* (Washington: New Republic, 1986), 34, ProQuest One Academic; ProQuest One Literature <https://www.proquest.com/magazines/when-head-is-off/docview/212824137/se-2?accountid=13963>., p.35.
[15] J.V. Stalin, "Dizzy with Success - Concerning Questions of the Collective-Farm Movement," in *Works, Vol.12* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), pp. 197–205 <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1930/03/02.htm> [accessed 13 April 2021].
[16] Michael Kaznelson, "Remembering the Soviet State: Kulak Children and Dekulakisation," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 59.7 (2007), 1163–77 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20451433> [accessed 18 April 2021], p.1163.
[17] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.32.
[18] Kuromiya, p.669.
[19] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.33.
[20] Steven Shabad and others, *The Stalin-Kaganovich Correspondence, 1931–36* (Yale University Press, 2003), JSTOR <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1bhknv0> [accessed 14 April 2021], pp.138-39.
[21] *Stalin-Kaganovich Correspondence*, pp.157-158.

Stalin can display leadership and actively work to save Ukrainian peasants (and peasants from different backgrounds), or he can choose to push forward with collectivisation and, in the process, cost lives. Historian Naimark validly argues it can be split into two main stages – 'the first in 1930-31, when the famine broke out and threatened wide areas of the country as a whole; and the second in 1932-33, when Ukrainians in particular – unlike Russians and Belarussians – were given no opportunity to seek or receive help'.[22] It cannot be said that his failings after this date could be attributed to incompetence or lack of understanding – he explicitly stated his knowledge of events and had previously been involved in the party leadership during the famines of the early 1920s (especially during the civil war), so was aware of the impacts his decisions could have in potentially lowering the death toll.[23]

Thus far this article has covered why Ukraine might be targeted specifically and politically, but not how. It is important to stress that the measures outlined below are specific to Ukraine, which is evidence of pre-meditation to deny the Ukrainian peasants help and to avoid taking responsibility. A key point raised by Conquest in favour of arguing that it was premeditated is stating that Ukrainian peasants were 'prevented by border guards from entering Russia proper' and that any food would be seized at the border.[24] However, this point is disputed by Kuromiya who validly argues that it is hard to prove 'that these orders were specifically directed against ethnic Ukrainians' as 'both ethnic Ukrainians and Russians lived on either side of the border, and border guards could not have distinguished between them since peasants did not carry passports'.[25] This would be more likely to indicate that the target was the peasantry more broadly, rather than linking it specifically to any ethnicity. Indeed, despite Stalin noting the peasants crossing borders in June 1932, it is not until 22 January 1933 that a decree specifically prohibited the unauthorised exodus of peasants from Ukraine.[26] Such a delay therefore makes this a weaker argument in suggesting the 1932 famine was premeditated – if it were, the closure may have come sooner - although it does show frustration with the Ukrainian peasants and an unwillingness to assist.

A slightly more convincing argument, put forward by Snyder, is that of listing specific measures 'applied only, or mainly, in Soviet Ukraine'.[27] These include the introduction of the blacklist and higher grain quotas that were imposed upon Ukraine specifically in late 1932 (the Politburo produced a document entitled 'Grain Problem' which criticised the 'shameful collapse of grain collection') which

[22] Naimark, p.75.
[23] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.35.
[24] Robert Conquest, "The Famine Rages," in *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivisation and the Terror-Famine* (London: Pimlico, 2002), p.237.
[25] Kuromiya, p.668.
[26] Ivan Katchanovski, "The Politics of Soviet and Nazi Genocides in Orange Ukraine," *EuropeAsia Studies*, 62.6 (2010), 973–97 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20750260> [accessed 19 April 2021], p.977.
[27] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.42.

made the famine worse, by allowing the state to seize more food.[28] Any community on the black list would be required by law to surrender 'fifteen times the amount of grain that was normally due in a whole month' and would be prevented from trading or receiving deliveries 'of any kind' from the rest of the country.[29] In December, Stalin officially set the line that the famine was 'the result of the plot of Ukrainian nationalists' and therefore anyone who failed to hand over food - or take part in forcing peasants to hand over food, 'was a traitor to the state'.[30] A further decision which Snyder argues is evidence of premeditation is the high grain quotas imposed on Ukraine specifically. During Stalin's time in office, overambitious high targets were commonplace in both industrial (as part of an effort to meet the first five year plan) and agricultural sectors.[31] However, on 21 December 1932, Stalin ally Kaganovich was present at the Ukrainian Politburo meeting where it was decided to increase the requisition quota, which Snyder argues amounted to 'a death sentence for about three million people'.[32] It is, however, important to again balance this by remembering that the famine was already underway and while these actions undoubtedly worsened the crisis by taking more food away from starving peasants, it does not provide evidence that the famine itself meets the narrower definition of being 'premeditated'.

For more convincing evidence, historians should look earlier at Stalin refusing aid to the region. Snyder significantly highlights that on the 18th June 1932, Stalin 'himself admitted, privately, that there was "famine" in Soviet Ukraine. The previous day the Ukrainian party leadership had requested food aid. He did not grant it'.[33] Instead, he toughened the stance with the resolution "on safekeeping property of state enterprises, collective farms and cooperatives and strengthening public (socialist) property" of August 1932. This document legalises execution for anyone found to be stealing anything 'belonging to collective farms and cooperatives' – including food and livestock – and calls for 'decisive battle with 'all-public, kulak-capitalist elements' against collective farmers.[34] This is action blaming the rural population, rather than accepting any responsibility for the failings of collectivisation – it is clear that Ukrainians were acting against the collectivisation policy and therefore would be seen as falling foul of this new law. This action also fails to provide any sort of aid or assistance, when almost two months previously Stalin had admitted the worsening situation. Crucially, however, this resolution was enacted

[28] "Grain Problem," *Ibiblio.org*, 1932 <http://www.ibiblio.org/expo/soviet.exhibit/k2grain.html> [accessed 16 April 2021].
[29] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.43.
[30] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.43.
[31] Holland Hunter, "The Overambitious First Soviet Five-Year Plan," *Slavic Review*, 32.2 (1973), 237–57 <doi:10.2307/2495959>, p.254-55.
[32] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.44.
[33] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.34-35.
[34] "Resolution 'on Safekeeping Property of State Enterprises, Collective Farms and Cooperatives and Strengthening Public (Socialist) Property' (Excerpt) - HREC Education," *HREC Education*, 1932 <https://education.holodomor.ca/teaching-materials/primary-documents/resolution-on-safekeeping-property-of-state-enterprises-collective-farms-and-cooperatives-and-strengthening-public-socialist-property-excerpt-excerpt/> [accessed 16 April 2021].

across the entire USSR, and Ukraine was not even specifically mentioned. This raises doubts over the extent of the premeditation for Ukraine specifically, and instead means it can be placed with a larger collection of evidence showing that the famine against kulaks in the whole USSR was premeditated, whereas the Ukraine famine specifically was rather an intentional lack of help.

There is more evidence of premeditation specifically against kulaks, as they were viewed as class enemies. As is well known, 'Stalin and other Bolshevik leaders were not averse to killing' their class enemies and these tend to be documented in the form of direct evidence showing a more explicit order to kill, whereas no such piece of solid evidence exists to show intentionality against Ukrainians.[35] One of the main arguments used to claim that it was not premeditated in Ukraine is that while 'Ukraine suffered much more than Russia […] Kazakhstan was harder hit than Ukraine'.[36] Alec Nove draws attention to this flaw – 'the largest number of victims proportionately were in fact Kazakhs, and no one has attributed this to Stalin's anti-Kazakh views', even dismissing Conquest's notion of premeditation against Ukraine as 'the Ukrainian nationalist myth'.[37] Werth highlights that the hunger zone also covered 'part of the Black Earth territories, the fertile plains of the Don, the Kuban, and the Northern Caucasus, and much of Kazakhstan'.[38] If it were premeditated by Russia against Ukraine, then it failed miserably and resulted in the deaths of victims of many nationalities, including Russians.

Evidence for premeditation against kulaks is further strengthened by the language used by Stalin about kulaks, and the extensive propaganda campaign against them pre-1932. On 20 July 1932, Stalin wrote to Kaganovich using strong language on the issue of theft from collective farms, stating 'thefts are mostly organized by kulaks […] clearly, we must eradicate this scum' and proposes instructing the OGPU to increase surveillance and send 'all active agitators against the new collective-farm system' to concentration camps.[39] Going back to 1929, Stalin delivered a speech explicitly stating that he wished to 'carry on a determined offensive against the kulaks, break their resistance, eliminate them as a class and replace their output by the output of the collective farms and state farms'.[40] There had also been a mass propaganda campaign featuring posters with text reading 'Let Us Destroy the Kulaks as a class', as shown in Figure 1. Another poster, shown in Figure 2, shows a kulak (portrayed as fat and greedy) with the title 'Get the Kulak Off the Collective Farm' and a quote from Lenin referring to kulaks as 'ferocious', 'predatory' and 'ruthless exploiters, who have more than once in the history of other countries restored the power of the landowners, of the Tsars, and of the priests and capitalists'.

[35] Kuromiya, p.664.
[36] Kuromiya, p.667.
[37] Nove, p.57.
[38] Nicolas Werth, "The Great Famine," in *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Harvard University Press, 1999), p.167.
[39] *Stalin-Kaganovich Correspondence*, pp.164-65.
[40] J.V. Stalin, "Concerning Questions of Agrarian Policy in the U.S.S.R.," in *Problems of Leninism* <http://www.marx2mao.com//Stalin/QAP29.html>, p.474.

Importantly, Kuromiya argues that if Stalin had intended to premeditate the murder of millions in Ukraine in 1932, that 'he could have prepared a justification for it just as he had for wholesale collectivisation and dekulakisation in 1929' – but there was no such campaign.[41]

However, there is also a limited amount of evidence to suggest that it was not premeditated in Ukraine for their poor collectivisation efforts. Figure 3 shows a map of Ukraine and is a visualisation of two combined pieces of data – the percentage of households which were collectivised in each area, and the levels of excess death in each area. As Figure 3 shows, there is no distinct correlation between an area having a high level of collectivised households (therefore, complying with Moscow's intentions) and a lower level of death; therefore it can be argued that the famine was not premeditated against certain areas based on their compliance (or lack of compliance) with collectivisation. For instance, the data shows in Chernihiv, only 47.3% of households were collectivised, yet it has a lower death rate than areas such as Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv, which had 85.1% and 72% of households collectivised respectively.

Furthermore, there is also evidence suggesting that Stalin offered a limited amount of assistance to Ukraine – which would not make sense if he truly had premeditated a famine there. For instance, Davies and Wheatcroft highlight the lowering of grain collection targets in May 1932 and point to '35 top-secret decisions' made by the Politburo to provide 'small amounts of food to the countryside, primarily to Ukraine and the North Caucasus'.[42] While they do recognise that these were 'insufficient to avoid mass starvation', the changes are still described as 'substantial' by Davies and Wheatcroft, who contradict historians such as Conquest, Naimark and Snyder in asserting that there was never a 'hint at a policy of deliberate starvation'.[43] This is backed up with Stalin's communications with Kaganovich and Molotov in which he calls for 'assistance to Ukrainian collective farms' and to 'make an exception for the specifically suffering districts of the Ukraine, not only from the point of view of justice, but also in view of the special position of the Ukraine, its common frontier with Poland, etc'.[44] Stalin seems to be cautious in his approach and crucially he also recognises how the Polish border could make the USSR weaker – in his letter to Kaganovich on the 11th August 1932, he fears 'we may lose the Ukraine' and describes it as 'the most important issue'.[45]

In conclusion, there are reasons Ukraine could have been the target for premeditated murder although little substantial evidence exists to show that it was specifically targeted before the winter of

[41] Kuromiya, p.666.
[42] Davies R W and Stephen G Wheatcroft, "Stalin and the Soviet Famine of 1932-33: A Reply to Ellman," *EuropeAsia Studies*, 58.4 (2006), 625–33 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20451229> [accessed 18 April 2021], p.627.
[43] Ibid, p.627,628.
[44] *Stalin-Kaganovich Correspondence*, pp.167-68.
[45] *Stalin-Kaganovich Correspondence*, pp.179-80.

1932, which there would need to be to prove premeditation. There is significantly stronger evidence to suggest that Ukraine was denied help due to the political differences once the famine was already underway. Naimark argues Stalin that he was 'completely indifferent to the fate of the victims' and Snyder goes further, arguing it was 'pure malice'.[46] The famine across the entire USSR, however, can be seen as premeditated in advance of 1932 against the kulaks. These anti-kulak policies of collectivisation and dekulakisation directly caused the famine which affected Ukraine, among other areas. Therefore, this essay concludes that the 1932 Ukraine famine was only premeditated to a limited extent, but certainly worsened; it would be more appropriate to describe it as 'deliberate mass murder' rather than to use Snyder's term, 'premeditated mass murder'.

[46] Naimark, p.77, Snyder, *Bloodlands*, p.42.

Appendix

***Figure 1**:* Swarthmore College, "Let Us Destroy the Kulaks as a Class," *Soviet Poster Collection* <http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/Soviet/id/179/rec/52> [accessed 18 April 2021].

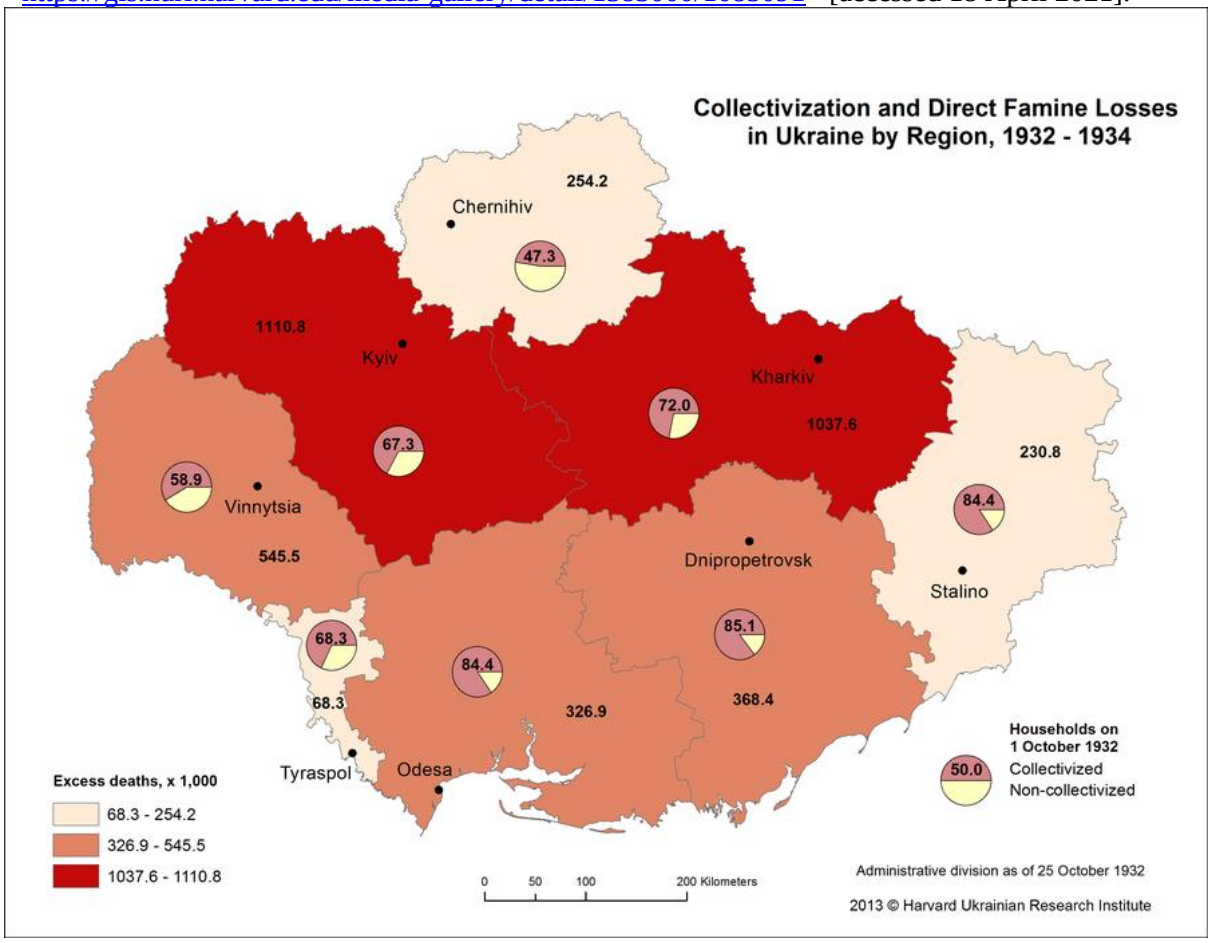


Figure 2: Swarthmore College, "Get the Kulak off the Collective Farm," *Soviet Poster Collection* <http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/Soviet/id/145/rec/18> [accessed 18 April 2021].

Translation provided by same source – smaller text reads 'The Kulaks are the most ferocious, the most predatary [sic], the most ruthless exploiters, who have more than once in the history of other countries restored the power of the landowners, of the Tsars, and of the priests and capitalists. Lenin'



Figure 3: Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, "1932-1934 Direct Famine Losses and 1932 Collectivization in Ukraine | MAPA Digital Atlas of Ukraine," *Harvard.edu*, 2013 <https://gis.huri.harvard.edu/media-gallery/detail/1383000/1085091> [accessed 18 April 2021].



Bibliography

Primary

"Grain Problem," *Ibiblio.org*, 1932 <http://www.ibiblio.org/expo/soviet.exhibit/k2grain.html> [accessed 16 April 2021]

"Resolution 'on Safekeeping Property of State Enterprises, Collective Farms and Cooperatives and Strengthening Public (Socialist) Property' (Excerpt) - HREC Education," *HREC Education*, 1932 <https://education.holodomor.ca/teaching-materials/primary-documents/resolution-on-safekeeping-property-of-state-enterprises-collective-farms-and-cooperatives-and-strengthening-public-socialist-property-excerpt-excerpt/> [accessed 16 April 2021]

Stalin, J.V., "Concerning Questions of Agrarian Policy in the U.S.S.R.," in *Problems of Leninism* <http://www.marx2mao.com//Stalin/QAP29.html>

"Dizzy with Success - Concerning Questions of the Collective-Farm Movement," in *Works, Vol.12* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), pp. 197–205 <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1930/03/02.htm> [accessed 13 April 2021]

Swarthmore College, "Get the Kulak off the Collective Farm," *Soviet Poster Collection* () <http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/Soviet/id/145/rec/18> [accessed 18 April 2021]

"Let Us Destroy the Kulaks as a Class," *Soviet Poster Collection* () <http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/Soviet/id/179/rec/52> [accessed 18 April 2021]

Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, "1932-1934 Direct Famine Losses and 1932 Collectivization in Ukraine | MAPA Digital Atlas of Ukraine," *Harvard.edu*, 2013 <https://gis.huri.harvard.edu/media-gallery/detail/1383000/1085091> [accessed 18 April 2021]

Secondary

Conquest, Robert, "The Famine Rages," in *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivisation and the Terror-Famine* (London: Pimlico, 2002), pp. 225–66

Hunter, Holland, "The Overambitious First Soviet Five-Year Plan," *Slavic Review*, 32.2 (1973), 237–57 <doi:10.2307/2495959>

Katchanovski, Ivan, "The Politics of Soviet and Nazi Genocides in Orange Ukraine," *EuropeAsia Studies*, 62.6 (2010), 973–97 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20750260> [accessed 19 April 2021]

Kaznelson, Michael, "Remembering the Soviet State: Kulak Children and Dekulakisation," *EuropeAsia Studies*, 59.7 (2007), 1163–77 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20451433> [accessed 18 April 2021]

Kuromiya, Hiroaki, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1933 Reconsidered," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60.4 (2008), 663–75 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20451530> [accessed 19 April 2021]

Marples, David R, "Ethnic Issues in the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61.3 (2009), 505–18 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27752256> [accessed 19 April 2021]

Martin, Terry, "The National Interpretation of the 1933 Famine," in *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Cornell University Press, 2001)

Naimark, Norman M, "The Holodomor," in *Stalin's Genocides* (Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 70–79 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7ss0k.8> [accessed 19 April 2021]

Nove, Alec, "When the Head Is Off ...," *The New Republic* (Washington: New Republic, 1986), 34, ProQuest One Academic; ProQuest One Literature <https://www.proquest.com/magazines/when-head-is-off/docview/212824137/se-2?accountid=13963>

Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom*, 1999 <https://www.uio.no/studier/emner/matnat/ifi/INF9200/v10/readings/papers/Sen.pdf> [accessed 10 April 2021]

Shabad, Steven, Davies R W, Khlevniuk, Oleg V, Rees E A, Kosheleva, Liudmila P, and Larisa A Rogovaya, *The Stalin-Kaganovich Correspondence, 1931–36* (Yale University Press, 2003), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1bhknv0> [accessed 14 April 2021]

Snyder, Timothy, "Stalin's Famine," in *Sketches from a Secret War* (Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 99–114 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vkwqz.10> [accessed 19 April 2021]

"The Soviet Famines," in *Bloodlands* (Basic Books, 2010)

W, Davies R, and Stephen G Wheatcroft, "Stalin and the Soviet Famine of 193233: A Reply to Ellman," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58.4 (2006), 625–33 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20451229> [accessed 18 April 2021]

Werth, Nicolas, "The Great Famine," in *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 159–6

Class, Castles, and Conquest: How Norman integration differed in Wales and Ireland

Imogen Tozer

Abstract: *The Norman invasion of Wales, from 1066, and Ireland, from 1169, were unified by the invading desires to conquer, expand, and force the inhabitants to submit to Norman rule. However, the subsequent integration between these peoples differed drastically. In Wales, it was predominantly the Norman and Welsh elite who amalgamated. The obtrusive presence of Norman lords in Welsh towns soon led to political integration, alongside elite intermarriage to strengthen Norman control. This elite experience differed to that of the Welsh population, where there were few English migrants. Comparatively, in Ireland, far more integration was seen between the native population, and the English settlers. Financial incentives leading to mass migration to Ireland resulted in the acquisition of language, and customs, while the ruling Norman elite largely remained in England. Thus, concepts of identity, and belonging, were complex in this period, often as a result of dual or blended loyalties. This article will examine the class differences between these integrations, and the subsequent effects on national identity.*

Integration predominantly differed between the Normans, and the Welsh and Irish in terms of class, with the Norman-Welsh elite integrating to a greater extent compared to Ireland, and the Norman-Irish populace integrating to a higher level than seen in Wales. Here, integration will be defined as a people inhabiting the same area, whilst sharing culture, laws and languages, rather than distinct groups living by their own customs. This often involved blended or hybrid identities, rather than a complete Norman takeover. Rees Davies supports this view, conforming to the general consensus of historians that the Norman-Welsh elite had a higher level of integration, particularly militarily. Aidan Doyle's argument also supports this, emphasising the linguistic and social exchanges of the Norman-Irish population.[1] Although these populations cannot be categorised as wholly homogenous groups, with Robin Frame influential in highlighting this complexity of national identity, overall it seems convincing that class was the greatest differentiator, as this affected politics, military techniques, intermarriage, language, and immigration.[2] The speed of conquest also impacted the Norman integration, with the Irish conquest too rapid for elite assimilation, meaning permanent settlers were more integrated. Comparatively, the Welsh conquest lasting over 200-years resulted in elite exchanges within generations. Therefore, class was the overarching difference between Norman integration with the Welsh and Irish, as this impacted a wide range of factors.

[1] R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 62-124; Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: from the Norman invasion to independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 14-7.
[2] Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012) p. 31.

A key differentiator in Norman integration with the Welsh and Irish was politics, and how laws were set out for the conquered territories. Although medieval Wales and Ireland were fragmented, and run by local government to a greater extent than England, it is overall convincing that there was greater political integration amongst the Norman and Welsh elite.[3] For instance, hybrid policies were shown by the *Statute of Wales*, implemented in areas under direct royal lordship, excluding the marcher lords. This demonstrates Welsh inheritance laws were incorporated, rather than replaced with English primogeniture laws, suggesting although the Normans established themselves as dominant, they integrated with laws established by Welsh rulers.[4] Overlordship was also used extensively in Wales under Edward I, forcing the Norman and Welsh elite to interact in formal ceremonies, contributing to greater ties between them. Davies supported this view, arguing overlordship intensified during the 1240s-70s to integrate outlying territories, suggesting that despite fragmentation, Wales was more politically tied to the Normans than Ireland.[5] This was propelled by Llewelyn ap Gruffydd's 1282 murder by Edward I's troops, which David Stephenson and Mari Jones convincingly argued marked the end of Welsh political independence from the Normans.[6] This was further highlighted by Edward II's gifting of the Glamorgan lordship to his favourite, Hugh Despenser. Comparatively, the lack of political integration of the Norman and Irish elite was demonstrated by the relatively unsuccessful attempts to introduce a new legal system. For instance, Doyle noted Norman law, or an amalgamation, was only adhered to in heavily immigrant areas including Pale and Wexford, with many people operating under solely Irish laws – a divisive system entrenched by Edward I.[7] This links to Katharine Simms' examination of national identity, with the Irish elite identifying themselves either in a political or territorial sense, both indicating separation from elite Normans, and suggesting a lack of integration compared to Norman and Welsh rulers.[8] This supports the argument the Norman-Irish populace were integrated more successfully than in Wales, as settlers were more likely to be living under Irish law than Norman influence, despite attempts to introduce feudalism.[9] However, poor Norman and Irish elite relations were highlighted by the poem *Deeds of the Normans in Ireland*. Here, the banished King Diarmait initially received no aid from Henry II 'who had promised it', and the eventual help was

[3] Davies, *Domination and Conquest,* pp. 63-4; A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (London: E. Benn, 1968) p. 9.
[4] 'The Statute of Wales, 1284', in *English Historical Documents iii: 1189-1327*, trans. by Harry Rothwell (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1975) pp. 422-7 (p. 426).
[5] Davies, *Domination and Conquest,* p. 124.
[6] David Stephenson, *Medieval Wales, c. 1050-1332: Centuries of Ambiguity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019) pp. 27-33; Mari C. Jones, *Language Obsolescence and Revitalization: Linguistic Change in Two Socio-linguistically Contrasting Welsh Communities* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) p. 7.
[7] Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language,* pp. 14-5.
[8] Katharine Simms, 'Bards and Barons: The Anglo-Irish Aristocracy and the Native Culture', in *Medieval Frontier Societies,* ed. by Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 178.
[9] John T. Maple, 'Anglo-Norman Conquest of Ireland and the Irish Economy: Stagnation or Stimulation?', *The Historian*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (1989) pp. 61-81 (21 pages) p. 65.

conditional of Diarmait supplanting his heirs with Norman rulers.[10] This demonstrates the Norman and Welsh elite were significantly more politically integrated than those in Ireland, however the reverse seems true for the populace, indicating class was the biggest differentiator.

Military technology was another key factor in differentiating the Norman integrations by class. Due to the length of the Welsh conquest, the elite were able to assimilate to Norman military techniques including armoured knights, and castle-building, with Art Cosgrove arguing the Welsh were imitating Norman castles within a decade, demonstrating rapid integration.[11] For instance, the construction of native Welsh castles such as Dinefwr and Dolbadarn, which John Kenyon noted had rounded keeps in the English style, emphasise how Norman techniques were imitated and repurposed for internal conflicts like princes vying for control, as well as defending against invaders.[12] This assimilation, as a result of fighting experience and elite intermarriage enabling access to technology, highlights ties between the Norman and Welsh elite. Frederick Suppe supported this, arguing that the Welsh Marches were an amalgamation of the two military cultures.[13] Conversely, the Irish elite did not possess the finances to import and master the unfamiliar technology during the rapid conquest, relying instead on guerrilla warfare as they were militarily outmatched by the Normans. This is supported by *The Topography of Ireland*, where Gerald of Wales stated Irish 'wile' should be feared more than their war, demonstrating the tactics used to reduce military disadvantages.[14] Additionally, his forceful argument the Irish 'hadn't progressed at all', and lived like 'beasts', highlights the perceived contrast between Ireland and the Norman-Welsh, with the stark differences in technology suggesting a lack of elite integration.[15] While Marie Flanagan argued the military superiority of the Normans was highly exaggerated due to this account, Doyle convincingly noted the invasion was militarily successful, as within just six years Henry II was officially recognised as Lord of Ireland.[16] This demonstrates the disparity, emphasising that the Norman-Irish elite could not have integrated within this short time. Thus, the Norman-Welsh elite were more military integrated than the Norman-Irish.

Intermarriage also demonstrated how the integration of the Norman-Welsh elite, and the Norman-Irish populace was more successful than their opposing classes, suggesting meaningful

[10] *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland/La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande*, ed. and trans. by Evelyn Mullally (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002) pp. 53-141 (p. 61).
[11] Art Cosgrove, *Medieval Ireland, A New History of Ireland,* Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) p. 11.
[12] John R. Kenyon, *The Medieval Castles of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010) p. 6.
[13] Frederick C. Suppe, *Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches, Shropshire, AD 1066-1300* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994) p. 216.
[14] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland: Part 3*, trans. by John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982) p. 107.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[16] Marie Therese Flanagan, 'Irish and Anglo-Norman warfare in twelfth-century Ireland', in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. by Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp. 52-76 (p. 52); Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language*, p. 14.

interaction occurred to result in the political or social benefits of marriage. There were higher rates of elite Norman and Welsh marriages compared to Ireland, for instance Llywelyn ap Iorwerth marrying King John's daughter Joan, Lady of Wales, demonstrating the ruling families intermixing, which Davies argued was crucial to achieving integration.[17] This can also be seen at a slightly lower level in Gerald of Wales's family, the De Barry's. Gerald's mixed ancestry of Normans marrying into the elite Welsh that they conquered, including the princess Nest ferch Rhys, contributed to the sympathies for both peoples shown in his works, and his statement the Welsh were 'attached' to family ancestry, demonstrating integration.[18] The same can also be said of the Normans, who often viewed identity in family terms, aiming to preserve ancestral memories. Furthermore, intermarriage as a tool to remove a military threat alluded to the elite balance of power.[19] The Norman-Irish elite marriage of Strongbow and Aoife, daughter of King Diarmait of Leinster, demonstrated this theme, where in return for military aid, land was transferred to the Normans rather than the Irish heirs, resulting in integration being seen as cause for despair.[20] Robert Bartlett noted this tension, arguing the elite preferred to reside in predominantly exclusive societies, with the Irish and Normans as distinct groups rather than intermixed, as seen in Wales.[21] This was highlighted in a poem addressed to Richard Mór de Burgh, a son of the elite Norman-Irish marriage of William de Burgh and Mór O'Brien, the King of Limerick's daughter.[22] While his hybrid name indicates integration, the line 'o ye who are become Gaelic, yet foreign' demonstrates Normans were still regarded as separate, indicating Norman-Welsh elite marriages resulted in greater integration.[23] Conversely, the reverse is arguable amongst the populace, as a result of migration. Elite disapproval was emphasised by the *Statute of Kilkenny*. This decreed there should be 'no alliance by marriage' between English settlers and the Irish, demonstrating Norman rulers wanted to prevent what they saw as the English adopting inferior customs, rather than a cross-exchange of culture.[24] Doyle expanded upon this, arguing Norman and Irish intermarriage blurred divisions between settlers and natives, with the alarm of the Norman elite likely in part due to their own lack of Irish integration.[25] As this stance was not taken in Wales, it suggests both lower levels of integration

[17] Davies, *Domination and Conquest*, p. 52.
[18] Aisling Byrne, *Gerald of Wales, The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain* (2017) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/9781118396957.wbemlb239> [Accessed 20 February 2021]; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978) p. 185.
[19] Davies, *Domination and Conquest*, p. 53.
[20] Síghle Breathnach Lynch, 'Imaging the past: The Marriage of Strongbow and Aoife', *The Irish Review (Cork)*, No. 29 (2002) pp. 95-104 (p. 95).
[21] Robert Bartlett, `Colonial Aristocracies', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. by Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) p. 27.
[22] Simms, 'Bards and Barons', p. 180; Davies, *Domination and Conquest*, p. 52.
[23] Osborn Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry*, ed. by David Greene and Fergus Kelly (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1970) pp. 252-4.
[24] *A Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III., enacted in a parliament held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, before Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, ed. by James Hardiman (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1843) p. 10.
[25] Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language*, p. 14.

amongst the Norman-Welsh populace, and that the elite were not worried by it as they themselves were intermarrying, supporting the view class was the overarching differentiator.

Cultural factors including language also contributed towards differences in integration. The polyglot environment, where Norman-French, English, Welsh, or Gaelic may have been spoken, makes it difficult to categorise a people as integrated through language. However, overall the Norman-Welsh elite, and Norman-Irish populace seem more integrated than their opposing class. This is supported by Janet Davies, who highlighted Welsh rulers including Rhys ap Gruffudd certainly spoke French.[26] As a Welsh nobleman, Llywelyn Bren, owned a copy of the French poem *Roman de la Rose*, it is convincing that this integration extended to the lower gentry.[27] Language acquisition also offered opportunities for economic integration, which was desirable during the lengthy conquest. Jones supports this, arguing it was necessary for the Welsh elite to learn French to progress with public life after invasion.[28] In contrast, the stronger propensity for Welsh amongst the populace was highlighted by Gerald of Wales, who stated the language was 'preferable' in Northern Wales as there were fewer foreigners.[29] This suggests it was predominantly the elite in urban centres who assimilated to the invading language, rather than the entire populace, highlighting the class differences. However, in Ireland the opposite was apparent, as demonstrated by English settlers' acquisition of Gaelic. Doyle noted this gradual conformation to the established language was also seen in the Norman assimilation to English.[30] Amongst the Irish elite, the languages of English and Norman-French were largely relegated to administrative use, with vast amounts of translated material suggesting the elite did not view acquisition as a necessary step, as was seen in Wales, highlighting the Norman-Irish populace were more linguistically integrated.[31] Bartlett expanded on this, suggesting some Norman landholders in Ireland had entirely immigrant entourages, with this distinct grouping not indicative of elite blending.[32] Elite disapproval of linguistic integration was demonstrated by the *Statute of Kilkenny*, which banned Englishmen from using 'the Irish language', threatening to 'attaint' and seize lands if they refused to comply.[33] This stark divide supports the idea class was the greatest differentiator, and that the Norman-Welsh elite, and Norman-Irish populace were more linguistically integrated.

Geographic factors also differentiated integration in class terms. Considering the shared border, the Norman-Welsh elite were likely more assimilated compared to Ireland, where the permanent settlers

[26] Janet Davies, *The Welsh Language: A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014) p. 25.
[27] *Ibid*.
[28] Jones, *Language Obsolescence and Revitalization*, p. 7.
[29] Gerald of Wales, *The Description of Wales*, p. 231.
[30] Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language*, p. 17.
[31] Peter Trudgill, *Language in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p. 12; Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language*, p. 17.
[32] Bartlett, `Colonial Aristocracies', p. 29.
[33] *A Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III*, pp. 12-3.

integrated further. This is supported by Judith Green, who argued elite Normans often crossed the Welsh border, for instance William I travelling to Cardiff, highlighting their interactions despite the animosity.[34] While towns were rare in pre-conquest Wales, Harold Carter and Marjorie Chibnall argued the Normans used sites with traditions of local capitals to form urban centres, suggesting a certain level of communication.[35] This conforms to R. Griffiths's argument Welsh rulers encouraged urban development, as shown by the growth of Pwllhelo and Tywyn.[36] Additionally, Edward I's brutal destruction of the Aberconwy Abbey commemorating Welsh heritage, and its replacement with a Norman castle-town forged a clear link between Welsh rulers and Norman conquerors, emphasising the forced integration.[37] Conversely, the locals were made outsiders in Norman-Welsh towns, corresponding to the view that the Welsh elite were integrated to a greater extent.[38] This is supported by the persisting debate in the 1530s as to whether the populace should be granted full English citizenship rights.[39] However, due to the conquest speed and separation of Ireland, elite integration was not achieved to the same extent as in Wales or amongst the Irish populace, with the separation from 'civilised' peoples used as a key justification for conquest.[40] For instance, schemes of migration paying English peasants to develop the landscape arguably resulted in increased assimilation to Irish culture. This is supported by Doyle, who argued 'large numbers' of settlers remained permanently, as shown by an increase in Norman names such as Richard and Matilda.[41] The *Statute of Kilkenny* demonstrates this elite disapproval, noting English settlers had adopted visible Irish mannerisms including fashion and method of riding, resulting in the decree that every Englishman must 'use the English custom'.[42] This demonstrates a clear class difference between Wales and Ireland.

Overall, integration differed between the Normans, and the Welsh and Irish, predominantly due to a class divide. This affected politics, technology and culture, with the Norman-Welsh elite and the Norman-Irish populace integrating more successfully than their opposing classes. Although national identity was complex in this epoch and this view cannot be considered completely uniform, evidence

---

[34] Judith Ann Green, 'Power and Statebuilding in the Anglo-Norman World: An Overview', *Tabularia* (2020) pp. 1-19 (p. 10); A. G. Williams, 'Norman Lordship in South-East Wales During the Reign of William I', *Welsh History Review/Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, Vol. 16 (1993) 445-466 (p. 448).
[35] Harold Carter, *The Towns of Wales, A Study in Urban Geography* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1965) p. 20; Marjorie Chibnall, *The Normans* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000) p. 67.
[36] R. A. Griffiths, 'Wales and the Marches', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. 1: 600-1540*, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp. 681-715 (pp. 681-714).
[37] Nicola Coldstream, 'Architects, Advisors and Design at Edward I's Castles in Wales', in *Late Medieval Castles*, ed. by Robert Liddiard (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016) pp. 41-61 (p. 53).
[38] Peter Borsay and others., 'Introduction: Wales, a new agenda for urban history', *Urban History*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2005) pp. 5-16 (p. 6).
[39] R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p. 114.
[40] 'Four letters from the popes concerning the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland', in *English Historical Documents, 1042-1189*, ed. by David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953) pp. 776-80 (p. 777).
[41] Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language*, p. 14.
[42] *A Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III*, pp. 13.

including the *Statutes of Wales* and *Kilkenny* indicate the overall elite approaches and reactions to this integration. Additionally, while the historiography surrounding this subject has changed with as perceptions of colonisation has shifted, the support for class as a significant differentiator has largely remained. For instance, Goddard Orpen, writing in 1914, argued that Norman integration through feudalism was 'beneficial' to the Irish populace, and prompted greater integration between the settlers compared to the elite.[43] While modern historians largely reject this narrative, with Francis West examining the violence in the forced Norman-Welsh elite integration, the class argument is still consistently supported.[44] Therefore, as the Norman-Welsh elite were tied together through factors including intermarriage, military technology and politics, and the Norman-Irish populace shared a language and customs, class was the greatest differentiating factor in their integration with the Normans.

[43] Goddard H. Orpen, 'The Effects of Norman Rule in Ireland, 1169-1333', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1914) pp. 245-256 (pp. 245-9).
[44] Francis James West, 'The Colonial History of the Norman Conquest?', *History*, Vol. 84, No. 274 (1999) p. 219-236 (p. 229).

Bibliography

Primary

A Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III., enacted in a parliament held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, before Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ed. Hardiman, James (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1843)

Bergin, Osborn, *Irish Bardic Poetry*, eds. Greene, David, and Kelly, Fergus (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1970)

'Four letters from the popes concerning the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland', in *English Historical Documents, 1042-1189*, eds. Douglas, David C., and Greenaway, George W., (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953) pp. 776-80

Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland: Part 3*, trans. O'Meara, John J., (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982)

Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. Thorpe, Lewis, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978)

The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland/La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande, ed. and trans. Mullally, Evelyn (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002) pp. 53-141

'The Statute of Wales, 1284', in *English Historical Documents iii: 1189-1327*, trans. Rothwell, Harry (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1975) pp. 422-7

Secondary

Bartlett, Robert, `Colonial Aristocracies', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Bartlett, Robert, and Mackay, Angus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)

Borsay, Peter, and others., 'Introduction: Wales, a new agenda for urban history', *Urban History*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2005) pp. 5-16

Breathnach Lynch, Síghle, 'Imaging the past: The Marriage of Strongbow and Aoife', *The Irish Review (Cork)*, No. 29 (2002) pp. 95-104

Byrne, Aisling, *Gerald of Wales, The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain* (2017) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/9781118396957.wbemlb239> [Accessed 20 February 2021]

Carter, Howard, *The Towns of Wales, A Study in Urban Geography* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1965)

Chibnall, Marjorie, *The Normans* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000)

Coldstream, Nicola, 'Architects, Advisors and Design at Edward I's Castles in Wales', in *Late Medieval Castles*, ed. Liddiard, Robert (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016) pp. 41-61

Cosgrove, Art, *Medieval Ireland, A New History of Ireland,* Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)

Davies, Janet, *The Welsh Language: A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014)

Davies, R. R., *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Davies, R. R., *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Doyle, Aidan, *A History of the Irish Language: from the Norman invasion to independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

Flanagan, Marie Therese, 'Irish and Anglo-Norman warfare in twelfth-century Ireland', in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. by Bartlett, Thomas, and Jeffery, Keith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp. 52-76

Frame, Robin, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012)

Green, Judith Ann, 'Power and Statebuilding in the Anglo-Norman World: An Overview', *Tabularia* (2020) pp. 1-19

Griffiths, R. A., 'Wales and the Marches', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. 1: 600-1540*, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp. 681-715

Jones, Mari C., *Language Obsolescence and Revitalization: Linguistic Change in Two Socio-linguistically Contrasting Welsh Communities* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)

Kenyon, John R., *The Medieval Castles of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010)

Maple, John T., 'Anglo-Norman Conquest of Ireland and the Irish Economy: Stagnation or Stimulation?', *The Historian*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (1989) pp. 61-81

Orpen, Goddard H., 'The Effects of Norman Rule in Ireland, 1169-1333', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1914) pp. 245-256

Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland* (London: E. Benn, 1968)

Simms, Katharine, 'Bards and Barons: The Anglo-Irish Aristocracy and the Native Culture', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Bartlett, Robert and Mackay, Angus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)

Stephenson, David, *Medieval Wales, c. 1050-1332: Centuries of Ambiguity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019)

Suppe, Frederick C., *Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches, Shropshire, AD 1066-1300* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994)

Trudgill, Peter, *Language in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)

West, Francis James, 'The Colonial History of the Norman Conquest?', *History*, Vol. 84, No. 274 (1999) p. 219-236

Williams, A. G., 'Norman Lordship in South-East Wales During the Reign of William I', *Welsh History Review/Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, Vol. 16 (1993) pp. 445-466

Identifying the Influence of Emerging Ideas of Modernity on Early Twentieth-Century Art in Vienna

Luke Roberts

Abstract: *At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries, Vienna, as a city rapidly divorcing traditional monarchism, became prominent as a breeding-ground for modern ideology which manifested largely through its competency for producing fine artists. This article uses a study of Austrian modern ideas such as Women's liberation, Freudian science and social inclusivity, to highlight the irrefutable parallels between modernism and fin-de-siecle art, concluding that the latter was undeniably derived from the influence of the former. This situates the emergence of new styles of artwork in early twentieth-century Vienna, notably in Gustav Klimt's aestheticism and Egon Schiele's expressionism, as deliberate social expressions of fin-de-siecle politics and ideology at a time when the city was transitioning from monarchical conservatism to middle-class liberalism. By integrating traditional and contemporary criticisms of such works, specifically that of the Vienna Secession, and taking criticism as a defining quality of modernism, this article further argues that Austrian fin-de-siecle artwork existed as an expression of modernity as well as a reaction to it; thriving in the unique moral culture which modernism left behind.*

Following the decline of the Habsburg empire, the mass migration of Jews to Vienna from 1867 and the beginning of a new century, twentieth century Vienna was a city that sought to redefine itself with new ideas of modernity: the quality or condition of being modern. Art in *fin-de-siecle* Vienna, especially that of the Vienna Secession, was a visible and deliberate embodiment of these new and modern ideals, defining Viennese modern art in the era as a product of modernity. An exploration of Viennese society's modern and liberal ideas in politics, notably the changing social position of women, followed by a study of the emerging modern science surrounding the mind, and a look at the contemporary aims of the artists, as presented by playwright Hermann Bahr, best illustrates the irrefutable parallels between modernity and art in the period. However, drawing from convincing aspects of contemporary criticisms of Viennese art, it can also be credibly argued that modernist art in the period was, as well as being a part of society's modernizing social climate, a response to it, thriving in the 'moral crisis' that society's modern liberal progression produced. A specific exploration of modern reflections within the art of Klimt, Schiele and Kokoschka concludes a distinct relationship with Vienna's modern ideology, with recent historiography accurately contextualising these artists within the broader social climate. Challenges to the argument, which attempt to discredit art's 'modern' qualities as perverse, can be found mainly from contemporary historiography originating from representatives of the old and conservative generation who opposed all forms of progressivism, and are largely insufficient in discrediting the argument.

Art at the turn of the century, as a visible form of expression, pioneered the movement of the old Vienna towards its new identity as a vibrant and modern city, and thus can be seen to express liberal political ideas, more specifically, the changing socio-political position of women. The desire to improve the social and political position of Viennese women, which was expressed in the art of the Vienna Secession (a modern art movement), was symptomatic of a modernizing society and therefore supports the argument that art at this time was a product of modernity. As Schorske argued, in the late 19th century, 'Vienna looked as though it might make the transition from an aristocratic, monarchical conservatism to middle-class liberalism', and yet the free-market crash and depression as well as the paralysation of parliament by ethnic hatred, postponed this transition, causing society's repressed desire for political liberalism to emerge in alternative extra-parliamentary mediums, such as art, in the early twentieth century.[1] At the turn of the century, the Women's movement (which was already so numerous in its demonstrations) sought a more radical stance which focussed on changing the embedded ideological prejudices which produced the gender inequality in politics.[2] This change in direction, a side-effect of modern society, was spear-headed by the General Austrian Women's Association, founded in 1892, which spread the new approach (of attacking the ideological roots of the issue) through a series of magazine publications. These included discussions of human anatomy and sexual identity, which were published in the '*Das Recht Der Frau. Organ für die modern Frauenbewegung',* a supplement to the paper of the small Democratic party from 1893 as well as *Die Frauenbewegung* in 1898.[3] It was these emerging ideas, reenforced as 'modern' and 'democratic' by their newspaper affiliations, which were present in the art of the Vienna Secession. *Die Frauenbewegung* editor Marie Lang was 'a great admirer of the Vienna Secession' and 'had contacts with artists such as […] Gustav Klimt, Adolf Loss, Alfred Roller and Gustav Mahler', and therefore it seems likely that modern feminist messages were deliberately expressed in art, especially that of Klimt, supporting the argument that art was a product of new modern ideas.[4] The works of Klimt which can be seen to portray this modern liberal message include '*Judith'* (1901, *see figure 1*) and *'Danae'* (1907, *figure 2*), which depict nude women, displaying women as proud and beautiful in their independence and sensuality, rather than in their conformation to maternal duties. Egon Schiele's 'seated female nude' from 1910 (*figure 3)* served the same purpose, while Oskar Kokoschka's poster for his drama 'Murder, Women's Hope' (*figure 4)* in 1909 depicts a more radical message, showing 'womanhood' to prevail over 'manhood' in a battle of the sexes- having drawn influence from the book *The Matriarchy*.[5] It is thus that, as Whalen argues,

[1] Robert Wheldon Whalen, '*Sacred spring: God and Birth of Modernism in Fin de Siecle Vienna',* (William B Eerdmans Publishing: Cambridge, 2007) p.17.
[2] Harriet Anderson, '*Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in Fin-de-Siecle Vienna'*, (Yale University Press: London, 1992) p.39.
[3] Ibid. p.43.
[4] Ibid. p.46.
[5] Christian Branstätter, '*Vienna 1900: Art, Life and Culture',* (Vendome Press: New York, 2006) p.138.

'Vienna's artistic experiments were efforts to comprehend, articulate, and direct [an] "outbreak of the Modern"', as seen in liberal politics, and therefore were a product of modernity. [6]

Just as modern twentieth century Vienna sought to be defined from the city's interior, rather than its external position in the empire, the focus of the individual also shifted inward. The new and modern ideas about the mind, pioneered by the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have become synonymous with modernity and were found abundantly in the work of Viennese *fin de siècle* artists, further supporting the argument that they were a product of the 'modern' world. Freud's early books, *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1899 and *The Psychopathy of Everyday Life* in 1904, placed a new focus on the unconscious mind and the importance of dreams as a representation of the mind's subconscious desires, which were largely erotic. This revolution in thought, explaining the mind's erotic desires, 'finally spread to the arts and architecture' in the new century and subsequently arose in the works of the Vienna secession, notably in Klimt.[7] As Schorske argued, Klimt's 'enterprise as an artistic explorer [was] not dissimilar' to Freud's making of *The Interpretation of Dreams,* and subsequently Klimt's style (not too far from the traditional art nouveau), started to 'use classical symbols to serve as a metaphorical bridge to the excavation of the instinctual, especially of erotic life' in attempt to 'show the modern man his true face' as outlined by Freud. [8] The classical aspects of Klimt's paintings, and the subtlety of the nudity, represented the subconscious' desires hiding beneath the intellectual mind, supporting Freud's modern science. This was apparent in many of Klimt's works, such as '*Goldfish'* in 1901 (*fig. 5)* and '*Water Serpents II'* in 1907 (*fig. 6),* where the art nouveau style was intertwined with eroticism and subtle nudity, creating a visual representation of Freud's modern theories. As historian Michael Roth argues, art's purpose confirms a deliberate connection, as art seeks to depict power and meaning, of which the psyche had become the most prevalent form (as a result of the publicity of Freud's scientific theories).[9] The depiction of Freudianism, and thus modernity, in art extended beyond the Vienna Secession, and into the early stages of expressionism, notably through Kokoschka's artistic exploration of dreams and inner emotion. As modern art historian Rosa Berland argues, 'Kokoschka's early painting is characterised by the play of iconographic dissemblance [and] kinetic use of colour' which 'like the process of dreaming, […] reflects displaced emotion' and thus visually depicts the emerging modern explorations of Freud.[10] It was thus that both 'Sigmund Freud and Oskar Kokoschka were involved in analogous projects' both 'exploring the terrain of the human

[6] Whalen, *'Sacred Spring',* p17.
[7] Carl Schorske, '*Fin-De-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture',* (Alfred A. Knopf Inc: New York, 1980), p.213.
[8] Ibid. p.208, p.223, and p.215.
[9] Michael S. Roth, *'Performing History: Modernist Contextualism in Carl Schorske's Fin-de-Siecle Vienna',* The American Historical Review, Vol,99, No.3 (1994) pp.729-745, p.732.
[10] Rosa Berland, '*The Early Portraits of Oskar Kokoschka: A Narrative of Inner Life',* Image [&] Narrative, Vol.18, (2007).

mind' and both expressing modernity.[11] This characterised itself, in practice, as an 'impressionist technique with distortion of colour and form' which emphasised a more psychological focus, as the viewer was forced to interpret the paintings rather than merely perceive them.[12] This was evident in Kokoschka's 1909 portrait of actor Ernst Reinhold (*fig. 7)*, whereby the distortion of the hands and the 'abstracted atmospheric background […] functions as a visual metaphor for the illusory world of inner life'.[13] Without the explorations of Freud, which recent historiography agrees to be 'modern', Kokoschka's exploratory works would cease to exist, and it is in this way that both art of the Vienna Secession, and early expressionism, can further be seen to be a product of modernity.

However, modern historian Stephen Beller argued that Viennese modern art, such as that of the Vienna Secession and expressionism, and all 'culture that called itself "modern"', had 'a far less straightforward relationship to what we usually regard as "modern"' than recent historiography tends to argue.[14] Beller used contemporary historiography to suggest that art in early twentieth century Vienna was not a direct product of truly 'modern' ideas, but rather a response to the social climate, and 'moral crisis' that modernization left behind. While he acknowledges the extremity of early contemporary critics' views, such as that of Otto Weininger and Hugo Ganz, he also acknowledges the benefits to modern arguments of analysing this art against critical views of 'modernity'. Although the argument has some weight, it is insufficient in discrediting the view that art in the era was a product of the modern. Hugo Ganz, a liberal Jewish journalist and critic of modernity, argued that the art of the new century could not be modern, or a product of modernity, as it was not progressive; it did not make one cleverer, stronger or 'increase the circle of people who could partake of the achievements of civilization', and therefore did not qualify as 'modern' in the 'generally accepted sense of that term'.[15] He argued that art of the era was reactionary, rather than progressive or 'modern', as it reduced inclusivity 'in favour of a small, privileged elite' and lured people 'away from the path of reason and science in order to deliver it to "dark, atavistic urges"'.[16] It is thus that Ganz concluded that art was associated with modernism only because 'a gang of people' (The Vienna Secession) 'simultaneously declare[d] that 'we' the tired, the delirious, are the moderns', 'an advantageous trademark' which was inaccurate in its description.[17] As for the artworks themselves, they were 'subjective to the extreme', 'incomprehensible' and 'attempted[ed] to destroy the distinction between "lady and whore"'.[18] The view of the traditional anti-modernist was exemplified by the response of conservative intellectuals to 'The Klimt Affair' of 1907,

[11] Rosa Berland, '*The Exploration of Dreams: Kokoschka's "Die Träumenden Knaben" and Freud',* The University of Chicago Press Journals, Vol.27, No.2/3 (2008).
[12] Berland, '*The Early Portraits of Oskar Kokoschka'.*
[13] Ibid.
[14] Steven Beller, *'How Modern was Viennese Modernism? The Historical Context of Otto Weininger's Critique of Modernity',* German Politics & Society, Vol. 14, No.4 (1996), pp.83-98, p.85.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.

whereby Klimt's commissioned ceiling paintings for the University of Vienna, titled *Philosophy, Medicine* and *Jurisprudence,* were rejected and branded as perverse and pornographic. However, the modern perspective can contextualise the paintings within the women's liberation movement, perceiving these paintings as having a similar style and purpose to *Goldfish* and *Water Serpents II* (Painted at the same time as the ceiling murals), serving to reflect the views of Marie Lang and the Women's association. While Beller acknowledges these criticisms as views of old-fashioned, traditional conservatives, who opposed all things modern, and that no modernization occurred without controversy, he argues that nonetheless 'the possibility of a sort of connection of "reactionary modernism", has been amply illustrated'.[19] He concluded that, the view of Ganz and his objective analysis of the term 'modern', was valid '*as a description'* leaving '" modernism" in art looking not very "modern"', and more like a reaction to modernism.[20] This seems plausible when applied to the work of Schiele and expressionism, which followed Klimt and aestheticism, showing less subtlety and more vulgarity- perhaps as a rection to a 'pervasive moral […] crisis in European culture' left behind by the Vienna Secession's genuine expression of modernity.[21] As previously argued, the modern perspective benefits from contextualising the work of these artists within a broader social and political climate in Vienna and can draw conclusive ties between modernity (such as increasing liberal politics and increased knowledge of psychology) and the work of Vienna Secession artists, even highlighting personal relationships between the disciplines. Therefore, while the arguments of Luft and Beller are convincing, they do not discredit Viennese modern art's 'modern' qualities, affording me the interpretation that art existed as a part of increasing modernism, but *also* as a response to it, thriving in the environment which modernisation left behind.

In opposition to the view of Ganz, early twentieth century playwright Hermann Bahr (supported by modern historians Wieber and Whalen) outlined the intentions of the Vienna Secession which further supported its position as a product of modernity. Bahr argued that the existence of modern art as a challenge to tradition further defined it as modern, a term which he defined as all that 'exists since the collapse of individualism. Everything that is not yet, but will be'.[22] Unlike Ganz, Bahr argued modern art to be progressive and inclusive, explaining the work of the Vienna Secession's 'central role in developing and disseminating Art Nouveau as a counter-force to official academicism and bourgeois conservatism' and thus making art accessible to all and pioneering 'the transformation of society by art'.[23] The contemporary criticisms and backlash from the Klimt affair therefore did not challenge the modern credentials of Klimt and the Secession's work, as all things that 'express[ed] best what it meant to be modern were often manifested in ways that challenged or reconfigured relationships between old

[19] Ibid. p.89.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Whalen, *Sacred Spring,* p.17.
[22] Hermann Bahr, in Whalen, *Sacred Spring*, p.265.
[23] Ibid.

and new', and thus faced backlash from the 'old'.[24] As I interpret it, controversy and resistance were therefore characterising features of modernity and further embed the view that Viennese modern art in the early twentieth century was distinctly a product of modern ideology. I find the work of the Vienna Secession's graphic artist Kolomon Moser, and his co-foundation of the Wiener Werkstätte in 1903, which brought graphic design art into all aspects of life (fashion, interior design, jewellery, postcards etc.), to support Bahr's interpretation of modern art as inclusive, progressive and therefore modern. I perceive the simplification of style, compared to art nouveau, in Moser's work (as seen in his illustration 'Early Spring' from 1901, *fig. 8*) to abolish the need for academic interpretation and thus increase the inclusivity of art, a defining quality in Ganz's definition of modernity.

In conclusion, art in *fin-de-siecle* Vienna was the most visual representation of modernity, with the study of the Vienna Secession, Kilmt, Schiele and Kokoschka illustrating best the integrations of Vienna's modern ideas into art. The artwork of these artists used initially subtle developments on the traditional art nouveau style to deliberately articulate modern ideologies of which they were in favour. This was seen through their relationships with and reflections of other modernist kingpins such as Hermann Bahr, Marie Lang and Sigmund Freud. The aims of the contemporary artists, combined with their criticisms, help to define the artworks as a product of the modern as they served to increase inclusivity and accessibility to art as well as demonstrating a break with the old. Drawing from contemporary criticisms, the continual development of Viennese modern art in the twentieth century, from an aesthetic twist on art nouveau (as in Klimt) to bold expressionism (as in Kokoschka and Schiele) characterised it also as a *response* to modernism and its subsequent 'moral crisis' but fails to discredit it as a product of modernity.

[24] Sabine Wieber, '*Reviewed Work: Vienna: City of Modernity, 1890-1914 by Tag Gronberg, Peter Lang',* Journal of Design History, Vol.22, No.2 (2009) pp.183-185, p.185.

Appendix



Figure 1., Klimt, *Judith I*, 1901
https://www.gustav-klimt.com/Judith-and-the-Head-of-Holofernes.jsp



Figure 2., Klimt, *Danae, 1907*
https://www.gustav-klimt.com/Danae.jsp



Figure 3., Schiele, *Seated Female Nude*, 1910
https://www.gustav-klimt.com/Danae.jsp



Figure 4., Kokoschka, *Poster for "Murder, A Woman's Hope"*, 1909
http://weimarart.blogspot.com/2010/06/murderer-hope-of-women.html

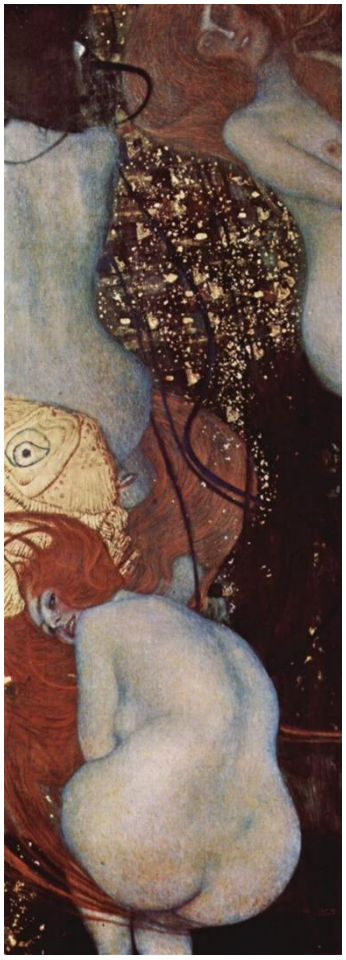


Figure 5., Klimt, *Goldfish*, 1902
http://www.gustavklimt.net/goldfish/

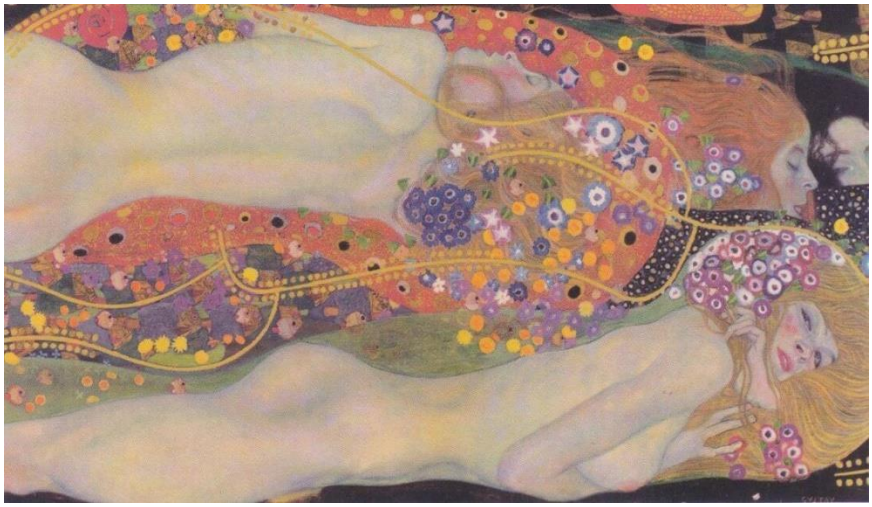


Figure 6., Klimt, *Water Serpents* II, 1907 https://www.gustav-klimt.com/Serpents.jsp



Figure 7., Kokoschka, *The Trance Player. Portrait of Ernst Reinhold*, 1909
https://www.fine-arts-museum.be/en/news/masterpiece-by-oskar-kokoschka-restored



Figure 8., Moser, *Early Spring*, 1909
https://aestronauts.com/post/117021414870/koloman-moser-early-spring

Bibliography

Secondary

Anderson, Harriet., '*Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in Fin-de-Siecle Vienna'*, (Yale University Press: London, 1992)

Beller, Steven., *'How Modern was Viennese Modernism? The Historical Context of Otto Weininger's Critique of Modernity',* German Politics & Society, Vol. 14, No.4 (1996), pp.83-98

Berland, Rosa., '*The Early Portraits of Oskar Kokoschka: A Narrative of Inner Life',* Image [&] Narrative, Vol.18, (2007) accessed via http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/thinking_pictures/berland.htm (14/01/21)

Berland, Rosa., '*The Exploration of Dreams: Kokoschka's "Die Träumenden Knaben" and Freud',* The University of Chicago Press Journals, Vol.27, No.2/3 (2008)

Branstätter, Christian., '*Vienna 1900: Art, Life and Culture',* (Vendome Press: New York, 2006)

Roth, Michael S., *'Performing History: Modernist Contextualism in Carl Schorske's Fin-de-Siecle Vienna',* The American Historical Review, Vol,99, No.3 (1994) pp.729-745

Schorske, Carl., '*Fin-De-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture',* (Alfred A. Knopf Inc: New York, 1980)

Whalen, Robert W., '*Sacred spring: God and Birth of Modernism in Fin de Siecle Vienna',* (William B Eerdmans Publishing: Cambridge, 2007)

Wieber, Sabine., '*Reviewed Work: Vienna: City of Modernity, 1890-1914 by Tag Gronberg, Peter Lang',* Journal of Design History, Vol.22, No.2 (2009) pp.183-185

‘The Squatter’: Ann Hicks and Victorian Attitudes Towards the Poor

Megan Sheridan

Abstract: *In July, 1851,* The Times *introduced readers to a curious case in the paper’s police blotter, in which a resident of Hyde Park, Ann Hicks had been turned out and fell into destitution. Hicks, a working-class mother, had long sold refreshments in the park, which was otherwise only accessible by the upper class. Her story sparked a large amount of debate, held through the public arenas of the press and the halls of Parliament, and the private correspondence between those in charge of running Hyde Park. This article seeks to examine the implications of Hicks’ case in understanding how Victorian ideas of respectability both informed and were re-emphasised by public debates over the working-class.*

The July 17, 1851, issue of *The Times* introduced readers to a curious case originating in the paper’s police blotter. Ann Hicks had lived in a house in Hyde Park for several years, selling refreshments to the park’s visitors. In November 1850, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests pulled her house down and stopped her from selling her wares. The following July, she was arrested after she attempted to sell again in Hyde Park, which was illegal due to proximity to the Crystal Palace. The case became well-known, drawing opinion pieces and donations, before vanishing from public discourse mere months later in September. Ann Hicks proves a complicated case to pin down: a female, working-class breadwinning mother in a husband-wife household who lived and worked among the elite. This article begins with a discussion of current debates within the field of Victorian Studies regarding source bases. It then examines how ideas around working-class respectability were perpetuated in the House of Commons and in newspapers. It then analyzes how newspapers, especially the *Times*, crafted and maintained a public narrative through the publication of letters and charitable donations. Following this is a discussion on Hicks’ position among the other occupants of Hyde Park, and how her relationships with and utility to the elite affected her perception. Lastly, the context of the Great Exhibition is considered in relation to the case. Through the use of newspapers, letters, and Hansard extracts, this research seeks to establish how Victorian ideas of respectability both informed and were re-emphasised by public debates over the working-class.

In a broad critique of Victorian Studies as a discipline, historian Peter K. Andersson notes how a wide reliance on published sources dims the voices of certain groups, specifically noting how ‘Plebeian women were seldom given a voice in Victorian society; sadly, the same goes for Victorian Studies’.[1] The case of Ann Hicks is significant because it includes sources directly from the subject, a member of this underrepresented group. Though the letters may not have been written by Hicks, the words are hers. Andersson’s article resulted in a number of responses, organized into a roundtable in

[1] Peter K. Andersson, ‘How Civilized Were the Victorians?’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 20 (2015), 439-452 (p. 442).

the *Journal of Victorian Culture*. In reply to Andersson's article, Susie Steinbach roundly disagrees with Andersson's critique, arguing that he overemphasizes the role of certain approaches, sources, and areas of study. She suggests aiming for a '*multi*disciplinary — not *inter*disciplinary — Victorian Studies'.[23] The other scholarly responders agree with much of Andersson's main points, but disagree on a few key points. Oliver Betts and Mike Huggins both point out the opportunity for new avenues of research because of recent digitization of archives.[4] Huggins specifically notes how the new availability of newspaper sources allow for 'fresh data and new perspectives'.[5] Sophie Franklin and Jim Cheshire both argue that classic literary sources are of use to historians, the former explaining that these sources actually provide a wide range of perspectives and the latter advocating the potential for new approaches.[6] Not fully articulated by any of Andersson's critics, however, is his overgeneralization of so-called 'sources that were produced for the purpose of being read or seen by others'.[7] Andersson portrays these sources as driving an oversimplified historical understanding of Victorian civility, but he misses the nuances in the intentions between, for example, newspapers and fictional works of literature. Andersson refers to the authors of these sources as '"Victorians on their best behavior"'.[8] This essay seeks to explore this dynamic in one case study, examining how Victorians understood and debated the case of Ann Hicks through various newspapers, where they were on their best behavior — and, briefly, when they were not, as in the case of Lord Seymour and Duke of Wellington's private correspondence.

Victorian attitudes towards the poor were constructed via notions of respectability. Contemporary social reformer Henry Mayhew categorized London's poor into 'THOSE THAT WILL WORK/ THOSE THAT CANNOT WORK, AND/ THOSE THAT WILL NOT WORK'.[9] On one hand: the respectable, *deserving* poor, who make or attempt to make an honest living; on the other, the *undeserving* poor, who take advantage of the public and turn to crime or public relief instead of working. Steinbach argues that 'Respectable or not was probably the most important social distinction in the working-class society'.[10] In response to a question regarding Hicks' case in the House of Commons, Lord Seymour, the First Commissioner of the Woods and Forests and thus a leading authority over Hyde Park, argued that Hicks had built her residence through deception, taking advantage of the

[2] Susie Steinbach, 'Who Owns the Victorians?', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 89-98 (p. 96).
[3] Emphasis Steinbach's.
[4] Oliver Betts, 'Sharing a Cab with Mr Pooter: A Reply to Peter K. Andersson's "How Civilized Were the Victorians?"' *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 59-68.
[5] Mike Huggins, 'Exploring the Backstage of Victorian Respectability', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 81-88 (87).
[6] Sophie Franklin, 'Beyond the Civilizing Process: A Response to Peter K. Andersson's "How Civilized Were the Victorians?"', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 105-114 (p. 109). and Jim Cheshire, 'Material Culture and the "Backstage": A Response to Peter K. Andersson's "How Civilized Were the Victorians?"', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 69-80 (p. 69).
[7] Andersson, p. 445.
[8] Andersson, p. 452.
[9] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Company, 1861), I.
[10] Steinbach, p. 94.

Commissioners and adding to her house despite previously being told she was not allowed to live in the park.[11] His narrative of her case was mocking; at several points throughout his testimony, the *Times* details laughter as he comically detailed how she misrepresented herself to the Commissioners in order to improve her house.[12] In doing so, he painted Hicks as an untrustworthy trespasser. In addition, he emphasised the 'frequent disputes' with and 'noise and abuse' she exhibited towards park authorities.[13] Seymour gave this testimony less than two weeks after the first newspaper article on Hicks appeared, and tried to frame the narrative around the idea of Hicks as untrustworthy and difficult. When presenting her case later that summer in the House of Commons, Colonel Sibthorp, who had previously been an opponent to measures that would change Hyde Park, tried to influence this depiction by noting that there had never been 'the slightest imputation on her character', calling her a 'respectable female'.[14] In response to Sibthrop's testimony, Seymour reiterated his argument that Hicks was a liar, stating that 'She had got into the park by means of deception'. In public, Seymour tried to tarnish her reputation by employing societal understandings of respectability. His moralizing language, however, ceased behind closed doors, where correspondence between him and the Duke of Wellington, who was also the Ranger of Hyde Park, that discussed Hicks remained cool and impersonal. In one letter, Seymour announces that 'the encroachment to Hyde Park has now ceased'.[15] The Duke's notes summarize the memo: 'Announces the Departure of the Squatter'.[16] This language suggests that Hicks presented largely as a nuisance. Neither the letter nor the Duke's notes mention her by name. The depersonalisation of calling her "encroachment" and "squatter" is particularly significant given the difference between Seymour's public and private depictions of Hicks.

This conflict was reflected in the public debate surrounding Ann Hicks that filled papers through much of the summer of 1851. Though the public first learned of Ann Hicks through the *Times* police blotter, the circumstances of her destitution made for a largely sympathetic public narrative. From the first presentation of her story, the *Times* maintained that Hicks was a respectable person who fell victim to unfair terms. The initial article in the police blotter emphasized her 'good character' and explained that she had fallen into difficulty after her house was pulled down without compensation. It

[11] House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (29 July 1851, vol. 118, cols. 1680-1683) <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1851/jul/29/case-of-ann-hicks> [accessed 13 November 2021].
[12] 'House of Commons, Tuesday, July 29', *The Times*, 30 July 1851, p. 2, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 9 November 2021].
[13] House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (29 July 1851, vol. 118, cols. 1680-1683) <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1851/jul/29/case-of-ann-hicks> [accessed 13 November 2021].
[14] 'House of Commons, Thursday, August 7', *The Times*, 8 August 1851, p. 3, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 9 November 2021].
[15] MS61/WP2/257/48. Hartley Library Archives letters drawn from Wellington papers. Lord Seymour to the Duke of Wellington, 13 November 1850.
[16] MS61/WP2/257/48. Hartley Library Archives letters drawn from Wellington papers. Lord Seymour to the Duke of Wellington, 13 November 1850.

then described the reason for the criminal charge: 'In the extremity of her distress, finding her money all gone, and starvation staring her in the face, she got a basket and a few cakes, hoping to be able to sell them among her former customers', illegal due to proximity to the Great Exhibition.[17] Here, the blame for the situation falls on the authority that removed Ann Hicks from the park, and her crime is depicted as punishment for an attempt at making an honest living. Hicks' case also drew sympathy because of her need to provide for her family, the *Times* article asking, 'What was she to do to support herself and her child?'[18] In a letter to the *Times*, Ann Hicks tried to counteract Seymour's narrative in her opening sentence by assuring readers that 'I have ever told the truth as far as I know facts'.[19] In addition, she tried to draw sympathy for her condition in the same way that *The Times* had. In a letter to London's *Daily News*, Hicks described herself as 'the mother of a large family' and her husband as 'an ailing, aged man— not even able to support himself'.[20] These extracts show that Hicks had an awareness of the public debate around her livelihood, and that she too used ideas of respectability to influence it.

Other publications followed *The Times*' characterisation of Hicks: one correspondent to *John Bull* described her as 'a deserving body, whose character stood well with the public'.[21] The *Times* maintained some sense of impartiality through the publication of a series of letters to the editor of the *Times* from 'P.' and 'INCREDULUS [sic]'. INCREDULUS responded to news of P.'s donation to Hicks, arguing that no one in the press had checked to see whether she was '"a decent, quiet woman"', urging the public to ask public authorities '*what manner of woman she was, and why she was turned out*'.[22][23] The writer's focus on the "manner" of person Hicks reflects Seymour's argument that Hicks' might conceal her true status as an unrespectable person, and that she should not be trusted. P. wrote back, saying that though the public's generosity could sometimes be misplaced, it has 'many a time snatched from despair deserving persons'.[24] In response, INCREDULUS again suggested an inquiry into Hicks' background in order to make sure their generosity is going to 'worthy objects'.[25] Again, this

[17] 'Police', *The Times*, 17 July 1851, p. 7, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 9 November 2021].
[18] 'Police', *The Times*, 17 July 1851, p. 7, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 9 November 2021].
[19] Ann Hicks, 'THE CASE OF MRS. HICKS', *The Times*, 21 July 1851, p. 6, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[20] Ann Hicks, 'ANN HICKS', *Daily News*, 9 August 1851, p. 3, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].
[21] 'THE CRYSTAL PALACE AND THE APPLE-STALL', *John Bull*, 21 July 1851, p. 9, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].
[22] INCREDULUS, 'Ann Hicks', *The Times*, 26 July 1851, p. 3, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[23] Emphasis given by INCREDULUS.
[24] P., 'Ann Hicks vs INCREDULUS', *The Times*, 26 July 1851, p. 6, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[25] INCREDULUS, 'To The Editor Of The Times', 30 July 1851, p. 8, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].

debate was not whether assistance should be given to the poor, but how to decide which of the poor deserve sympathy. Despite INCREDULUS' questions, however, the *Times* ensured that their characterisation of Hicks remained steadfast. The paper's editor added an addendum at the end of the last letter stating that 'We are bound to state that we have received unquestionable testimony to the good character of Mrs. Hicks'.[26] This effectively maintained a show of impartiality while rendering one side of the debate null.

In addition to letters, the news of charitable donations to Hicks influenced the public narrative. The Marlborough-Street section of one July *Times* police blotter details that 'The magistrate has received the following further subscriptions for Ann Hicks: — "A.B.," 10s.; "F.W.," 10s.; "J.E.H.Z.," 3l.; and a 5l.-note'.[27] This information travelled: this particular news was reprinted in various forms in papers including *John Bull*,[28] *Daily News*,[29] *Morning Chronicle*,[30] *Morning Post*,[31] and *Northern Star*.[32] Here too a reexamination of the conversation between P. and INCREDULUS is warranted. P. states that they donate 'in the hope that they may save some "poor souls broken with adversity" from the gaol or the workhouse'.[33] In other words, to prevent a member of the *deserving* class of the poor from falling into the *undeserving*. The crux of INCREDULUS's criticism is not that charity should never be given, but that those who donate through the press do not check that the receiver of charity is sufficiently innocent. He also indicates an understanding of how the *Times* crafted public narrative in his urging people not 'to give implicit credit to Mrs. Hicks' tale of wrong'.[34] Instead, he argues, they should question the narrative 'that our men in authority are, *ex officio*, hard-hearted and tyrannical'.[35] INCREDULUS' urging proved unsuccessful, as donations continued to be sent to Ann Hicks throughout the summer of 1851. In the August 7 proceedings of the House of Commons, Colonel Sibthorp (who donated the aforementioned £5) stated that 'a sum nearly amounting to 70l. had been

[26] INCREDULUS, 'To The Editor Of The Times', 30 July 1851, p. 8, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[27] 'Police', 26 July 1851, *The Times*, p. 7, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[28] 'POLICE', *John Bull*, 26 July 1851, p. 482, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].
[29] 'THE POLICE COURTS', *Daily News*, 26 July 1851, p. 6, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].
[30] 'POLICE INTELLIGENCE-FRIDAY', *Morning Chronicle*, 26 July 1851, p. 8, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].
[31] 'POLICE INTELLIGENCE', *Morning Post*, 26 July 1851, p. 7, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].
[32] 'Imperial Parliament', *Northern Star*, 26 July 1851, p. 7,in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].
[33] P., 'ANN HICKS v. INCREDULUS', *The Times*, 28 July 1851, p. 7, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[34] INCREDULUS, 'ANN HICKS', *The Times*, 26 July 1851, p. 6, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[35] INCREDULUS, 'TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES', *The Times*, 30 July 1851, p. 8, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].

raised for the benefit of this unfortunate woman'.[36] The wide publication of these donations added to the public narrative that Hicks was a respectable person as they showed how a number of readers — members of upper-class society — supported her case.

The aforementioned addendum at the end of INCREDULUS' last letter also sheds light on the strength of the public's favorability towards Ann Hicks. The editor's confident assurance of the 'unquestionable testimony' to the character of a working class woman charged with a crime is significant, and leads to questions of where this capacity of trust sprung from.[37] The answer lies in Hicks' position as a poor woman who comfortably existed in the realm of the elite. In the first *Times* article on the subject, Hicks' case is presented: 'The rising generation will, no doubt, have a lively recollection of Ann Hicks, of the "White Cottage" in Hyde park, who supplied them'.[38] Just two days after Hicks' case became known to the public, the *Times* printed a letter from 'A Stroller in Hyde-Park' who corroborated this assertion, stating 'Most strollers know her; most of us have heard her story'.[39] A *John Bull* article described her as 'known to young and old among the frequenters of the Park as the Hebe of the Serpentine, *alias* Mrs. Ann Hicks'.[40] This analogy provides an interesting glimpse at Hicks' status in the park. Hyde-Park was, famously, a park limited to the elite: a place to stroll, ride, and flaunt the fact that they had the right to be there. A place, in other words, that Ann Hicks would not be allowed into as a casual stroller. Hicks existed to the letter-writer as 'Hebe': cupbearer to the gods, or cake-seller to the elite. A writer in the *Lady's Newspaper & Pictorial Times* noted the stall's 'utility to ladies and children frequenting the park'.[41] By noting Hick's usefulness, the elite carefully maintained their separation from the working-class Ann, maintaining the separation between customer and server. Concurrently, they protected her by establishing that she played a helpful role in upper-class society.

The testimony of the 'strollers' argues not only that Hicks is a respectable person, but that she deserves to occupy an elite space based on historical agreement, even lacking official permission. The Duke of Wellington's favored epithet of 'The Squatter' only appeared publicly through the printing of

---

[36] 'House of Commons, Thursday, August 7', *The Times*, 8 August 1851, p. 3, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[37] INCREDULUS, 'TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES', *The Times*, 30 July 1851, p. 8, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[38] 'Police', 17 July 1851, *The Times*, p. 7, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[39] A STROLLER IN HYDE-PARK 'The Commissioners of Woods and Forests. — A Contrast', *The Times*, 19 July 1851, p. 5, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[40] 'THE CRYSTAL PALACE AND THE APPLE-STALL', *John Bull*, 21 July 1851, p. 9, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].
[41] 'LORD SEYMOUR AND ANN HICKS', *Lady's Newspaper & Pictorial Times*, 19 July 1851 in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].

a letter in *The Times*.[42] Lord Seymour's favored term 'encroachment' was the preferred term for civil discourse, as shown in the House of Commons debates.[43] Both nicknames, however, show the official understanding of Ann Hicks to be an intrusion, a trespasser. Public opinion, on the other hand, saw her as retaining a legitimate right to occupy the space. Nearly a year prior to the public learning of Hicks' story, she had written to the Duke of Wellington and explained to him that her 'grandfather got permision [sic] to keep a stall and sell cakes etc' and that the space had been passed down to her. She continues by explaining that Lord Lincoln had allowed her 'to erect the cottage in the Hill where I now reside'.[44] The story set out in the *Times*' first story on Hicks mirrors this explanation almost exactly, with the added detail that her grandfather had received the original permission after 'extricating George II. from the Serpentine' and saving him from drowning.[45] Some commentators considered Hicks' story of receiving permission through her grandfather's relationship to be the truth. A poem in *Punch*, for example, detailed that 'She kept a stand in Hyde Park's royal ground,/ A grant from Royalty for rescue owed'.[46] Despite the royal ownership of the park, these writers maintained that Hicks held a legal right to occupy it. Even those who believed she did not have official permission to live in the park maintained that she should not have been removed. An article in *John Bull* argued that she had 'prescriptive rights and ostensible property'.[47] 'A Stroller in Hyde-Park', who as aforementioned stated they were familiar with Hicks, admitted that 'She has no deed of grant, no charter or sign manual', but argued that she should be allowed to remain as she had 'possession, use, and enjoyment since the days of George II.' The writer continues, arguing that this is an example of how the commissioners are 'oppressive to those without influence'.[48] These two examples indicate that the Commissioners violated a class- and power-based relationship based on mutual understanding and common decency, and thus an upper-class notion of respectability.

Attitudes towards Ann Hicks would be incomplete without the context of the Great Exhibition. Lord Seymour claimed that Hicks' removal had nothing to do with the exhibition, stating in a House of Commons debate that 'Her ejection had nothing whatever [sic] to do with the Crystal Palace', but public

---

[42] 'THE DUKE AND ANN HICKS', *The Times*, 29 Aug 1851, p. 6, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[43] 'House of Commons, Thursday, August 7', *The Times*, 8 August 1851, p. 3, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[44] MS61/WP2/257/48. Hartley Library Archives letters drawn from Wellington papers. Lord Seymour to the Duke of Wellington, 13 November 1850.
[45] 'Police', 17 July 1851, *The Times*, p. 7, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[46] 'MRS. HICKS'S PETITION', 26 July 1851, *Punch*, p. 52, in *Punch Historical Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=PNCH&u=unisoton> [accessed 14 November 2021].
[47] 'THE CRYSTAL PALACE AND THE APPLE-STALL', *John Bull*, 21 July 1851, p. 9, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].
[48] A STROLLER IN HYDE-PARK 'The Commissioners of Woods and Forests. — A Contrast', *The Times*, 19 July 1851, p. 5, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton> [accessed 8 November 2021].

opinion assumed otherwise.[49] Hicks' destitution was touted by the exhibition's opposition as yet another negative consequence of the event, and they used the case (and its publicity) in order to argue their case. A *John Bull* article blamed the Whigs and their 'practical illustration of the principle of Free Trade', stating that 'Poor apple-women are given into custody of the police for pursuing the trade which has supported them for years, that the privileged purveyor in the big glass house may be "protected."'[50] The blame for Hicks' predicament is misplaced: though Lord Seymour was a Whig, the Duke of Wellington was Conservative. Here it is important to consider the publication, as *John Bull* (styled after the eponymous personification of the United Kingdom) had long been a staunch critic of the Whigs.[51] The article continues, arguing that the commissioners should 'out of their ample surplus award her… compensation'.[52] This argument was reiterated in a poem in *Punch*, which urged 'Ye who the Exhibition's funds control,/ Repay ANN HICKS from your abundant store!' The argument that Hicks should be compensated mirrors the previous perception that the commissioners violated a natural order between authority and the working class.

Though Hicks' case comprises just a small case study, it reveals much about the dynamics of Victorian respectability. The public discourse around her morality and trustworthiness inform an understanding of working-class respectability. The portrayal of her case in newspapers indicates the ability of outlets to control a public narrative. The protection that Hicks received from the elite gives a glimpse how authority figures, too, were perceived through notions of respectability. More research into specific case studies is needed for further investigation of this narrative, and as Huggins points out, now easier than ever with a newly broadened digitized source base. Online newspaper repositories provide an opportunity for the voices of marginalized groups to be studied. The crime blotter is perhaps the place where working-class subjects present most often. As evidenced by the sympathy shown towards Ann Hicks, though these subjects enter the newspaper section because of interactions with the law, they could also present nuanced views of the working class.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Eleanor Quince, who led the class for which this article was originally written, for all of her help in planning and writing.

[49] House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (29 July 1851, vol. 118, cols. 1680-1683) <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1851/jul/29/case-of-ann-hicks> [accessed 13 November 2021].

[50] 'THE CRYSTAL PALACE AND THE APPLE-STALL', *John Bull*, 21 July 1851, p. 9, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].

[51] James N McCord, 'Taming the female politician in early-nineteenth-century England: John Bull versus Lady Jersey', *Journal of Women's History*, 13 (2002), 31-52 (p. 31).

[52] 'THE CRYSTAL PALACE AND THE APPLE-STALL', *John Bull*, 21 July 1851, p. 9, in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton> [accessed 11 November 2021].

Bibliography

Primary

Daily News (London, 1846-1900), in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton>

House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (29 July 1851, vol. 118, cols. 1680-1683), available at <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1851/jul/29/case-of-ann-hicks>

John Bull (1820-1960), in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton>

Lady's Newspaper & Pictorial Times (1847-1863), in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton>

Morning Chronicle (1770-1865), in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton>

Morning Post (1772-1937), in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton>

Northern Star (1837-1852), in *Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton>

Punch (1841-1992), in *Punch Historical Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=PNCH&u=unisoton>

The Times (London, 1785-2021), in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=TTDA&u=unisoton>

Wellington Papers, Hartley Library Archives, University of Southampton

Secondary

Andersson, Peter K., 'How Civilized Were the Victorians?', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 20 (2015), 439-452

Betts, Oliver, 'Sharing a Cab with Mr Pooter: A Reply to Peter K. Andersson's "How Civilized Were the Victorians?"' *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 59-68

Cheshire, Jim, 'Material Culture and the "Backstage": A Response to Peter K. Andersson's "How Civilized Were the Victorians?"', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 69-80

Franklin, Sophie, 'Beyond the Civilizing Process: A Response to Peter K. Andersson's "How Civilized Were the Victorians?"', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 105-114

Huggins, Mike, 'Exploring the Backstage of Victorian Respectability', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 81-88

McCord, James N, 'Taming the female politician in early-nineteenth-century England: John Bull versus Lady Jersey', *Journal of Women's History*, 13 (2002), 31-52

Steinbach, Susie, 'Who Owns the Victorians?', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 22 (2017), 89-98

Cultural fusions and legacies: Alexander the Great in Egypt and Persia

Charlie Burgess

Abstract: *Alexander the Great advanced his empire into Egypt and Persia in the fourth century BCE. While analysing contemporary contextual evidence from biographers of Alexander such as Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Quintus Curtius, it is clear that he took on many of the local customs related to kingship in these conquered areas. However, with further analysis, it is possible to glean a narrative which shows that Alexander actually had a deliberate policy of cultural fusion through his retention of many Greek and Macedonian ideals and celebrations; he was successful with this in Egypt but failed in Persia due to his misunderstanding of Achaemenid kingship. We can therefore piece together Alexander's intentions in expanding and building his empire, that he aimed to create a diverse and richly cultured territory that hosted both his own ideals and those of the areas he conquered.*

Alexander the Great's advancement into Egypt and Persia was an unprecedented expansion of his empire which saw him change and adapt his methods of rule and presentation of himself as king to accommodate the local ideas of kingship. In Egypt, he achieved this through paying respects to Egyptian gods, following the rituals of an Egyptian coronation, and the iconography which links him to Egyptian deity, such as his adoption of the horns of Amun. In Persia, he adopted local styles of dress and attempted, if unsuccessfully, to introduce the act of *proskynesis*, where visitors to the court would be required to prostrate to the ground before Alexander, a Persian ritual usually reserved for showing respect to the gods, and performed marriages between Macedonian men and Persian women. He pronounces himself as 'King of Asia' rather than a conqueror.[1] However, though he appears to have adopted local ideas of kingship, closer analysis shows his aim was rather to follow a policy of cultural fusion in an attempt to blend Greek and Macedonian ideas of kingship with that of Egypt and Persia. This can be seen through his devotion to Greek tradition and religion, syncretising tradition through the Hellenisation of rituals and gods with those of his conquered territories.[2] He founded Alexandria as a Greek city, proclaiming the 'Greekness' of his rule, and brought Greek performers to Memphis whilst retaining Macedonian control of the army and financial resources in both Persia and Egypt.[3]

One of the first ways in which Alexander modified his own presentation of kingship to accommodate the local ideals in conquered territories was through his coronation in Egypt. Surviving contemporary accounts of Alexander's arrival in Egypt omit references to an official coronation, probably in an attempt to portray a favoured later narrative of Alexander being slowly corrupted by barbarian practices, or because Alexander's Macedonian soldiers would not have appreciated such a

[1] Maria Brosius, 'Alexander and the Persians', in *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great,* ed. By Joseph Roisman (Leiden: Brill, 2003) p.174.
[2] Hugh Bowden, *Alexander in Egypt: Considering the Egyptian Evidence* (Kaapstad, 2014).
[3] Bowden, *Alexander in Egypt*, p.42.

ceremony.[4] However, through piecing together a chronology of events, it becomes clear that Alexander at least followed the customary rituals of a Pharaoh. Usually, the coronation of a new Pharaoh would begin with the proclamation of royal names, followed by a ceremonial journey down the Nile known as the 'Creation of Order in All Provinces', in which the ruler remained on the royal barge. Office holders were expected to renew their oaths of office and foreign states their alliances with Egypt.[5] When describing Alexander's arrival in Egypt, Arrian makes reference to a celebration at Memphis, and then another before he departs Egypt, mirroring what could be the proclamation of Alexander's royal names and informal coronation.[6] The second festival mentioned by Arrian states rituals of kingship and a sacrifice to Zeus, and it is possible Alexander stayed in Egypt until the New Year in order to celebrate an official coronation.[7] Curtius states that from Memphis, Alexander sailed on the Nile to the interior of Egypt and arranged "matters in such a way as to make no change in the native customs of the Egyptians", mirroring the 'Creation of Order in all Provinces'.[8] Therefore, although it is not stated explicitly in ancient sources, it is possible to piece together a narrative of events that mirrors that of an Egyptian coronation, showing Alexander's methods of expansion in adopting the local rituals and ideas of kingship in Egypt.

Alexander adopted local ideas of kingship in Egypt in religious manners, too. He periodically paid respects to Egyptian gods, including Apis, whom he sacrificed to upon his arrival in Memphis, and his visit to the Temple of Amun at Siwah, where he was addressed with the formalities of a Pharaoh.[9] Later in his *Anabasis*, Arrian states that Alexander sacrificed to multiple gods which Amun had instructed him to, showing respect for the advice given on his visit to the oracle.[10] The horns of Amun are used in Greek iconography, displayed on statues of Zeus and on coinage following Alexander's conquest of Egypt. This illustrates the myth that Alexander was the son of Amun, showing that Alexander used religion and the gods of Egypt to portray himself as Pharaoh and adopt local ideas of kingship.

[4] Hugh Bowden, *Alexander the Great, A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2014) p.64; Bowden, *Alexander in Egypt*, p.40.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander, Volume I: Books 1-4 (Loeb Classical Library 236)*, translated by P.A. Brunt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976) 3.1.4.
[7] Arrian, 3.5.2; see also Bowden, *Alexander in Egypt*, p.42.
[8] Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander (Loeb Classical Library 368)*, translated by J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984) 4.7.5.
[9] Arrian, 3.1.4; Arrian, 3.3.1; Bowden, *A Very Short Introduction*, p.60.
[10] Arrian, 6.19.4.

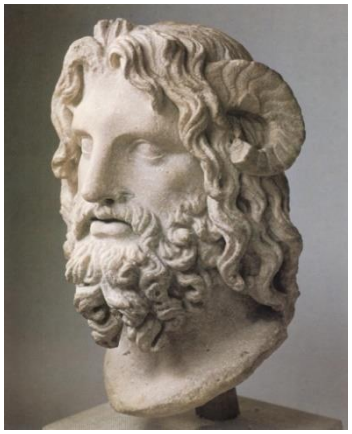


Figure. 1: Zeus shown with horns of Amun.[11]



Figure 2: Tetradrachm of Lysimachus with Alexander wearing horns of Amun.[12]

While we can see that Alexander did adopt these local ideas of kingship in Egypt, further analysis shows he was actually attempting to follow a policy of cultural fusion rather than abandoning Greek and Macedonian customs in favour of those of Egypt and Persia. We can see this firstly through his introduction of Macedonian and Greek customs in Egypt, chiefly through the founding of Alexandria as a Greek city in Egypt. [13] The location of Alexandria, in a small fishing village named Rhakotis, was significant, as it had no previous status or association meaning Hellenistic culture could be established without influence from previous Egyptian local tradition.[14] Though Alexander founded Alexandria as a predominantly Greek city, it is important to note that the capital remained at Memphis, and Alexander also founded a temple of Isis within it, showing that his aim was to create a melting pot for the cultures of East and West.[15]

Alexander also brought Hellenistic culture to Egypt outside of Alexandria. For example, when he arrived in Memphis, after sacrificing to the Egyptian gods, he held athletic and musical games in Greek style, with the most famous Greek musicians and athletes attending.[16] This incorporation of the two cultures into the same festival demonstrates elements of fusion, incorporating Greek tradition into Egyptian culture, thus suggesting he was following a policy of cultural fusion. Alexander also ensured

[11] *Head of Zeus-Ammon*, c.75-150CE, marble, Brooklyn Museum, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.11655121> [Accessed 29/03/22].
[12] *Tetradrachm of Lysimachus with Alexander wearing horns of Amun*, c.305-281BCE, silver, British Museum, https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18144085 [Accessed 19/03/22].
[13] Plutarch, *Lives, Volume VII: Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar (Loeb Classical Library 99),* translated by Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919) 26.4.
[14] H. I. Bell, 'Alexandria', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 13 no. 3/4, (London: Sage Publications, Inc., 1927) 171-184.
[15] H. I. Bell, p. 173.
[16] Arrian, 3.1.3-4.

syncretism of Greek and Egyptian ideas of leadership by having his military forces manned and run by Greeks, with Peukestas and Balearos as generals of the army and Polemon as admiral of the fleet.[17] Therefore, while it is clear Alexander adopted local ideas of kingship in Egypt, it is also clear that it was his aim to be viewed not only as an Egyptian Pharaoh, but as a king of both Egyptian and Hellenistic cultures.

The picture in Persia is slightly different. It is clear that Alexander was attempting to portray himself in the image of a Persian king, but it is also suggested, through his failure to create a definitive syncretism of cultures, that he did not understand the intricacies of the Achaemenid institution of kingship. However, his adoption of Persian dress is a clear attempt to create an image of himself as a Persian king. Plutarch states that Alexander wore a blend of Persian and Median clothing when he marched into Parthian territory in an attempt to associate himself with local customs.[18] Curtius supports this, stating Alexander assumed Persian dress, along with an 'insolence of spirit'[19] Plutarch suggests that the reasons for Alexander adopting Persian dress was either in an attempt to "soften the hearts" of the men he conquered, or perhaps to accustom his Macedonian soldiers to his adoption of barbarian customs in preparation for more radical changes in the future (such as the introduction of *proskynesis*).[20] This shows that Alexander used the adoption of Persian dress as a method of introducing Persian culture into his image of kingship.

Furthermore, the attempted introduction of *proskynesis*, or ritual bow, shows Alexander adopting ideas of kingship from Persia. Persian royalty is given a quasi-divine status, and so in an attempt to take advantage of this status Alexander tried to introduce the Persian custom of his men falling to the ground and prostrating themselves towards him, with the underlying idea that he was the son of Ammon, rather than Philip, and could therefore be justly considered a god.[21] [22] Although this ultimately failed, as Callisthenes suggested bowing as one would to a god would be a dishonour, and eventually only the Persians performed this bow, it shows an example of Alexander adopting the Persian idea of quasi-divine kingship and attempting to introduce this into the rest of his empire.[23] Arrian states that he felt Alexander was shifting entirely to the barbarian side and treated Macedonian customs with disrespect, suggesting that, though this is probably an exaggeration, Alexander was making a concerted effort to appear as a Persian king.[24]

[17] Arrian, 3.1.4.
[18] Plutarch, 45.1-4.
[19] Curtius, 6.6.5.
[20] Plutarch, *Lives*, 45.1.
[21] Curtius, 6.6.1-7.
[22] Arrian, 4.9.9.
[23] Arrian, 4.11.1-12.6; see also Curtius, 8.5.21 and Plutarch, 54.
[24] Arrian 7.6.1-5.

Alexander also tried to strengthen his connection to Persian royalty by presenting himself as a *philokyros* – affiliated with the Persian king Cyrus II.[25] Alexander regarded Cyrus as a model king and founder of an empire, and therefore sought to present himself in his image. He copied many of Cyrus's moves, including his entrance into the empire and march through the Gedrosian Desert, and his ideological agenda invites comparisons between the two.[26] His attempts to model himself on the previous founder of the Persian empire shows a strong example of Alexander adopting local ideas of kingship from Persia.

Any further attempt to adopt local ideas of Persian kingship, however, failed due to Alexander's lack of understanding of the institution of Achaemenid kingship, and both Persian and Macedonian resistance to Alexander's reforms. Alexander's aim, as in Egypt, seemed to be one of cultural fusion. Plutarch states that Alexander was of the opinion that cooperation between Macedonians and Persians would ensure political stability while he was away, and therefore attempted to get Easterners to adopt Macedonian customs.[27] For example, the weddings of Persian women to Macedonian soldiers in Susa in spring 324 BCE and Alexander's own marriages to Persian princesses showed an attempt to blend these cultures through diplomacy, so Alexander would be seen as a king of both peoples rather than a conqueror. He also held the weddings in Persian manner, which could be seen as further acceptance of his rule as Persian.[28] This could also be seen, however, as an attempt to exert power over Persia, as in Greek tradition the capture of Persian women would have been seen as a Greek victory over barbarism.[29] Alexander also stated that it was his intention to bring up the children of these marriages in the Macedonian military tradition, and trained 30,000 Persian youth in Macedonian warfare, and clothed in Macedonian style dress. This shows that he was not, as Arrian had suggested, completely abandoning Macedonian culture and rather wanted to portray himself as a king of both cultures combined.[30]

Where Alexander fell short, however, was in his failure to recognise the importance of the link between the Persian nobility and the king through the loss of status of the nobility due to Alexander's status of satraps. Alexander was not officially crowned in Pasargadae, where the Achaemenid royalty would have been, and he did not include Persian religious tradition in any court ceremonies.[31] Furthermore, the violation of Persian sacred ritual by Alexander at the funeral of Hephaestion, in which Alexander ordered the extinguishing of a sacred fire, shows a contempt for Persian customs and causing

[25] Strabo, *Geography, Volume V: Books 10-12 (Loeb Classical Library 211),* translated by Horace Leonard Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928) 11.11.4.
[26] Brosius p. 175.
[27] Plutarch, 47.
[28] Arrian, 7.4.4-8.
[29] Elizabeth Donnelly Carney, 'Alexander and Persian Women', *The American Journal of Philology,* vol. 117 no. 4 (Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996) p. 563.
[30] Arrian, 7.12.2; Brosius, p. 175.
[31] Brosius, p. 180.

offence to Persian nobles, further severing the important link between king and nobility.[32] The disapproval from the Persian nobility coupled with the objections of his Macedonian men meant that Alexander was not able to adopt local ideas of kingship or create a cultural fusion to the same extent as he had done in Egypt. Despite this, Alexander's attempts to syncretise Persian and Hellenistic ideas of kingship through his apparel, mixed marriages, and introducing the *proskynesis,* showed a deliberate policy of cultural fusion. He did not have a sufficient understanding of the intricacies of Achaemenid kingship, however, to successfully follow through with this policy.

In conclusion, analysis of Alexander's actions in Egypt and Persia reveal that he was following a policy of cultural fusion in conquered regions, adopting local ideas of kingship while retaining aspects of Greek and Macedonian culture in order to be seen as an Egyptian and Persian king without disregarding his role as a Hellenistic king. This was successful in Egypt, as he presented himself as a Pharaoh and was addressed as one, and respected and sacrificed to the Egyptian gods, while founding a Greek city and maintaining Macedonian control of the military. His attempt was less successful in Persia. Though he did adopt local styles of dress and attempted to associate himself with previous king Cyrus II, he received disapproval from both the Persian nobility for disrespecting the Persian religious cult, and from his own men, who believed he disrespected Macedonian culture and began to ensure he lessened his future dependence on his own soldiers in favour of the Persians, therefore limiting his attempt to adopt local ideas of kingship.[33] It is clear from his attempts at creating cultural fusion in his conquered territories that Alexander was not merely aiming to exert Hellenistic power and authority over these regions, but that he was attempting to create a new hybrid culture to call his empire. Whether he was doing this in order to legitimise his rule and claim to authority or rather out of admiration for these cultures and a desire to create something new is perhaps more unclear, but we can certainly discern his initial aims.

[32] Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History, Volume VIII: Books 16.66-17 (Loeb Classical Library 422),* Translated by C. Bradford Welles (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963) 17.114.4.
[33] Arrian, 7.6.1-5.

Appendix

Figure 1: Head of Zeus-Ammon, c.75-150CE, marble, Brooklyn Museum, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.11655121> [Accessed 29/03/22]

Figure 2: Tetradrachm of Lysimachus with Alexander wearing horns of Amun, c.305-281BCE, silver, British Museum, https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.18144085 [Accessed 19/03/22]

Bibliography

Primary

Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander (Loeb Classical Library 236)*, translated by P.A. Brunt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976)

Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History, Volume VIII: Books 16.66-17 (Loeb Classical Library 422)*, Translated by C. Bradford Welles (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963)

Plutarch, *Lives, Volume VII: Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar (Loeb Classical Library 99)*, translated by Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919)

Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander (Loeb Classical Library 368)*, translated by J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984)

Strabo, *Geography, Volume V: Books 10-12 (Loeb Classical Library 211)*, translated by Horace Leonard Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928)

Secondary

Bell, H. I., 'Alexandria', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 13 no. 3/4, (London: Sage Publications, Inc., 1927) 171-184

Bowden, Hugh 'Alexander in Egypt: Considering the Egyptian Evidence' *Acta Classica*, 5 (Kaapstad, 2014) 38-55

Bowden, Hugh, *Alexander the Great, A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2014)

Brosius, Maria, 'Alexander and the Persians', in *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great,* ed. By Joseph Roisman (Leiden: Brill, 2003)

Carney, Elizabeth Donnelly, 'Alexander and Persian Women', *The American Journal of Philology*, vol. 117 no. 4 (Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996)

Heckel, Waldemar, *The Conquests of Alexander the Great*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Romm, James S., *Alexander the Great: Selections from Arrian, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Quintus Curtius* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co, 2005)

The United States Strategic Bombing Survey: air power and the War in the Pacific, 1941-45

Adam Tobin

Abstract: *The United States Strategic Bombing Survey was an official report pursuant to a request from President Harry Truman, with United States Army Air Force backing, to 'establish a basis for evaluating air power' for 'the future development of the United States armed forces'.*[1] *Positing aerial forces against their land-based and naval counterparts, the Survey's Pacific War report endeavoured to determine the relative contribution of each service to the Allied victory over Imperial Japan. Evaluating each factor based on its respective influence on the Japanese decision to surrender in August 1945, the Survey asserted the primacy of conventional air power. Using contemporary Japanese records not considered by the Survey, this piece suggests that the Survey's conclusions were misguided. Placing the Survey's conclusions within the since-developed historiographical debate concerning the Japanese decision to surrender, this piece opposes the argument that Japan, as a result of previous defeats, had already decided to surrender prior to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima (6th August) and Nagasaki (9th August), and the Soviet invasion of Japanese-held Manchuria (9th August) – now divided between China, North Korea and Mongolia. In doing so, it endeavours to establish that the role attributed to strategic bombing was amplified by the Survey, deconstructing the assertions on which its conclusion lies.*

The United States Strategic Bombing Survey was established on 3 November 1944 to conduct 'impartial and expert study of the effects of [American] aerial attack'.[2] The Summary Report on the Pacific War, encapsulating the conclusions of the wider Survey, contended that the military impact of defeats in the Pacific, compounded by major air attacks on the Japanese mainland, beginning 15 June 1944, led the majority of Japan's political leadership to realise that further hostilities were pointless.[3] The outcome of this argument was the suggestion that 'certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bomb had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or

[1] Chairman's Office, *United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Summary Report (Pacific War)* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1946) <https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/AUPress/Books/B_0020_SPANGRUD_STRATEGIC_BOMBING_SURVEYS.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2021], p. 46.
[2] Chairman's Office, *United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Summary Report (Pacific War)* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1946) <https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/AUPress/Books/B_0020_SPANGRUD_STRATEGIC_BOMBING_SURVEYS.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2021], p. 46.
[3] Maurer Maurer, ed., *Air Force Combat Units of World War II* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961) <https://media.defense.gov/2010/Sep/21/2001330256/-1/-1/0/AFD-100921-044.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2021], p. 487; *Summary Report*, p. 112.

contemplated.'[4] This article aims to prove that the above conclusions are inaccurate on two counts: firstly, in suggesting that without any other form of military action strategic bombing would have brought about surrender by the aforementioned dates, and secondly by exaggerating the role of strategic bombing in comparison with those of the atomic bomb and Soviet invasion of Manchuria. This article will summarise the major points made by the Survey and other contemporary sources, compare the Survey's conclusions with those made by scholars, and consider the potential reasons for discrepancy between these accounts.

To evaluate the major role that the Survey attributed to strategic bombing, it is important to assess the factors which were advocated by other sources. Richard Frank, Sadao Asada, Edward J. Drea, Ward Wilson, Robert James Maddox and Tsuyoshi Hasegawa argued that Japanese leaders had not decided to surrender before the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki or the Soviet invasion, making these factors an important consideration for this article.[5] Drea contended that the Emperor was in a state of 'ambivalence' regarding negotiations until the bombing, which forced him to pick a side and make the final decision.[6] Frank and Sadao also pressed the case of the atomic bombings, whilst Hasegawa attributed more credit to the Soviet invasion of Manchuria. Sadao emphasized the 'shock value' of the atomic bombings, whereas Hasegawa highlighted the similar impact of the Soviet invasion on the Japanese military command, whose strategy relied on Soviet neutrality.[7]

In contrast, historians Gar Alperovitz, Ronald Takaki, Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell suggested that Japan was prepared to surrender prior to the atomic bombing and Soviet invasion of Manchuria.[8] Alperovitz asserted that the impact of atomic bombing and Soviet invasion was minor, accelerating what was already an inevitable conclusion to the war.[9]

---

[4] *Summary Report*, p. 107.
[5] Richard B. Frank, *Downfall: The End of the Imperial Japanese Empire* (London: Penguin, 2001); Sadao Asada, 'The Shock of the Atomic Bomb and Japan's Decision to Surrender – A Reconsideration', in *Pacific Historical Review*, 67 (1998), pp. 477-512; Edward J. Drea, *In the Service of the Emperor: Essays on the Imperial Japanese Army* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Ward Wilson, 'The Winning Weapon?: Rethinking Nuclear Weapons in Light of Hiroshima', *in International Security*, 31 (2007), p. 170; Robert James Maddox, *Weapons for Victory: The Hiroshima Decision Fifty Years Later* (Columbia: MO, 1995), pp. 83-85, 117-125; Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* (London: Harvard University Press, 2005).
[6] Drea, p. 209.
[7] Hasegawa, p. 296; Asada, pp. 510-511.
[8] Gar Alperovitz, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (London: Harper Collins, 1995); Ronald Takaki, *Hiroshima: Why America Dropped the Atomic Bomb* (London: Little Brown and Company, 1995); Robert Jay Lifton, Greg Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America: Fifty Years of Denial* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1995).
[9] Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam: The use of the atomic bomb and the American confrontation with Soviet Power* (London: Pluto Press, 1994).

The Survey concurred. It suggested that 'Japan's will to resist [was] the prime objective of our assault.'[10] The Survey asserted that 'Will to resist' primarily comprised the attitude of 'responsible Japanese leaders', rather than that of the Japanese people.[11] This was because Japan had 'long been conditioned to oligarchic rule', meaning 'the ideas and spirit of the leaders … [formed] separately from those of the people'.[12] This led the Survey to view 'Popular morale … [as] just another factor in the reckonings of the ruling group', downplaying the impact of morale.[13] Therefore, the Survey established the Japanese leadership as the primary indicator of a willingness to surrender, and the American victory.

The Survey asserted that in achieving the above, the impact of strategic bombing was twofold. Firstly, it contended that the 'Fear of home island bombing was persuasive to the political leaders even before its direct effects could be felt.'[14] The loss of Saipan in July 1944 meant bombers could attack the Japanese home islands. The Survey suggested that this was known to the Japanese authorities, and as a result 'many leaders became wholly convinced of Japan's eventual defeat', resulting in criticism which led to the resignation of Hideki Tojo's cabinet.[15] The vulnerability of Japanese cities to strategic bombing was known to leaders on both sides. The Army Air Force (USAAF) had begun planning for an aerial campaign against Japan in 1940, and this became a major fear for both the Japanese public and leadership in the 1930s.[16] Therefore, to the Survey, the correlation of the forced resignation of Tojo and the capture of Saipan was not merely coincidence, but based on the threat of aerial bombardment. The resignation was proclaimed as a 'significant turn in the course of Japan's wartime politics', as both the Koiso and Suzuki Cabinets which followed contained elements sympathetic to peace.[17]

Secondly, the Survey suggested that strategic bombing was effective not because of *what* was bombed, but *the fact that bombing was taking place at all*. It reasoned that 'One of the most important factors inducing Japan's leaders to accept unconditional surrender was a realization that the Japanese armed forces had lost their ability to protect the people'.[18] Earlier victories gave US forces air superiority over Japan by late 1944, resulting in the ability of American forces to '[exploit] air control over the home islands'.[19] This exploitation, and the inability of the Japanese military to respond, or build a force capable of responding, due to the bombing of industry, was built-up by the Survey as the

[10] Chairman's Office, *United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Japan's Struggle to End the War* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1946) <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/research-files/united-states-strategic-bombing-survey-japans-struggle-end-war?documentid=NA&pagenumber=42> [accessed 19 October 2021], p. 32.
[11] *Ibid*, p. 31.
[12] *Ibid*, p. 32.
[13] *Ibid*, p. 32.
[14] *Ibid*, p. 38.
[15] *Ibid*, p. 38, 'News of the B-29 and its intended capabilities reached Japan in 1943'.
[16] Michael Lucken, *The Japanese and the War: Expectation, Perception, and the Shaping of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), pp. 105-108.
[17] *Summary Report*, p. 104.
[18] *Ibid*, p. 92.
[19] *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, p. 35.

decisive factor in bringing about surrender. The Survey suggested that had the Japanese continued to fight, aerial bombardment would have continued indefinitely, as they had no way of preventing it, and therefore there was no hope of victory. It asserted that many Japanese leaders had already accepted this by the time of the atomic bombing.[20] It is important to note that the Survey did not argue that this defeat would have occurred on 15 August 1945, but 'certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945', making this assertion the all-important factor in disproving its conclusions.[21]

The Survey's assertions regarding the atomic bombing also echoed Alperovitz. It suggested that 'The Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs did not defeat Japan, nor by the testimony of the enemy leaders who ended the war did they persuade Japan to accept unconditional surrender.'[22] Because the principal Japanese politicians had already decided on unconditional surrender before the atomic bombing, 'The impact of the Hiroshima attack was [only] to bring further urgency and lubrication to the machinery of achieving peace … [permitting] the prime minister to bring the Emperor overtly and directly into a position where his decision for immediate acceptance of the Potsdam declaration could be used to override the remaining objectors'.[23] In this view the role of the atomic bombings were simply to facilitate the passage of a decision which had already been made. However, in the sense that the bombings led to the aforementioned 'sacred judgement' from the Emperor, the Survey does at least credit the attacks with hastening the peace process, if not directly impacting the decision itself.

The Survey used similar logic to discredit the influence of the Soviet invasion. Pointing out that, like the atomic bombing, the invasion changed no votes on the Japanese Supreme War Direction Council (charged with the conduct of the war), the Survey claimed that the invasion 'neither defeated Japan nor materially hastened the acceptance of surrender.'[24] It argued that Japanese forces in Manchuria had been written off for the defence of the home islands, rendering the invasion militarily insignificant, and only politically significant in the sense that it put pay to any chance of the previously neutral Soviets acting as mediators, which, as explained later, was already considered unlikely.[25] In fact, the invasion was not even mentioned in the Summary Report, and only occupied a single page of the report on the end of the war.

It is noted here that other scholars, such as Jeremy Yellen, and contemporary accounts, such as that of Rear-Admiral Takagi, suggested that domestic factors played the vital role in the Japanese

[20] *Ibid*, p. 41.
[21] *Summary Report*, p. 107.
[22] *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, p. 41.
[23] *Ibid*, pp. 41-42.
[24] *Ibid*, p. 44.
[25] *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, pp. 44-45.

surrender.[26] In a post-war survey, one-quarter of the Japanese questioned suggested that a shortage of supplies was the reason that they felt unable to continue the war.[27] There is therefore significant support for this view. The Survey, however, only considered domestic factors in a military sense, contending that the lack of supplies and food was a mainly result of the blockade of Japan and the bombing campaign.[28] As a result, the domestic situation was not considered in the Survey's analysis of the relative importance of factors in the same sense as the above, and is therefore not considered to the same extent in this piece.

To evaluate the validity of the Survey's assertions, it is important to consult other contemporary sources. When considering documents from the months before the surrender, it is possible to note contradictions. By 1942, Allied intelligence services had broken the Japanese codes. The intercept from the 17 July is of particular interest. In this message, Suzuki's Foreign Minister, Togo, outlined the Japanese Government's attitude towards unconditional surrender: 'if [the Allies] insist unrelentingly upon unconditional surrender, the Japanese are unanimous in their resolve to wage a through-going war.'[29] Communicated less than a month before the Japanese surrender, this document paints a picture very different from that portrayed by the Survey. Strategic bombing of the Japanese homeland began on the 24 November 1944, and large-scale firebombing commenced with Operation Meetinghouse on 9 March 1945.[30] If the Survey's argument that strategic bombing had exploited weaknesses in Japanese forces was accurate, then why five months later had political leaders not changed their views in the same way the Survey suggested they did? In fact, one assertion made by the Survey, namely that Togo had decided on unconditional surrender by May 1945, directly contradicts the evidence provided in the above intercept.[31] This indicates that strategic bombing by 17 July had not had the decisive impact on Togo's thinking that the Survey asserted it had.

Between the sending of this message and the bombing of Hiroshima on 6 August, twenty-one major air raids took place.[32] The size of these raids and the targets they attacked were significantly smaller than those attacked at the beginning of the campaign, and although the damage done was

---

[26] Jeremy A. Yellen, The Specter of Revolution: Reconsidering Japan's Decision to Surrender, in *International History Review*, Vol. 1 No.2 (2013). <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.1080%2F07075332.2012.742450> [accessed 5 November 2021]; Takashi Ito, *Sokichi Takagi: Nikki To Joho [Sokichi Takagi: Diary and Documents]* (Tokyo, Misuzu-Shobo, 2000), pp. 923-924.
[27] *Summary Report*, p. 95.
[28] *Ibid*, pp. 87, 94.
[29] ''Magic' Diplomatic Summary, 17 July 1945', *in The National Security Archives: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/33.pdf> [accessed 8 November 2021]
[30] Jerome Klinkowitz, *Pacific Skies: American Flyers in World War II* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), p. 101.
[31] *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, p. 41.
[32] 'United States Strategic Bombing Survey, The Strategic Air Operations of Very Heavy Bombardment in the War against Japan, pp. 42-43', *in Wilson*, p. 169.

significant, it was low relative to that done previously in attacks on larger cities, and casualties much lower. Most major targets had already been attacked by this time, and largely destroyed, leading forces to target smaller cities and towns with as few as 30,000 people living in them (at its smallest Tokyo's wartime population was over 2.8 million).[33] It is unlikely that these smaller raids would have significantly changed the minds of the Japanese leadership on unconditional surrender when they had already before the 17th July endured larger and more damaging attacks for more than four months without reprieve. This suggests that the change in policy from rejection of unconditional surrender to immediate acceptance was unlikely to have come between the dates of 17 July and 15 August, and the aforementioned extract demonstrates that this did not take place before 17 July. As a result, strategic bombing did not drastically alter the opinions of Japanese leaders in the period leading up to the surrender on 15 August, meaning it was not effective in altering Japan's will to resist at this time, and by the Survey's own definition it was not a major influence on the Japanese surrender on 15 August. However, this does not prove that bombing would not have had a dramatic impact between 15 August and 31 December.

As already mentioned, most major targets other than those reserved for attack by nuclear weapons had been largely destroyed by the date of the bombing of Hiroshima. In the period between the surrender and the 31 December, strategic bombers would have had a much-reduced target pool compared with the months previous. And, as referred to previously, the devastating attacks on the major cities which had already taken place had not had the desired impact to bring about an end to the war, despite causing over 300,000 casualties in a single raid on Tokyo.[34] Consequently, it is difficult to suggest that bombers which had not achieved a conclusive result attacking major targets for 5 months would be able to achieve such a result attacking less significant targets for the same period again. Even considering that bombing would have been ongoing for a year by the end of this period, major cities in Europe such as Valetta sustained aerial bombardment for over two years, and the spread of raids across many targets in Japan meant that the concentration of bombing on a single point would not be intense as in this case, suggesting the culminative effect would likely not have influenced the outcome.[35]

In comparison, the change of tact following the atomic bombing is damning. In the records of the Gaimushō [Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs] is an account of Togo's meeting with the Emperor following President Truman's announcement of the atomic bombing. Togo suggested that 'there was no option but to accept the Potsdam Declaration [unconditional surrender]. Hearing this, His Majesty stated that the advent of a new weapon like the atomic bomb made it impossible to continue the

[33] Wilson, p. 168; Kenneth Hewitt, 'Place Annihilation: Area Bombing and the Fate of Urban Places', in *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, 73, (1983) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2562662?seq=9#metadata_info_tab_contents> [accessed 8 November 2021], p. 267.
[34] *Summary Report*, pp. 85-87.
[35] Diane Canwell, Jon Sutherland, *Air War Malta: June 1940 to November 1942* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2008), pp. 153-179.

persecution of war and steps should be taken to end the war without delay.'[36] This is a very different perspective to that given by Togo in the previous extract. Togo had long been aware of the difficulty of using the Soviet Union to mediate for the end of the war, but had still been pursuing this path as the sole Japanese peace effort.[37] This suggests that until this point the urgency to bring about peace was not great. In fact, in another message prior to this meeting, Togo suggested that Japanese leaders were working to bring about peace only before an American invasion took place, which could have been some time coming.[38] This document therefore suggests that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima completely changed the picture: now peace must be brought about promptly to prevent further destruction of this scale. This seems to have provided the impetus that changed Japanese opinion, altering the will to resist and therefore constituting a major factor in the Japanese surrender, suggesting that the atomic bombing played a much bigger part than that attributed to it in the Survey. In the same sense, the Soviet invasion of Manchuria added another unexpected consideration to this timeline, and its discussion by several ministers in the cabinet meeting immediately before the Emperor's final decision, suggest that this had a similar impact by changing the strategic outlook and viability of a land war.[39] This evidence closely mirrors the arguments of the former group of scholars.

The above therefore contends that the Survey reconstructed the Japanese decision in contrast with evidence from other sources. There are obvious reasons for this. The Survey was formed by USAAF commander General Arnold and General Carl Spaatz to 'establish a basis for evaluating air power as an instrument of military strategy'.[40] It therefore had an obvious agenda: to demonstrate that strategic bombing did indeed have an important impact. The fact that the Survey was commissioned suggests senior USAAF officers considered it important that this was outlined. In fact, Spaatz authorized a separate report under his own Director of Intelligence on 'The Contribution of Air Power to the Defeat of Germany' in case the conclusions of the Survey were not satisfactory.[41] Despite its glowing appraisal of strategic bombing in the Pacific, some senior officers were disappointed with the Survey's conclusions, suggesting that it did not contribute enough on the future applications of air power or issues faced by the USAAF early in the war.[42] At this the time the USAAF was campaigning

[36] 'Togo's Meetings with the Cabinet and the Emperor, August 7-8, 1945' in Gaimushō [Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs], ed., *Shūsen Shiroku [Historical Record of the End of the War],* vol. 4 (Tokyo: Hokuyosha, 1977-1978) <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu//NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/55a.pdf> [accessed 8 November], pp. 57-60.
[37] Hasegawa, p. 126.
[38] ''Magic' Diplomatic Summary, 2 August 1945', *in The National Security Archives: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/47.pdf> [accessed 8 November 2021].
[39] 'The Cabinet Meeting over the Reply to the Four Powers, 13th August 1945', in Gaimushō [Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs], ed., *Shūsen Shiroku [Historical Record of the End of the War], vol. 4* (Tokyo: Hokuyosha, 1977-1978), pp. 27-35 <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu//NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/71.pdf> [accessed 8 November 2021], pp. 27-35.
[40] *Summary Report*, p. 46.
[41] Tami Davis Biddle, *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914-1945* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 271-272.
[42] *Ibid*, p. 275.

for service independence from the US Army, and a demonstration by the report of the 'major contributions' of air forces in the Second World War would be valuable in achieving this. This goes some way to explaining why the Survey seems to attempt to find ways to highlight the overarching impact of bombing even when evidence suggests that it was not the major factor, and provides further evidence that the role of bombing was overstated in the Survey's conclusions.

To conclude, this article suggests that the United States Strategic Bombing Survey explained that strategic bombing played the major role in the defeat of Japan, and in this sense reconstructed the record by understating the impact of other factors. Although the Survey gave some credit to the impact of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviet invasion of Manchuria, these factors are downplayed to allow the Survey to establish the predominance of strategic bombing. This article has demonstrated that before 15 August strategic bombing had not changed the minds of Japanese leaders on unconditional surrender, and that all the available evidence on the impact of strategic bombing before the surrender presented by the Survey suggests that its impact following 15 August would have been no more, if not less, than it had been previously. Conversely, using other contemporary sources, this article demonstrates that the atomic bombing and Soviet invasion of Manchuria did have a decisive impact on the surrender by the same measure. This article recognises that the impact of strategic bombing was significant, and it is rightly considered by the Survey as a major factor. However, the conclusions of this article are generally in line with those of the first school of thought presented in both attribution of factors and criticism of the Survey's argument, going further by analysing the potential impact of strategic bombing in the period following the surrender on 15 August. Therefore, it is the view of this article that whilst the Strategic Bombing Survey gave a thorough account of the use of air power in the Pacific War, and provided useful statistics relating to this, its conclusions were biased towards support of the organisation by which it was created, and as a result must be handled carefully as a historical source.

Bibliography

Primary

Chairman's Office, *United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Japan's Struggle to End the War* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1946) <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/research-files/united-states-strategic-bombing-survey-japans-struggle-end-war?documentid=NA&pagenumber=42> [accessed 19 October 2021]

Chairman's Office, *United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Summary Report (Pacific War)* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1946) <https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/AUPress/Books/B_0020_SPANGRUD_STRATEGIC_BOMBING_SURVEYS.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2021]

Chairman's Office, *United States Strategic Bombing Survey, The Effects of the Atomic Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1946) <https://docs.rwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=rwu_ebooks> [accessed 19 October 2021]

Hoshina, Zenshiro, *Daitoa Senso Hishi: Hoshina Zenshiro Kaiso-roku [Secret History of the Greater East Asia War: Memoir of Zenshiro Hoshina]* (Tokyo: Hara-Shobo, 1975)

Ito, Takashi, *Sokichi Takagi: Nikki To Joho [Sokichi Takagi: Diary and Documents]* (Tokyo, Misuzu-Shobo, 2000)

Maurer, Maurer, ed., *Air Force Combat Units of World War II* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961) <https://media.defense.gov/2010/Sep/21/2001330256/-1/-1/0/AFD-100921-044.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2021]

Shimomura, Hiroshi, *Shusenki [Account of the End of the War]* (Tokyo: Kamakura Bunko, 1948)

Gaimushō [Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs], ed., *Shūsen Shiroku [Historical Record of the End of the War], vol. 4* (Tokyo: Hokuyosha, 1977-1978) <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu//NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/71.pdf> [accessed 8 November 2021]

The National Security Archives, 'The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II', <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/30.pdf> [accessed 8 November 2021]

United States Strategic Bombing Survey, *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on Japanese Morale* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1947) <http://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/NHC/NewPDFs/USAAF/United%20States%20Strategic%20Bombing%20Survey/USSBS%20Effects%20of%20Strategic%20Bombing%20Japanese%20Morale.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2021]

Secondary

Alperovitz, Gar, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (London: Harper Collins, 1995)

Alperovitz, Gar, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam: The use of the atomic bomb and the American confrontation with Soviet Power* (London: Pluto Press, 1994)

Asada, Sadao, 'The Shock of the Atomic Bomb and Japan's Decision to Surrender – A Reconsideration', in *Pacific Historical Review*, 67 (1998), 477-512

Bernstein, Barton J., 'Understanding the Atomic Bomb and the Japanese Surrender: Missed Opportunities, Little-Known Near Disasters, and Modern Memory', in *Diplomatic History*, 19 (1995), 227-273

Biddle, Tami Davis, *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914-1945* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002)

Bix, Herbert P., 'Japan's Delayed Surrender: A Reinterpretation', in *Diplomatic History*, 19 (1995), 197-225

Canwell, Diane, Jon Sutherland, *Air War Malta: June 1940 to November 1942* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2008)

Daniels, Gordon, *A Guide to the Reports of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey* (Trowbridge: Redwood Burn Ltd., 1981)

Drea, Edward J., *In the Service of the Emperor: Essays on the Imperial Japanese Army* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998)

Frank, Richard B., *Downfall: The End of the Imperial Japanese Empire* (London: Penguin, 2001)

Hasegawa, Tsuyoshi, *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* (London: Harvard University Press, 2005)

Hewitt, Kenneth, 'Place Annihilation: Area Bombing and the Fate of Urban Places', in *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, 73 (1983), 257-284 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2562662?seq=9#metadata_info_tab_contents> [accessed 8 November 2021]

Klinkowitz, Jerome, *Pacific Skies: American Flyers in World War II* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004)

Lifton, Robert Jay, Greg Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America: Fifty Years of Denial* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1995)

Lucken, Michael, *The Japanese and the War: Expectation, Perception, and the Shaping of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017)

Maddox, Robert James, *Weapons for Victory: The Hiroshima Decision Fifty Years Later* (Columbia: MO, 1995)

Nitze, Paul H., *From Hiroshima to Glasnost: At the Centre of Decision – A Memoir* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1989)

Sandler, Stanley, ed., *World War II in the Pacific: An Encyclopedia* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2003)

Takaki, Ronald, *Hiroshima: Why America Dropped the Atomic Bomb* (London: Little Brown and Company, 1995)

Walker, J. Samuel, *Prompt and Utter Destruction: Truman and the Use of Atomic Bombs against Japan* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016)

Walker, J. Samuel, 'Recent Literature on Truman's Atomic Bomb Decision: The Triumph of the Middle Ground?', in *America in the World: The Historiography of American Foreign Relations since 1941, 2nd Edition*, ed. by Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 83-104

Wilson, Ward, ‘The Winning Weapon?: Rethinking Nuclear Weapons in Light of Hiroshima’, *in International Security,* 31 (2007), pp. 162-179

Yellen, Jeremy A., ‘The Specter of Revolution: Reconsidering Japan’s Decision to Surrender’, in *International History Review*, 1 (2013), 205-226 <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.1080%2F07075332.2012.742450> [accessed 5 November 2021]

Gunpowder, Treason, and Plot: How and why the Catholic Plot of 1605 was exaggerated by the state authorities

Esme Henry

Abstract: *The 'Gunpowder Plot' is perhaps one of the most well-known examples of treason in English history, the sheer scope and audacity of the plan capturing imagination remaining a part of national celebrations down to the present day. Whilst historian Lacey Baldwin Smith has argued that 'the true traitor needs no purpose', human experience suggests this is not the case.*[1] *For a government against whom treason has been committed there is an urgent necessity to shape the narrative of the traitor's actions, to pin on him motives which cannot engender support, and to remove any suspicion that their own actions could have been to blame. In light of this, it may be suggested that the familiar story of the Gunpowder Plot demands a second look, an exploration into not only the traitors' stated motives, but the spin the state authorities sought to put on it, and the reasons they may have done so.*

On the morning of 5 November 1605 Guy Fawkes was arrested, having just completed his penultimate checks in preparation for what Sir Edward Coke termed one of 'the greatest treasons that ever were plotted in England'.[2] The aim of the plotters was to have blown up the Houses of Parliament whilst the king and its members met for only the second time in what would have been an extremely short reign. That the plotters did not succeed was down to what was later claimed as divine providence, although more prosaically consisted of an anonymous letter and the predilection of the new king for suspecting gunpowder.[3] The seriousness of the threat, and indeed its closeness to completion, has contributed to the Gunpowder Plot's retention in public memory down to the twenty-first century. However, as with most if not all examples of treason during the early modern period, the account that we have of the plot is heavily influenced by the state's control of the trial proceedings. Thus, through a comparison of the official state account and trial records with the claims of the traitors themselves, it becomes possible to argue that the state exaggerated elements of the Catholic plot in order to present a version which conformed to their own agenda. This is evident in three respects. First, it can be contended that the longevity of the plot was exaggerated by the state in an attempt to prove that the plotters were not

[1] Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Treason in Tudor England: Politics and Paranoia,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p.69.
[2] Thomas Bayly Howell, 'The Trials of Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, John Grant, Ambrose Rockwood, Ro. Keyes, Thomas Bates, and Sir Everard Digby, at Westminster, for High Treason, being Conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot: 3 Jac. I. 27th June. A.D. 1606' [hereafter 'Trial of the conspirators'], in *Cobbett's complete collection of state trials and proceedings for high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours from the earliest period to the present time*, 33 vols., (London: Bagshaw, 1809) II, pp. 159-217, (p.166).
[3] William Barlow, *The First Sermon Preached Concerning the Great Deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot November 10 1605*, < http://cbladey.com/guy/html/williambarlowe.html#The%20Sermon> [accessed 30 March 2021].

reacting to the events of James I's fledgling reign in England, and thus to remove any suggestion that they had provided a motive for this violent treason. Second, the emphasis placed on the role of Jesuit priests in supporting and furthering the plot may be seen as a device by a Protestant government to increase anti-Catholic sentiment in a measured and controlled way. Finally, the weight placed on the primacy of religion as a motive for the plot may conceivably have demonstrated a desire to avoid revealing anti-Scottish sentiment as a motivator for opposition to the new king. Certainly, James I's public assertion that the traitors could not allege 'so much as a pretended cause of grief' was far from the truth, although the limited stage given to the accused makes any assertion on their part harder to prove.[4]

The first claim then that can be made is that the longevity of the Catholic plot was exaggerated by the state in order to reduce their culpability. Whilst historian Mark Nicholls has determined that 'revenge was the emotional cement that bonded Catesby's plot together', the state worked fervently to insist this was impossible.[5] According to Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney General and Prosecuting Council for the Gunpowder treason trials, the traitors had formed their plan before James I had passed the 1603 Jesuit Act, 'An act for the due execution of the Statutes against Jesuits, seminary Priests and recusants'.[6] This reinforced the statute of 27 Eliz. C. 2., banning all Catholic priests from entering or remaining in England.[7] The passing of this Act could conceivably have given zealous Catholics a reason to revolt, as without priests they would have been unable to hear mass or attend confession, both necessary in their minds to the security of their souls.

If Coke's timeline is true and the plot was constructed before this, the state (comprised as it was of King and parliament) could not have been directly responsible for the grievances of the traitors. James Sharpe has suggested that the plot began 20 May 1604, and according to Guy Fawkes' deposition he was first introduced to the idea of a plot 'Easter last was twelve-month', some months before the Jesuit Act received royal assent in July 1604, seemingly supporting Coke's argument.[8] However, it is evident that the plotters' discontent must have had a cause, even if it was not the passing of this Act. In Sir Everard Digby's speech following his indictment he claimed he had acted out of four motives, the third of which was 'that promises were broken with the Catholicks'.[9] Although James I had made no concrete promises on his succession to the throne, as the son of a Queen widely viewed as a Catholic

[4] James I's Speech to both Houses of Parliament on occasion of the Gunpowder-Treason, <http://cbladey.com/guy/html/thekingsbook.html#King%20IAMES%20HIS%20SPEECH> [accessed 29 March 2021].
[5] Mark Nicholls, 'Strategy and Motivation in the Gunpowder Plot', *The Historical Journal*, 50 (2007), 787-807, (p.800).
[6] Trial of the conspirators, p.177; James DeWitt Andrews, et al. *Commentaries on the Laws of England In Four Books*, 4th edn, 2 vols, (Chicago: Callaghan and Company, 1899), II, p.1277.
[7] Ibid.
[8] James Sharpe, *Remember Remember the fifth of November: Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot*, (London: Profile Books, 2005), p.46; Guy Fawkes' deposition, Trial of the conspirators, p.202.
[9] Sir Everard Digby's Speech, Trial of the conspirators, p.187.

martyr many had expected him to show greater toleration to his Catholic subjects once he became King of England. Indeed, whilst in Scotland he had hinted at such policies in order to gain Catholic support for what would otherwise have been a strongly Protestant bid for the English crown. These promises, made in secret correspondence with the Earl of Northumberland and relayed by Thomas Percy, had been wildly exaggerated by the soon-to-be plotter and subsequently publicised by the Jesuit Father Oswald Tesimond.[10] Given the increasing persecution of Catholics under Elizabeth I it is perhaps unsurprising that zealous disciples seized on such promises, unlikely as they were, and felt such betrayal when they were abandoned. The Earl of Northampton in his rebuttal to Digby's speech at the trial argued that had the plotters discerned 'any one green leaf' of toleration for Catholics under the new regime, they would not have begun their plans so early.[11] Mark Nicholls however contends that the plotters never trusted James I's vague promises, and that to them he represented the continuation of a stable Protestant state which threatened to destroy all their hopes.[12] This then helps to explain why the plot had not been against the king's life only. As the state was so keen to emphasise, the plotters had intended to decimate the entirety of Parliament as well, thus it was inadequate simply to underline the blamelessness of the sovereign as Coke had been instructed to do.[13] The Houses of Parliament had been chosen as the site of the attack because they were viewed by the plotters as representing the origin of Catholic persecution, and as such a change of monarch would not alter that.

The state authorities hoped to extricate themselves from a position of responsibility by placing the origins of the plot as far back as possible and denying what they saw as the potential for a primary motivator in James I's alleged promises, both by arguing the genesis of the plot occurred under Elizabeth I and by emphasising the possible link to previous treasons, such as Raleigh's Protestant Main Plot, for which renewed persecution of the Catholics could hold no blame.[14] Unfortunately for them, the revenge the plotters sought was not against the king only (an implausibility given the newness of his reign) but against the Protestant state itself which had continued to push for anti-Catholic measures under the new king and thus ensured that the seeds of discontent planted in the previous reign came to bear fruit.

In addition to this, it may be argued that the influence of members of the Society of Jesus, the zealously Catholic Jesuits, on the Gunpowder plot was exaggerated by the state in order to increase anti-Catholicism in a controlled manner. In his opening statement for the trial of Henry Garnet, the Jesuit Superior, Coke made a point of referring to the elements of the plot connected to the priest as

[10] Antonia Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605,* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996; repr. London: Phoenix, 2002), p.50.
[11] Earl of Northampton's speech, Trial of the conspirators, p.192.
[12] Nicholls, 'Strategy', p.802.
[13] Fraser, p.266.
[14] Mark Nicholls, *Investigating the Gunpowder Plot,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p.14.

'the Jesuits Treason' because 'they were the proprietaries, plotters and procurers of it'.[15] The King's Parliament was comprised of English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians, and as such a radical Catholic order was the clear choice for a scapegoat. Although James I, in line with his moderate approach, was careful in his speech to Parliament on 9 November not to blame all Catholics for the plot, he did concede that no other sect of 'Heretiques' maintained it was 'meritorious' to murder the King in the cause of religion.[16] This early emphasis on the role of the Jesuits serves to indicate the state's apportioning of blame. Although the accused were individually culpable, the orchestration and instigation of the plot was to lie at the feet of the Jesuits. During the trial of the main conspirators Coke made the point that 'Catesby was resolved by the Jesuits that the [plan] was both lawful and meritorious', whilst the fact that the plotters took communion as a way to seal their oath (prosecutors conveniently ignored the fact that the priest administering the sacrament was unaware of this) again paints a damning picture of Jesuit involvement.[17] In addition, Robert Wintour stated in his confession taken on 17 January that immediately following the discovery of the plot he and others had made confession to Father Hammond, an alias of the Jesuit Father Hart, and had been absolved.[18]

Historian Antonia Fraser argues that this ritual of confession and partaking of the sacrament was likely done in anticipation of the traitors' inevitable deaths, but nevertheless to have on record the fact that a Jesuit priest had given absolution for treason strengthened the state's position considerably.[19] Not only were the Jesuits accused of supporting the plot, they were also implicated in the creation of it. Coke was at pains to suggest that Jesuit treason was an established fact, and quoted list of previous treasons attempted under Elizabeth I in order to demonstrate a trend.[20] However, according to the trial records and Garnet's own examination, the Jesuit Superior was not made aware of the full extent of the plot until June 1605 when he heard what he took to be a walking confession from his fellow Jesuit Tesimond, who had received his information through the confession of Catesby's servant Thomas Bates whom he had absolved as committing a 'justifiable and good' action.[21] Knowing about an intended treason is not the same as committing one, but the state sought to present it as such. Garnet was guilty of misprision of treason due to his observance of the seal of the confessional. Although his actual involvement in the plot was minimal, this act was shaped by the state to indicate a divided loyalty which placed obedience to his faith (and thus indirectly to the Pope) above the safety of his sovereign. This had been the constant

[15] Thomas Bayly Howell, 'The Trial of Henry Garnet, Superior and the Jesuits in England, at the Guildhall of London, for a High Treason, being a Conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot: 4 Jac. I. 28th of March, A.D. 1606' [hereafter 'Garnet's trial'], in *Cobbett's complete collection of state trials and proceedings for high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours from the earliest period to the present time,* 33 vols., (London: Bagshaw, 1809) II, pp.217-259, (p.221).
[16] James I's Speech.
[17] Trial of the conspirators, p.175.
[18] Fraser, p.269.
[19] Fraser, p.270.
[20] Garnet's trial, p.225.
[21] Garnet's trial, p.230.

accusation levelled against Catholics since the Reformation and no doubt prompted the clause in the Popish Recusants Act of 1605 which made it high treason to obey the authority of Rome over that of the king.[22] By exaggerating the extent to which the Jesuits were involved in the Gunpowder Plot, as well as highlighting their treason in entering England in the first place, the trial of Henry Garnet was used to underline and emphasise the perceived inherent treachery of all Jesuit priests.

Interestingly, Mark Nicholls has shown that the focus of the state remained closely on the Jesuits, rather than tarring all Catholics with the same brush as might have been expected.[23] This is demonstrated clearly in a comparison of Thomas Winter's confession, taken 23 November 1605, with Coke's repetition of his words in the trial which took place on 27 January 1606. Winter confessed that when Catesby proposed blowing up the Houses of Parliament he had demurred, stating that if the plan failed the scandal would be so great 'which the *Catholic religion* might hereby sustain' that even their friends would condemn them.[24] In contrast, when Coke referred to this in the trial he stated that the fear had been that had this plan not succeeded 'it would have overthrown the state of the whole *society of the Jesuits*'.[25] This substitution of the one for the other highlights the state's intention of focusing blame on the Jesuit order, and perhaps explains why there was no mass state-sponsored persecution of Catholics following the revelation of the plot. It would be impossible to deny the influence of Catholicism running through the plot, but by pinning the blame on the Jesuits the state was able to focus its attention on one specific and more easily identifiable group from which to protect the nation, without having to contend with the issue of a potentially Catholic Queen and the impracticality of identifying 'Church Papists' across the country.[26]

Whilst religion was undoubtedly the primary motive for the plotters, it may be argued that the exclusivity of that motive was exaggerated by the state to avoid mentioning the anti-Scottish sentiment espoused by some of the traitors. James I made clear the state's position on the matter by arguing in his speech to Parliament on the discovery of the plot that 'there was no cause moving him or them, but merely, and only Religion'.[27] Certainly the emphasis on the 'Jesuit Treason' as discussed earlier would seem to uphold this, as would to some extent the traitors' depositions – the only one of Everard Digby's stated motives not to involve religion was his professed love for Catesby.[28] However it is impossible to ignore Fawkes' retort during his first interrogation in the presence of the king that 'his intent was to have blown them back into Scotland.'[29] Coming from a man who was otherwise noted to be unusually

[22] Popish Recusants Act, 3 Jac. 1 C. 4.
[23] Nicholls, p.47.
[24] Winter's confession, Trial of the conspirators, p.204 (Italics my own).
[25] Trial of the conspirators, p.174 (Italics my own).
[26] Fraser, p.33.
[27] James I's Speech.
[28] Trial of the conspirators, p.187.
[29] Jenny Wormald, 'Gunpowder, Treason and Scots', *Journal of British Studies,* 24 (1985), 141-168, (p.161).

calm, this outburst is significant in its venom. It revealed a much more specific animosity towards the Scots, as the 'them' could only have referred to the king and any ministers he had brought with him from Scotland. This then evidences a resentment, on the part of Fawkes at least if not the rest of the plotters, that was heavily tinged with xenophobia. Jenny Wormald has since argued in her studies that anti-Scottish feeling was rife throughout England, and had become especially militant after 1603 when the king and his ministers began to arrive in the south.[30] However much Sir Edward Philips, His Majesties Sergeant at Law, could lament the monstrosity of planning to 'murder and subvert such a king', it cannot be denied that there were those within the country who would rather have had an English monarch.[31]

The emphasis on James I's nationality is an important point to address. Despite the fervency with which the state emphasised the legitimacy of his claim to the throne, he was not English. The saddler William Fletcher was indicted in July 1603 for stating that 'no foreign prince should inherit the crown' whilst Thomas Browne, yeoman, declared that if the king should come to England he 'would tell him he was come into a place whereof he was not worthie'.[32] The same Thomas Browne expected the earl of Hertford to muster thirty thousand men in the West Country to withstand the King's coming, and it is no great stretch to attribute the same attitude to Fawkes.[33] After all he had claimed that the plotters would have 'spent the last drop of their blood' to have resisted foreign control in the shape of a Catholic king of Spain, and surely the prospect of a Protestant king from a nation the English viewed as innately inferior could be no better.[34] The focus of the King's first session of Parliament was the proposed union of England and Scotland, a proposal which was consistently rejected by the House of Commons. It is interesting then that the proclamation the traitors intended to publicise in the name of the Princess Elizabeth, had the plan succeeded, would have 'protested against the Union, and in no sort have meddled with Religion herein.'[35] Given that the statement was intended to 'avow and justifie the Action' it is likely that the avoidance of the divisive subject of religion was a tactical decision aimed at securing as much support as possible.[36] If this is the case, it would imply that the plotters viewed opposition to the union as something which would engender mass support. This again suggests that the issue of anti-Scottish sentiment was not confined to Guy Fawkes alone. James I stated that he 'scarcely ever knew any of [the traitors]' as if to imply that a personal knowledge of the monarch was needed in order to oppose the state, however the animosity of the plotters seems to have been much more general

[30] Wormald, pp.159-160.
[31] Trial of the conspirators, p.164.
[32] M.A.E. Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1603-1610* (London, 1857), Treasonable speeches of certain labourers, p.26; Wormald, pp.159-160.
[33] Wormald, p.160.
[34] Wormald, p.165.
[35] Examination of Guy Fawkes, The National Archives, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/gunpowder-plot/source-5/> [accessed 29 March 2021].
[36] Wormald, p.162.

than that.[37] In December 1605 the Venetian Ambassador reported that a list had been found among one of the prisoners' belongings which detailed the addresses of all the houses inhabited by Scots in England. According to the unnamed prisoners the plan had been to massacre the entire Scottish population of England following the success of the plot.[38] The Ambassador later stated that the publication of this news 'increased the hatred between the two nations' which perhaps explains why no mention was made of it in the trials of the plotters in January 1606.[39] For a king who was attempting to secure harmony between his two kingdoms, it was infinitely preferable to exaggerate the religious motivations of this treason in order to remove focus from the nationalistic aspects of the plot which ran the risk of receiving support from all too many people.

Overall then it can be argued that whilst the state did not exaggerate the destructive potential of the Catholic Gunpowder plot, a feat which would have been hard to do given that it was openly aimed at 'the destruction and dissolution of the frame and fabrick of [the]… monarchy; even the deletion of [their] whole name and nation', they did overstate the relative importance of various factors in order to present their own version of events.[40] James I had been on the throne for little over two years when this third treason attempt was made and it was key for the authorities to maintain order by carefully controlling the trial narrative. As fellow plotter Robert Winter had discussed with Fawkes, the possibility that his and Catesby's sons might 'revenge the cause' alongside new plotters needed to be prevented by the state above all else.[41] Thus the state's exaggerated tale of an unprompted, fanatical, Jesuit plot, hell-bent on destroying the 'greatest king that ever was of England' was, to them at least, a political necessity if the Stuart dynasty were to survive past its infancy.[42]

[37] James I's Speech.
[38] H.F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* [hereafter: *CSPV*], *Volume 10, 1603-07* (London, 1900), entry for 22 December 1605, Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.
[39] *CSPV*, 10, 1603-07, letter from the Doge to James I, 22 December 1603.
[40] Trial of the conspirators, p.167.
[41] Trial of the conspirators, p.186.
[42] Trial of the conspirators, p.166.

Bibliography

Primary

Barlow, William, *The First Sermon Preached Concerning the Great Deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot November 10 1605*, <http://cbladey.com/guy/html/williambarlowe.html#The%20Sermon>

Brown, H.F. (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, Volume 10, 1603-07* (London, 1900)

Examination of Guy Fawkes, *The National Archives*, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/gunpowder-plot/source-5/>

Green, M.A.E. (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1603-1610* (London, 1857)

Howell, Thomas Bayly, 'The Trial of Henry Garnet, Superior and the Jesuits in England, at the Guildhall of London, for a High Treason, being a Conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot: 4 Jac. I. 28th of March, A.D. 1606', in *Cobbett's complete collection of state trials and proceedings for high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours from the earliest period to the present time,* 33 vols., (London: Bagshaw, 1809) II, pp.217-259

— 'The Trials of Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, John Grant, Ambrose Rockwood, Rob. Keyes, Thomas Bates, and Sir Everard Digby, at Westminster, for High Treason, being Conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot: 3 Jac. I. 27th Jane. A.D. 1606', in *Cobbett's complete collection of state trials and proceedings for high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours from the earliest period to the present time,* 33 vols., (London: Bagshaw, 1809) II, pp. 159-217

James I's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, On occasion of the Gunpowder-Treason, <http://cbladey.com/guy/html/thekingsbook.html#King%20IAMES%20HIS%20SPEECH>

Popish Recusants Act, 3 Jac. 1 C. 4

Secondary

— 'Strategy and Motivation in the Gunpowder Plot', *The Historical Journal*, 50 (2007), 787-807

Andrews, James DeWitt, et al. *Commentaries on the Laws of England In Four Books,* 4th edn, 2 vols, (Chicago: Callaghan and Company, 1899), II

Fraser, Antonia, *The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605,* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996; repr. London: Phoenix, 2002)

Nicholls, Mark, *Investigating the Gunpowder Plot,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991)

Sharpe, James, *Remember Remember the fifth of November: Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot,* (London: Profile Books, 2005)

Smith, Lacey Baldwin, *Treason in Tudor England: Politics and Paranoia,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986)

Wormald, Jenny, 'Gunpowder, Treason and Scots', *Journal of British Studies,* 24 (1985), 141-168

Malta and its Metropole; Empire and its Britain: An analysis of nineteenth century metropolitan thought in relation to the Crown Colony of Malta

Benjamin Allen

Abstract: *Growing up as British and Maltese, Malta was often presented to me in personal conversations and imperial histories as little more than a British fortress. However, Malta provides a prime example of the ways in which the empire shared powerful connections with Britain that shaped both the colony and the metropole. This small crown colony in the centre of the Mediterranean influenced metropolitan political and racial thought. Malta generated anxieties in the metropole forcing Britons to reaffirm their commitment to liberal values and to reconfigure their racial ideas around the Maltese and whiteness to overcome these anxieties. The influence this small archipelago had over one of the most powerful imperial forces in history demonstrates that historians must view Britain and Empire as interconnected and mutually constitutive and must not exclude less prominent colonies from such approaches.*

Britain is visible everywhere in Malta. In Valletta, one can walk from the Anglican St. Paul's Pro-Cathedral to Upper Barrakka Gardens and watch as people in full colonial dress continue the British-established midday gun salute.[1] In short, it is no secret that Britain shaped this colony, as it did many others, in various ways. However, whilst Britain shaped Malta, Malta also shaped Britain. Following the defeat of Napoleonic forces on the island in 1800, Malta spent thirteen years as a British protectorate before becoming a crown colony in 1813. Malta has often been treated as little more than a British fortress, as something only prominent in imperial thought and histories during military considerations or times of conflict. Military and imperial historiographies have portrayed Maltese prosperity as dependent on powerful nations that could exploit the strategic value of the archipelago, its ability to be a safe military base that could act as a "central cog" in a Mediterranean empire.[2] Such approaches echo declarations made by nineteenth-century metropolitan Britons like Disraeli and Wellington, who viewed Malta only as a 'garrison', a 'ship… in the service' from where Britain could exert its dominance.[3] However, colonial issues around Malta caused anxieties in Britain over political and racial thought. Throughout the nineteenth century, British liberals reaffirmed their commitment to representative government and press freedom when Maltese issues challenged them. Meanwhile,

[1] "Saluting Battery", *Visit Malta*, 2021 <https://www.visitmalta.com/en/a/info/saluting-battery/> [Accessed 18 November 2021].
[2] Dennis A Castillo, *The Maltese Cross: A Strategic History Of Malta* (London: Praeger Security International, 2006), pp.14-15; James Davey, "Britain's European Island Empire, 1793-1815", in *Islands And The British Empire In The Age Of Sail*, ed. by Douglas Hamilton and John McAleer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 47-48.
[3] Benjamin Disraeli, "Letter IX", in *Home Letters Written By The Late Earl Of Beaconsfield In 1830 And 1831*, ed. by Ralph Disraeli (London: John Murray, 1885), p.70; Southampton, Hartley Library Archives, Wellington Papers, WP2/58/117, Wellington's reply to a letter from Thomas Frankland Lewis, 29 Hertford Street: his son, George Lewis, seeks an interview with Wellington on the freedom of the Press in Malta, April 1839.

anxieties in Britain over the whiteness of their Maltese subjects contributed to a reconfiguration of racial thought in the metropole, in which whiteness became less European whilst the Maltese were manufactured into an Oriental 'other'. Malta, therefore, provides an example of colonies influencing nineteenth-century metropolitan thought, demonstrating that Britain and Empire were mutually constitutive and completely interconnected. This Maltese example counters the binary divide between Britain and Empire that nationalist historiographies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries established, supporting Hall's argument that the relations between Britain and the Empire shaped both the colonies and the metropole.[4] However, exploring the Maltese crown colony also reveals gaps in current historiographies. It highlights the issues in current combinations of historiographies of imperial islands and interconnectedness. Through Malta, Britain and Empire can be seen as mutually constitutive, not just in limited terms of practicality or narrow spatial focuses, but also through the construction of nineteenth century thought in colonies often overlooked in imperial historiography. Malta shows that we should not just think of the nineteenth century as Britain and its empire, but also as Empire and its Britain.

The connections between Malta and the metropole are seen in the influences the colony exerted over British political thought. Issues over representative government in Malta caused anxiety amongst metropolitan liberals namely members of the Whig, Radical and Liberal parties. Whilst liberalism appeared in diverse forms, it ultimately sought to protect and expand individual freedoms, and asserted the moral primacy of individuals against any social collective whilst promoting egalitarianism.[5] The liberal ideal was to create societies of self-reliant and responsible citizens, and the empire itself was portrayed as a tutelage tool to create such societies from the 'uncivilised'.[6] Yet, the lack of representative government in Malta went against these liberal concepts. Maltese activists, including George Mitrovich and Sigismondo Savona, highlighted this failure of metropolitan liberals to apply their ideology to the colonies, calling upon them to provide 'justice' as England had 'bound herself' to preserving Maltese governance.[7] Without representative government Maltese society could not be self-reliant, nor could everybody have equal rights and opportunities. Such colonial issues, therefore,

[4] Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, "Introduction: Being At Home With The Empire", in *At Home With The Empire: Metropolitan Culture And The Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.8; Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole And Colony In The English Imagination 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p.8.
[5] Richard Bellamy, "Introduction", in *Victorian Liberalism: Nineteenth-Century Political Thought And Practice*, ed. by Richard Bellamy (London: Routledge, 1990), p.1; John Gray, *Liberalism*, 2nd edn (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995), p.xii.
[6] Bellamy, "Introduction", in *Victorian Liberalism*, ed. by Richard Bellamy, p.2; Kenneth Pomeranz, "Empire & 'Civilizing' Missions, Past & Present", *Daedalus*, 134.2 (2005), 34-45 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20027976> [Accessed 7 March 2022], p.36
[7] George Mitrovich, *The Cause Of The People Of Malta; Now Before Parliament* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1836) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/60211091> [Accessed 1 November 2021], p.83; Sigismondo Savona, *The Petition Of The Maltese To The House Of Commons: A Letter Addressed To H.M. Principal Secretary Of State For The Colonies* (Valletta, 1880) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/60239112> [Accessed 1 November 2021], p.6.

challenged metropolitan liberals over their commitment to their beliefs whilst bringing into question the true role of the 'liberal' empire through revealing its sustained systematic exclusion.[8]

To overcome the anxiety this generated, metropolitan liberals reaffirmed their commitment to representative government. In 1846 Governor Patrick Stuart, due to his Sabbatarian beliefs, attempted to suppress the Maltese pre-Lenten Carnival tradition of Sunday mask-wearing.[9] After this betrayal of the liberal value of individualism led to protests and petitions from the Maltese, Stuart's metropolitan superiors replaced him with Malta's first civilian governor and granted Malta a legislative council with 8 elected seats in 1849.[10] Whilst this new system of governance provided some Maltese with their first votes under British rule, most seats remained crown appointed. This generated further criticism of the colonial government in 1880, with Savona petitioning the House of Commons and criticising the representation provided by the 1849 Constitution as 'nominal, rather than real'.[11] Such criticisms forced the metropole to establish an elected majority in Malta's government.[12]

Following the 1846 Carnival incident, further reaffirmations of liberal values were heard in the House of Commons. Radical M.P. Joseph Hume condemned Stuart's authoritarian actions as being 'contrary to the true principles of civil and religious liberty'.[13] Fellow Liberal peers, including Palmerston, Cowper and Somerville, agreed with this condemnation, voting in agreement with Hume's statement.[14] Nor were such reaffirmations to the principle of representative government isolated cases. In 1836, William Ewart referred to the lack of representative government in Malta as a pressing evil that required immediate amendment, whilst in 1882 George Anderson critiqued the metropolitan Government for not doing more to promote Maltese prosperity by making changes to the civil administration.[15] In attempting to overcome the anxieties caused by the Maltese challenge over their

---

[8] Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism And Empire: A Study In 19th Century Liberal Thought* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p.46.
[9] Vicki Ann Cremona, *Carnival And Power: Play And Politics In A Crown Colony* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.149-150.
[10] Cremona, *Carnival And Power*, pp.17-18; Joseph F. Grima, "It Happened In May: The Malta Constitution Of 1849", *Times Of Malta*, 2020 <https://timesofmalta.com/articles/view/it-happened-in-may-the-malta-constitution-of-1849.789227> [Accessed 1 November 2021].
[11] Savona, *The Petition Of The Maltese*, p.7
[12] Albert Ganado, "The Representative Government Constitution Of 1887", in *Landmarks In Maltese Constitutional History 1849-1974*, ed. by Henry Frendo (Valletta: Central Bank of Malta, 2012), p.25, <https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/bitstream/123456789/55175/1/The_representative_government_constitution_of_1887.pdf> [Accessed 2 November 2021].
[13] House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (3 August 1846, Vol. 88, Cols. 318-330 (Col.321)) [online] <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1846-08-03/debates/a72b9d13-ba88-4710-b357-22d1d283d461/TheCarnivalAtMalta> [Accessed 2 November 2021].
[14] Ibid.
[15] House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (7 June 1836, Vol. 34, Cols.161-165 (Col.163)) [online] <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1836-06-07/debates/65951024-7a03-4dc0-aad4-90eb462192dd/Malta> [Accessed 2 November 2021]; House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (9 June 1882, Vol. 270, Col.665) [online] <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1882-06-09/debates/94f0b06d-8a85-4506-a483-5dfb00ccd99d/AffairsOfMalta%E2%80%94NoticeOfMotion> [Accessed 2 November 2021].

ideological failure in the colonies, metropolitan liberals allowed a colony to influence their beliefs. Malta influenced metropolitan liberalism into supporting the colonial quest for increased representation by forcing a reaffirmation from the metropole over its commitment to the principle of representative government. In doing so, Malta exerted constitutive power over metropolitan politics.

The issue of Maltese press freedom also shows the influence of Malta on nineteenth-century liberalism. Press freedom was, in theory, a tenet central to British liberalism. Liberals such as Thomas Babington Macaulay praised press freedom, exalting the 1695 abolition of press licensing as of 'much interest… as any of those battles and sieges' that occurred as part of the liberal-revered Glorious Revolution.[16] Therefore, the pre-1839 censorship of the Maltese press generated further anxiety amongst metropolitan liberals, as it again revealed their failure to apply their ideology to the colonies.

To cure this anxiety, liberals reaffirmed the centrality of press freedom to their ideology. On the 7th June 1836, whilst discussing press censorship in Malta, William Ewart referred to the establishment of press freedom as a 'wise liberality'.[17] In doing so, he reaffirmed that press freedom was an important tenet of liberalism. Shortly after, liberal politicians increased their action on establishing press freedom in the metropole by targeting newspaper stamp duties. These duties required papers to pay to receive a stamp, raising the cost of papers whilst deeming any without a stamp illegal. This reduced public access to the news and saw hundreds imprisoned. Whilst the abolition of stamp duties on newspapers was in discussion for some time before the issue of press freedom in Malta was raised in the Commons, after the Maltese issue had been raised these discussions became much more prominent, and liberals became more vocal in their support. Discussions on Newspaper stamp duties occurred frequently throughout the summer of 1836 in the Houses of Parliament (Fig.1). In these sessions, metropolitan liberals voiced their support for the weakening or abolition of these duties to free the press. Joseph Hume, who had been present when Ewart reaffirmed his commitment to press freedom, openly called for the duty to be abolished entirely.[18] This increased commitment to press freedom occurred in an attempt to cure metropolitan anxieties after a colony challenged them over their commitment to their beliefs. Therefore, Malta influenced metropolitan liberals into altering the central principles of their ideology.

---

[16] Bianca Fontana, "Whigs And Liberals: The Edinburgh Review And The 'Liberal' Movements In Nineteenth-Century Britain", in *Victorian Liberalism*, ed. by Richard Bellamy, p.43; Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The Complete Works Of Lord Macaulay*, 20 vols (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), VIII, pp.154-155; Victoria Gardner, "Liberty, Licence And Leveson", *Historytoday.Com*, 2013 <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/liberty-licence-and-leveson> [Accessed 18 November 2021].

[17] House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (7 June 1836, Vol. 34, Cols.161-165 (Col.162)).

[18] House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (7 June 1836, Vol. 34, Cols.161-165 (Col.164)); House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (10 August 1836, Vol. 35, Cols. 1087-1093 (Col. 1092)) [online] < https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1836-08-10/debates/eec9b77d-a340-45f7-8349-4a372cdfe1ac/StampDuties%E2%80%94Newspapers> [Accessed 10 November 2021].

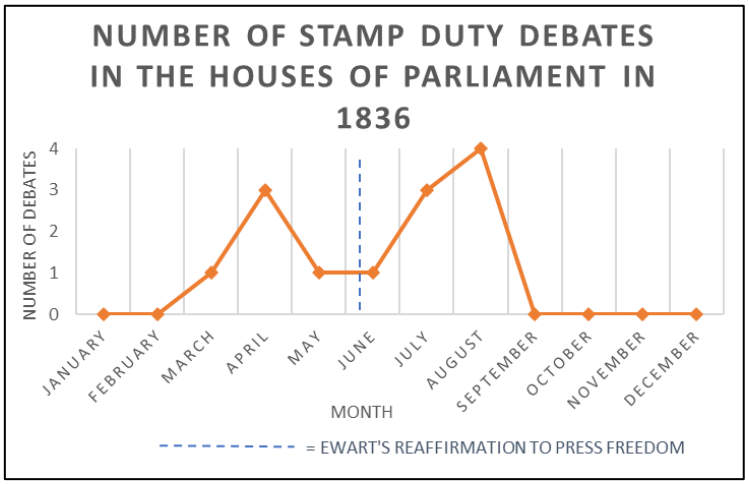


Figure 1 (Author's Own): data compiled from Hansard Parliamentary Debates Search.[19]

Malta also influenced metropolitan racial thought. The existence of Malta as a colony challenged British conceptions of race and colonisation. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the genetically Siculo-Arabic Maltese were placed firmly within Europe.[20] Early nineteenth-century writings declared the Maltese as a free people 'governed by laws', directly echoing the Linnaean definition of Europeans.[21] Furthermore, the Maltese had the required characteristics for nationhood.[22] Therefore, the presence of Malta as a colony generated significant metropolitan anxiety. The construction of the Maltese as both white and 'other' blurred the lines of inclusion and exclusion, whilst the status of the Maltese as a European nation further brought into question the justification of British colonial domination in Malta.

[19] Houses of Parliament, "Find Debates - Hansard - UK Parliament", *Hansard.Parliament.Uk*, 2021 < https://hansard.parliament.uk/search/Debates?startDate=1836-01-01&endDate=1836-12-31&searchTerm=stamp&partial=False > [Accessed 06 March 2022].
[20] Alex E. Felice, "Genetic Origin Of Contemporary Maltese", *Times Of Malta*, 2007 <https://timesofmalta.com/articles/view/genetic-origin-of-contemporary-maltese.9032> [Accessed 3 November 2021].
[21] Extract from the instructions given to John Richards esq., agent for the Maltese, 1806, as cited in Mitrovich, *The Cause Of The People Of Malta*, p.16; Carl Linnaeus, *A General System Of Nature, Through The Three Grand Kingdoms Of Animals, Vegetables, And Minerals, Systematically Divided Into Their Several Classes, Orders, Genera, Species, And Varieties, With Their Habitations, Manners, Economy, Structure, And Peculiarities*, trans. by Gmelin, Fabricius, Willdenow, &c., 7 Vols. (London: Lackington, Allen and Co., 1806), I, p.9.
[22] Henry Frendo, *Party Politics In A Fortress Colony: The Maltese Experience*, 2nd edn (Valletta: Midsea Publication, 1991), p.1.

To many Britons, the idea of the British nation justified colonising those who were not nations.[23] A nation colony, especially a European and therefore a white one, thus undermined the legitimacy of British authority.[24]

Metropolitans therefore set out to reconfigure their concepts of race to exclude the Maltese and re-justify the colonial project, demonstrating racial concepts were not forged solely through metropolitan reflections on the self but through contact with and concerns over imperial others. The reconfiguration of whiteness to exclude the Maltese was achieved through orientalising them, splitting their Siculo-Arabic identity in two and reconstructing the Maltese as existing only within the Arabic side of this divide. As a European invention, constructing the Orient provided Britain with a way for dominating the places incorporated within it, depicting its Arabic inhabitants as, among other things, lethargic liars who were the opposite of the Anglo-Saxon race.[25] This orientalist reconfiguration of the Maltese by the metropole grew across the nineteenth century. In 1838, an article in *Cleave's London Satirist and Gazette of Variety* portrayed the Maltese as a people with frizzled black hair and thick lips that dressed in loose clothing.[26] This description re-invoked Linnaean racial thought, but this time described the Maltese as more African through the shared 'characteristics' of frizzled black hair and 'tumid' lips, and as more Asiatic through their loose clothing.[27] Such descriptions thus began to establish the Maltese as a people relatively associated with the Orient.

However, whilst the Maltese were being manufactured as less white, they were still European, with George Percy Badger referring to them as such in 1838.[28] Therefore, whilst orientalising the Maltese, metropolitans, and their associates, also reconfigured ideas about whiteness, shifting from an understanding where whiteness and Europeanness were synonymous to a hierarchy with Anglo-Saxons at the top.[29] When writing about his visit to the Mediterranean in 1855, William Cowper Prime placed the Maltese together with Arabs, Italians, French and Greeks, describing them as 'second class' and suggesting 'they lay in heaps along the deck until the pumps sent the water flooding over them'.[30]

---

[23] Andrew Porter, "Empires In The Mind", in *The Cambridge Illustrated History Of The British Empire*, ed. by P. J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.223.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 1, 3, 38-39.
[26] 'Malta and the Maltese', *Cleave's London Satirist and Gazette of Variety*, 24 November 1838 [online] Gale Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals, <https://go-gale-com.soton.idm.oclc.org/ps/i.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton&id=GALE|DX1900498001&v=2.1&it=r&sid=bookmark-NCUK&asid=aac6a199> p.4.
[27] Linnaeus, *A General System Of Nature*, trans. by Gmelin, Fabricius, Willdenow, &c, I, p.9.
[28] George Percy Badger, *Description Of Malta And Gozo* (Malta: M. Weiss, 1838), p.i.
[29] Porter, "Empires In The Mind", in *The Cambridge Illustrated History Of The British Empire*, ed. by P. J. Marshall, p. 223.
[30] David L. Kennedy and Brett D. Hirsch, "Prime Suspect: William Cowper Prime In The Holy Land And The Identity Of "An American" In Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 1858", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 148.2 (2016), 110-132 <https://hcommons.org/deposits/objects/hc:10792/datastreams/CONTENT/content> [Accessed 14 November 2021], p. 116; William Cowper Prime, *Boat Life In Egypt And Nubia* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1874), p. 23.

Whilst Prime was a US citizen, his position as a white American placed him amongst the Anglo-Saxons situated at the top of the hierarchy of whiteness. His regard of these groups as second-class when they would have once been seen as fellow white Europeans demonstrates the reconfiguration of whiteness into a hierarchy in which those like Prime were first class, and that such ideas had become established and spread globally. Furthermore, through Prime's writings, we see a further reconfiguration of the Maltese as an Oriental other, with his description of them lethargically laying upon the deck matching the stereotypical descriptions of inhabitants of the Orient.[31]

As sexual encounters helped Europeans characterise oriental societies, Britons also sexualised the Maltese to further present them as Orientals.[32] Metropolitan Britons such as a member of the Broadland family reiterated the Byronic idea of Malta as nothing more than a 'little military hothouse'.[33] *Cleave's London Satirist* remarked that Maltese women had 'the great charm of Orientals', whilst the artist W.H. Bartlett described the traditional cloak worn by Maltese women, the ġonnella, as something that made Maltese women 'irresistible'.[34] Such sexualisation particularly helped to cure metropolitan anxieties over Malta's colonisation. Fetishization warded off crises and confusions over the boundaries between the self and others.[35] By sexualising Maltese women, these metropolitan writers further reconfigured the Maltese into something tempting and dangerous, and therefore exotic.

[31] Said, *Orientalism*, pp.38-39.
[32] Joanna De Groot, "'Sex' And 'Race': The Construction Of Language And Image In The Nineteenth Century", in *Cultures Of Empire: A Reader: Colonizers In Britain And The Empire In The Nineteenth And Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 48.
[33] Southampton, Hartley Library Archives, Broadland Papers, BR/185, Essay on British Colonies, n.d., nineteenth century, Section 3, Malta; George Gordon Byron, "Farewell To Malta", in *Lord Byron: The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann, 7 Vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), I, p. 340.
[34] 'Malta and the Maltese', *Cleave's London Satirist and Gazette of Variety*, 24 November 1838, p.4; W.H. Bartlett, *Gleanings, Pictorial And Antiquarian, On The Overland Route* (London: Hall, Virtue and Co., 1851), p.8.
[35] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender And Sexuality In The Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 33.



Figure 2: Bartlett's *A Stair Street in Valetta* depicting Maltese women coming down stairs.[36]

By the end of the Victorian period, these racial reconfigurations over the Maltese had firmly taken root in metropolitan social thought, demonstrating the imperial influence on metropolitan constructions of race. In her 1901 novel *The Lost Key*, Lady Acland has one of the characters describe some Maltese infants as 'dirty brown babies' whilst Maltese women were 'made love to' by British soldiers.[37] Such racially charged language shows at the turn of the century, the metropolitan push to reconfigure whiteness to exclude the Maltese had been successful. They were now a non-white, orientalised other. To metropolitans, the women were tempting sexual objects whilst even the most innocent of the population, the infants, were to be perceived as dishonest, therefore meeting the stereotypical depiction of the oriental as a liar.[38] Therefore, whiteness no longer applied to all Europeans in the metropolitan mind, and it certainly did not apply to the Maltese who firmly belonged to the Orient.

In both the shaping of political and racial thought in the metropole, Malta exerted influence over Britain. This demonstrates that, as claimed by Hall, metropole and colony were mutually constitutive and interconnected.[39] Looking at the Maltese crown colony further disproves the binary

[36] Bartlett, *Gleanings, Pictorial And Antiquarian, On The Overland Route*, p.9
[37] Emily Anna Acland, *The Lost Key: An International Episode* (London: John Macqueen, 1901), p.127.
[38] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 38-39.
[39] Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, p.8.

divide established between Britain and Empire by the nationalist historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[40] However, this Maltese example also reveals a significant gap within the historiographies of Malta, islands and imperial interconnectedness. The traditional representations of Malta as nothing more than Britain's 'crack garrison' have been disproven.[41] We should not view islands as mere imperial outposts, but as constitutive parts of the empire in their own right. Whilst more recent historiographies have since started to explore this interconnected nature of imperial islands, the exploration of these connections remains restricted to concepts of power and practicality. Hamilton and McAleer note that islands were 'not as isolated and unconnected as they might initially appear', yet in discussing the connections of imperial islands they focus on their practical roles in trade, exploration, settlement, and strategic competition.[42] Even within public histories, such as Royal Museums Greenwich's *Islands and Empires* online exhibition, the imperial connections of islands are framed within practicality, the role of their strategic and economically viable locations in 'the expansion and consolidation of empire'.[43] However, such a focus only narrowly expands traditional approaches to islands as outposts. The example of Malta has demonstrated islands could act similarly to continental colonies in shaping metropolitan thought, and therefore their connections with the metropole must be explored beyond practical concepts.

Imperial historians have often overlooked the small islands of empire in their studies, instead focusing on more prominent names. The nineteenth-century historian J. R. Seeley regarded the history of England as in 'America and Asia' yet, by this, he meant only the settler colonies, West Indies and India, whilst dismissing islands as 'chiefly… naval or military stations'.[44] Meanwhile, modern historians have continued this trend. Books such as *Cultures of Empire* or *At Home with Empire* focus on colonies more traditionally centred in discussions on empire, whilst showing little consideration for smaller colonies.[45] This reduces the value of these arguments on imperial interconnections. At best, it deprives these narratives of useful and fascinating historical data that can strengthen them by demonstrating that these connections, found in every imperial corner, were truly part of the empire's nature. At worst it has led to misconstructions in imperial discussions. The focus on prominent imperial names and events has led to occasional erroneous claims, such as that empire was 'simply there' at points in the metropole due to their being a lack of public critical consciousness on the subject during

[40] Hall and Rose, "Introduction", in *At Home With The Empire*, ed. by Hall and Rose, p.8.
[41] Disraeli, "Letter IX", in *Home Letters*, ed. by Ralph Disraeli, p.70; Castillo, *The Maltese Cross*, p.130.
[42] Douglas Hamilton and John McAleer, "Introduction", in *Islands And The British Empire In The Age Of Sail*, ed. by Douglas Hamilton and John McAleer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 2, 4.
[43] Colin Veach and others, "Islands And Empires: Online Exhibition", *Rmg.Co.Uk*, 2016 <https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/islands-empires-online-exhibition> [Accessed 7 March 2022].
[44] Seeley, *The Expansion Of England*, p. 13; Catherine Hall, "Introduction: Thinking The Postcolonial, Thinking Empire", in *Cultures Of Empire: A Reader: Colonizers In Britain And The Empire In The Nineteenth And Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 1.
[45] *Cultures Of Empire: A Reader: Colonizers In Britain And The Empire In The Nineteenth And Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Hall and Rose, "Introduction", in *At Home With The Empire*, ed. by Hall and Rose, p.2.

periods of lowered activity in the continental colonies.[46] Yet, the Maltese example demonstrates the empire influenced the metropole across the nineteenth century. Malta exerted political influence over metropolitan liberalism in 1836 over the issue of press freedom, and throughout the 1840s and 1880s over representative government. Malta also had a shaping influence over racial thought throughout the Victorian period. Therefore, the empire was never inactive in the metropole. Instead, colonies like Malta were always influential, even in subtle ways such as through metropolitan thought.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Malta influenced British political and racial thought. Politically, Maltese colonial issues helped shape the metropolitan ideology of liberalism. Maltese demands for representative government and press freedom highlighted a failure amongst metropolitan liberals to apply their ideology to the colonies, causing anxiety. Therefore, Malta was able to influence liberalism into reaffirming these two issues as central principles of its belief system. Meanwhile, Malta also exerted influence over British racial constructions. The anxiety caused by Maltese whiteness due to their status as Europeans saw the metropole completely reconfigure their ideas on race to re-justify the colonisation of Malta. Metropolitans shifted the definition of whiteness from European into a hierarchical construction to exclude the Maltese, an attempt furthered by the reconfiguration of the Maltese into an Oriental other. By attempting to cure their anxieties caused by Malta, metropolitans allowed their political and racial thought to be shaped and changed by it. Furthermore, Malta's influence over metropolitan thought throughout the nineteenth century shows that we must view Malta, and islands, as more than practical sites in imperial histories and that greater efforts must be made to explore the connections between island colonies and the metropole. Malta demonstrates that one should not just view nineteenth-century imperialism as a case of Britain's empire, but that we must also consider Empire's Britain.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks are owed to Dr Hannah Young for her guidance, feedback, support, and advice provided throughout the module this article was originally written for and during the process of preparing this article for submission. I would also like to dedicate this article to my grandfather and nanna. Their constant support and encouragement of my interests in my British and Maltese heritage helped inspire this article.

[46] Hall and Rose, "Introduction", in *At Home With The Empire,* ed. by Hall and Rose, p.8.

Bibliography

Primary

Acland, Emily Anna, *The Lost Key: An International Episode* (London: John Macqueen, 1901)

Badger, George Percy, Description Of Malta And Gozo (Malta: M. Weiss, 1838)

Bartlett, W.H., *Gleanings, Pictorial And Antiquarian, On The Overland Route* (London: Hall, Virtue and Co., 1851)

Byron, George Gordon, "Farewell To Malta", in *Lord Byron: The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann, 7 Vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), I, pp. 338-340

Disraeli, Benjamin, "Letter IX", in *Home Letters Written By The Late Earl Of Beaconsfield In 1830 And 1831*, ed. by Ralph Disraeli (London: John Murray, 1885), pp. 68-74

House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (7 June 1836, Vol. 34, cols.161-165) [online] <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1836-06-07/debates/65951024-7a03-4dc0-aad4-90eb462192dd/Malta> [Accessed 2 November 2021]

House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (10 August 1836, Vol. 35, Cols. 1087-1093 (Col. 1092)) [online] < https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1836-08-10/debates/eec9b77d-a340-45f7-8349-4a372cdfe1ac/StampDuties%E2%80%94Newspapers> [Accessed 10 November 2021]

House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (3 August 1846, Vol. 88, cols. 318-330) [online] <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1846-08-03/debates/a72b9d13-ba88-4710-b357-22d1d283d461/TheCarnivalAtMalta> [Accessed 2 November 2021]

House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (9 June 1882, Vol. 270, col.665) [online] <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1882-06-09/debates/94f0b06d-8a85-4506-a483-5dfb00ccd99d/AffairsOfMalta%E2%80%94NoticeOfMotion> [Accessed 2 November 2021]

Linnaeus, Carl, *A General System Of Nature, Through The Three Grand Kingdoms Of Animals, Vegetables, And Minerals, Systematically Divided Into Their Several Classes, Orders, Genera, Species, And Varieties, With Their Habitations, Manners, Economy, Structure, And Peculiarities*, trans. by Gmelin, Fabricius, Willdenow, &c., 7 Vols. (London: Lackington, Allen and Co., 1806), I

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, *The Complete Works Of Lord Macaulay*, 20 Vols. (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), VIII

'Malta and the Maltese', *Cleave's London Satirist and Gazette of Variety*, 24 November 1838 [online] Gale Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals, <https://go-gale-com.soton.idm.oclc.org/ps/i.do?p=NCUK&u=unisoton&id=GALE|DX1900498001&v=2.1&it=r&sid=bookmark-NCUK&asid=aac6a199> [Accessed 1 November 2021], p.4

Mehta, Uday Singh, *Liberalism And Empire: A Study In 19th Century Liberal Thought* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1999)

Mitrovich, George, *The Cause Of The People Of Malta; Now Before Parliament* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1836) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/60211091> [Accessed 1 November 2021]

Prime, William Cowper, *Boat Life In Egypt And Nubia* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1874)

Savona, Sigismondo, *The Petition Of The Maltese To The House Of Commons: A Letter Addressed To H.M. Principal Secretary Of State For The Colonies* (Valletta, 1880) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/60239112> [Accessed 1 November 2021]

Seeley, J. R., *The Expansion Of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971 (originally 1883))

Southampton, Hartley Library Archives, Broadland Papers, BR/185, Essay on British Colonies, n.d., nineteenth century

Southampton, Hartley Library Archives, Wellington Papers, WP2/58/117, Wellington's reply to a letter from Thomas Frankland Lewis, 29 Hertford Street: his son, George Lewis, seeks an interview with Wellington on the freedom of the Press in Malta, April 1839

Secondary

Bellamy, Richard, "Introduction", in *Victorian Liberalism: Nineteenth-Century Political Thought And Practice*, ed. by Richard Bellamy (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.1-14

Castillo, Dennis A., *The Maltese Cross: A Strategic History Of Malta* (London: Praeger Security International, 2006)

Cremona, Vicki Ann, *Carnival And Power: Play And Politics In A Crown Colony* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

Davey, James, "Britain's European Island Empire, 1793-1815", in *Islands And The British Empire In The Age Of Sail*, ed. by Douglas Hamilton and John McAleer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 35-54

De Groot, Joanna, "'Sex' And 'Race': The Construction Of Language And Image In The Nineteenth Century", in *Cultures Of Empire: A Reader: Colonizers In Britain And The Empire In The Nineteenth And Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 37-60

Felice, Alex E., "Genetic Origin Of Contemporary Maltese", *Times Of Malta*, 2007 <https://timesofmalta.com/articles/view/genetic-origin-of-contemporary-maltese.9032> [Accessed 3 November 2021]

Fontana, Bianca, "Whigs And Liberals: The Edinburgh Review And The 'Liberal' Movements In Nineteenth-Century Britain", in *Victorian Liberalism: Nineteenth-Century Political Thought And Practice*, ed. by Richard Bellamy (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 42-57

Frendo, Henry, *Party Politics In A Fortress Colony: The Maltese Experience*, 2nd edn (Valletta: Midsea Publication, 1991)

Ganado, Albert, "The Representative Government Constitution Of 1887", in *Landmarks In Maltese Constitutional History 1849-1974*, ed. by Henry Frendo (Valletta: Central Bank of Malta, 2012), pp. 25-34
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/bitstream/123456789/55175/1/The_representative_government_constitution_of_1887.pdf> [Accessed 2 November 2021]

Gardner, Victoria, "Liberty, Licence And Leveson", *Historytoday.Com*, 2013 <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/liberty-licence-and-leveson> [Accessed 18 November 2021]

Gray, John, *Liberalism*, 2nd edn (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995)

Grima, Joseph F., "It Happened In May: The Malta Constitution Of 1849", *Times Of Malta*, 2020 <https://timesofmalta.com/articles/view/it-happened-in-may-the-malta-constitution-of-1849.789227> [Accessed 1 November 2021]

Hall, Catherine, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole And Colony In The English Imagination 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002)

Hall, Catherine, "Introduction: Thinking The Postcolonial, Thinking Empire", in *Cultures Of Empire: A Reader: Colonizers In Britain And The Empire In The Nineteenth And Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 1-36

Hall, Catherine, and Sonya O. Rose, "Introduction: Being At Home With The Empire", in *At Home With The Empire: Metropolitan Culture And The Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1-31

Hamilton, Douglas and John McAleer, "Introduction" in *Islands and the British Empire in the Age of Sail*, ed. by Douglas Hamilton and John McAleer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp.1-17

Houses of Parliament, "Find Debates - Hansard - UK Parliament", *Hansard.Parliament.Uk*, 2021 < https://hansard.parliament.uk/search/Debates?startDate=1836-01-01&endDate=1836-12-31&searchTerm=stamp&partial=False > [Accessed 06 March 2022]

Kennedy, David L., and Brett D. Hirsch, "Prime Suspect: William Cowper Prime In The Holy Land And The Identity Of "An American" In Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 1858", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 148 (2016), 110-132 <https://hcommons.org/deposits/objects/hc:10792/datastreams/CONTENT/content> [Accessed 14 November 2021]

McClintock, Anne, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender And Sexuality In The Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Pomeranz, Kenneth, "Empire & 'Civilizing' Missions, Past & Present", *Daedalus*, 134 (2005), 34-45 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20027976> [Accessed 7 March 2022]

Porter, Andrew, "Empires In The Mind", in *The Cambridge Illustrated History Of The British Empire*, ed. by P. J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 185-223

Said, Edward W., *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003)

"Saluting Battery", *Visit Malta*, 2021 <https://www.visitmalta.com/en/a/info/saluting-battery/> [Accessed 18 November 2021]

Veach, Colin, Michael Jarvis, Douglas Hamilton, Kate Hodgson, John McAleer, and Sarah Longair and others, "Islands and Empires Online Exhibition", *Rmg.Co.Uk*, 2016 <https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/islands-empires-online-exhibition> [Accessed 7 March 2022]

Guilt, Gossip, and God: Understanding the Rise in Prosecutions for Witchcraft in Elizabethan England

Ella Bowkett

Abstract: *From* Harry Potter *to* Wicked*, stories of witchcraft and magic hold a cherished place in the hearts of audiences consuming modern media, though the idea that magic could once have been viewed as more than just a fantasy is difficult for many to digest. Yet during the latter half of the sixteenth century, England saw just this with a whole series of prosecutions – and executions - for the alleged offence of witchcraft. What caused Englishmen and women to become entirely convinced of the reality of magic? The debate is hotly contested, with suggestions that prosecutions in this period could be attributed to myriad factors, including religious unrest, increased poverty, royal instability, and legal changes. This article aims to analyse the effects these simultaneous occurrences had on the increasing executions and incarcerations for witchcraft, ultimately arguing that none could have singularly caused this without the existence of the others. Additionally, it will look to categorise these themes as to whether they influenced prosecutions from the top down or the bottom up, aiming to conclude which was more significant.*

Despite being dubbed a "Golden Age", England in the latter half of the sixteenth century was a country in turmoil. The Elizabethan Religious Settlement altered the religious practises of millions, Queen Elizabeth I endured numerous plots to dethrone her, and the population grew rapidly. Accounting for rising witchcraft prosecutions during this era requires an examination of this wider social and political context, particularly in terms of understanding to what extent these contexts altered the light in which people understood the causes of misfortunes and their remedies.

It is important first to investigate where the desire to prosecute came from. The passing of the *Act Agaynst Conjuracions, Inchantmentes and Witchecraftes* in 1563, as noted by historian P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, came from the 'fears and concerns of its…legislators rather than any widespread or pressing unease in the population'.[1] Elizabeth's position as monarch was already an unstable one when she became Queen – she had been legally illegitimate for seven years under her father, meaning some questioned her right to rule, and she had inherited a country facing another period of religious upheaval. With respect to this, it has been suggested by Norman Jones that the Witchcraft Act was passed in response to the Waldegrave conspiracy in 1561.[2] This was a plot to dethrone Elizabeth following the prophesising of her death by Catholic priests believed to be 'using necromancy and conjuring

[1] P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch: The Biography*, (Amberley: Stroud, 2014), p. 157.
[2] Norman Jones, 'Defining Superstitions: Treasonous Catholics and the Act Against Witchcraft of 1563' in *State, Sovereigns and Society in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of A.J. Slavin,* ed. by C. Carlton et al., (Sutton: Stroud, 1998) pp. 190-191.

demons…to kill the Queen'.[3] Elizabeth's minister William Cecil responded to this conspiracy in a way which furthered his own anti-Catholic agenda: by conflating Catholicism and witchcraft in the popular mind.

Evidence for this appears in the pillorying of the Catholic conspirators in front of large crowds on two separate occasions, both times the criminals being forced to swear to never use 'inuocations or coniuratons of spirits, witchcraft, inchantments, or sorceries' again.[4] What this evidence shows is indeed the 'fears and concerns' of the 'legislators' as key in the passing of the Witchcraft Act, with Elizabeth's councillors playing an important role in creating a law that made witchcraft prosecutions possible. Though its passing stemmed more from the Act's importance as a 'political weapon', rather than from a true belief in magic, legislators introduced the ability to prosecute which would be the catalyst for the dramatic increase in witch trials.[5]

Following the passage of Act of 1563, social and religious misfortunes, which for centuries had been remedied via other means, could now be resolved through accusations of magic. The first of these issues to be discussed is poverty. Elizabethan England experienced a dramatic population growth of an estimated one million people across the 45-year period, and thus saw an intensification of poverty across the country. As seen in one study of London vagrancy, the number of vagabonds dealt with at Bridewell Palace jumped from 69 to 555 between 1561 and 1600.[6] Population increase had a great impact upon witchcraft prosecutions, this being evidenced in contemporary author Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcrafte* (1583) which gave a description of beggars as the prime suspects for witch-accusers. Scot noted that a suspected witch had often, prior to accusations, gone 'from doore to doore' asking for donations of money and food, making 'all [their] neighbours…so feared, as few dare offend [them] or denie [them] anie thing' for fear of being 'cursse[d]'.[7]

Historian Alan MacFarlane notes that 'population growth' created 'a group of poorer villagers' who relied on others. Similarly, Keith Thomas points out in his studies that many English village communities were 'based on' a 'tradition of mutual help' and that the 'breakdown' of this – due heavily to economic hardships for all and increased vagrancy – caused more accusations to be made.[8] James Sharpe takes this argument even further as he suggests that in response to denials of charity, allegations

---

[3] Ibid. p. 191.
[4] Devine, Michael, 'Treasonous Catholic Magic and the 1563 Witchcraft Legislation: English State's Early Response to Catholic Conjuring in the Early Years of Elizabeth I's Reign', in *Supernatural and Secular Power in Early Modern England*, (Routledge: London, 2015), pp. 81-82
[5] Ibid., p. 91.
[6] A. L. Beier, 'Social Problems in Elizabethan London', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9.2 (1978), p. 204
[7] J. A. Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1997), p. 52-53.
[8] Macfarlane, Alan, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study*, 2nd ed., (Routledge: London, 1999), p. 205.; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*, (Penguin: London, 2012), p. 543.

of witchcraft 'became a means of transferring guilt' from villager to beggar.[9] Economic instability in this period affected everyone and many could no longer assist their poorer neighbours, meaning as the population (and subsequently poverty) increased, so did the burden. Hostilities escalated within villages as a result, and fuelled accusations of witchcraft.

Despite this, some may identify the existence of high poverty levels under previous monarchs which never caused such a vast amount of witch trials. Yet prior to Elizabeth's reign, England had not seen a growth in population to this extent and crucially, there was not an Act prior to the sixteenth century under which frustrations towards this could be relieved.

Some might still claim however, that the existence of the Henrician Witchcraft Act of 1542 dilutes the significance of the 1563 Act in this argument. Yet in Henry VIII's reign, no prosecutions occurred, despite poverty being prevalent in society. Analysis of the religious context of both Henry VIII's and Elizabeth I's reigns are required to combat this point. Though the last five years of Henry VIII's reign experienced poverty, much like that of Elizabeth's reign, one significant difference was present between the eras. Despite occurrences like Henry's blaming of the Pope for 'perswayding' his people of 'superstitious and erronyous opynions' in one 1536 Act, there was not the same conflation of Catholicism and superstition in the public mind during his reign as there was under Elizabeth.[10] This idea was a new one in the 1540s, but had more heavily taken hold by the 1560s, perhaps accounting for the lack of prosecutions earlier in the century.

Supporting this claim, historian Norman Jones argues that in the latter half of the sixteenth century 'fear and hatred of witchcraft' became blurred with 'fear and hatred of superstitious Catholicism' for many.[11] The 1559 Injunctions, for example, removed many of the traditional methods of worshipping such as 'pilgrimages, [the] setting up of candles, praying upon beads, or such like superstition'.[12] Practices such as these were not just associated with religion, but were deeply embedded into the lives of the English. In fact, Thomas stresses that Catholic rituals like sacramentals were a sort of 'protective ecclesiastical magic' that had 'kept the threat of sorcery under control' as people used these customs to deal with their misfortunes.[13] There was no particular shift in beliefs in magic, but people's usual methods of countering what they believed to be witchcraft were abolished under the Injunctions, pushing many instead to make formal, legal accusations to resolve their issues. When combined with the effects of social tensions therefore, the 1563 Witchcraft Act, not only facilitated, but encouraged, a rise in prosecutions for witchcraft.

---

[9] Sharpe, p. 62.
[10] G. W. Bernard, 'The Making of Religious Policy, 1533-1546: Henry VIII and the Search for the Middle Way', *The Historical Journal*, 41.2 (1998), 327.
[11] Jones, p. 190.
[12] 'The Injunctions of 1559', in *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, ed. by Henry Gee and W. H. Hardy, (New York, 1998), p. 420
[13] Thomas, pp. 482-483.

Fuelling this further, developments in technology contributed to the steep growth in fears surrounding the occult under Elizabeth I. Following the introduction of the printing press to England, information was much easier to spread, and pamphlets containing events of public interest were regularly circulated.

In 1566, the first pamphlet detailing the trial of an accused witch, 'Mother Waterhouse', was printed. Titled *The Examination and Confession of Certaine Wytches at Chensforde*, this pamphlet helped to further conflate Catholicism and witchcraft, reporting that Waterhouse's cat, who 'wild her to cal[l] him sathã[n]', would 'at no tyme suffer her to [pray] in englyshe, but at all tymes in laten'.[14] With images of the devil included in the pamphlet alongside his supposed desire that people pray in Latin, many readers would have interpreted a link between Catholicism and witchcraft.

Figure 1: An excerpt from the pamphlet titled 'The Examination and Confession of Certaine Wytches at Chensforde'. These pages depict Mother Waterhouse's familiar – a dog with the devil's head.


The examinacion

her what she wold giue him and she saide she wolde geue hym a red kock, and he said he wolde haue none of that, and shee asked him what he wolde haue then, & he sayde he wold haue her body and soule, and so vpon requeste and feare together she gaue him her body and soule, and then sayde the quenes attur neye, Howe vvylt thou do before god. O my lord, I trust god wyll haue mercy vpon mee, and then he saide, thou saiste vvell, and then he departed from her, and then she saide that she herde that he made the sayde Agnes Browne a scarde.

The

and Confession

The said Agnes Brown was then demaunded and called for, and then she came in, and beinge asked what age she was of she sayde she thoughte she was, xii. yeres old, and then the quenes attorney asked her what shee could say, and then she saide that at suche a day naming the daye certayne that shee

A iiii Was

Early English Books Online, Copyright © 2019 ProQuest LLC
Images reproduced by courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library

Though the significance of pamphlets can be called into question owing to high rates of illiteracy in this era, they were often read aloud in towns and villages and so may still have had a large

[14] *The Examination and Confession of Certaine Wytches at Chensforde*, Early English Books: 1475-1640, <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240906300/citation/7828B53893D94A7BPQ/1?accountid=13963> [accessed 10 December 2021]

influence on the masses. Illustrations also accompanied the text, including a dog with a devil's horned head to represent Waterhouse's familiar (*See Figure 1*).[15] When this pamphlet, along with the many others printed in this era - like *A Detection of Damnable Driftes* (1579) detailing the trial of suspected witch Elizabeth Fraunces - were published, literacy rates in England were growing. As church services and the Bible were increasingly read and printed in English, vast numbers of the lower orders were becoming growingly familiar with written language. As the latter half of the sixteenth century progressed therefore, pamphlets on witch trials became much more accessible and thus could, as time went on, more easily spread hysteria about witchcraft.

As can be seen thus far, religion appears to be intertwined with almost every suggested cause of the rise in prosecutions for witchcraft under the last Tudor Queen. Although, as MacFarlane has rightly observed, there is 'no convincing evidence that witchcraft prosecutions were linked to an attack on Roman Catholics', this does not absolve religious tensions of *all* involvement in witchcraft indictments.[16] What is of great importance here is instead the aforementioned 'blended' nature of witchcraft and Catholic ritual.[17] The simplification of worship under the Church of England made the idolatry and practices of Catholics seem almost heretical, to revere objects rather than God (as it was suggested Catholics did) was seen as the work of the devil, as were the Latin prayers which perhaps began to sound like spells to many ordinary people.

The link between the two in the popular mind meant that prosecutions of Catholics and witches occurred simultaneously, both reaching a peak in the 1580s. Recusancy fines increased to a staggering £20 per month in 1581 while the executions of Catholic priests saw a rise, jumping from four in 1581 to eleven in 1582. Perhaps, as the traditional methods of worship were increasingly being penalised publicly, ordinary people felt encouraged to speak out against superstitious activities that they witnessed, believing themselves to be fighting 'Christian heresy' and 'devil-worship'.[18] The relationship was constantly being reinforced by pamphlets like those detailing Mother Waterhouse and Elizabeth Fraunces' trials, which would have been spun to fit Elizabeth's religious agenda; attempts to censor pamphlets were evident in both the 1559 Injunctions and a 1588 royal proclamation 'concerned with the import of Catholic propaganda into England'.[19]

Ultimately, religious tensions among the elite appear to have filtered down into the lower strata of society, anti-Catholic policies implemented by Elizabeth's ministers producing mistrust of Catholic rituals and by extension, fears of 'superstitious' practices. Simultaneous to the prosecution of Catholics,

[15] Ibid.
[16] MacFarlane, p. 188.
[17] Jones, p. 190.
[18] Thomas, p. 423.
[19] Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003), pp. 8-9.

this fear grew, creating an atmosphere in which accusations were more likely and thus, one in which assize judges felt more public pressure to prosecute, again a factor only made possible by the 1563 Act.

As Alan MacFarlane and Keith Thomas agree, 'a law by itself cannot generate beliefs' and the causes of rising witch prosecutions 'cannot be found in the changing attitude of the legislature'.[20] While this article agrees that legislation alone could not have caused the 109 witchcraft indictments in the 1570s, the 166 in the 1580s and the 128 in the 1590s, it also suggests that they could not exist without it.[21] In fact, the interconnection of a varied and complex set of social and political circumstances unique to this era, working in tandem with the Act, were collectively responsible for amplifying hysteria over witchcraft. As such, the simultaneous increase in population and poverty created guilt and hardship for many, while the state's increased hostility towards Catholic rituals and a greater access to pamphlets detailing witch trials provided people with an explanation for these hardships. Most importantly of all, the existence of the 1563 Witchcraft Act - and the absence of traditional ritualistic forms of social resolution – gave those feeling targeted an ultimate sense of justice, regardless of their true belief in magic.

When collating the evidence and historiography discussed throughout this article one ultimate element is illuminated as the single most important cause of rising witchcraft prosecutions however – the national struggle over religious practise. In post-Reformation England, anti-Catholic feeling rose to be so strong as to not only become a main player in the creation of the Witchcraft Act, but to also be significant in stoking and exacerbating new fears about witchcraft in the popular mind, ultimately resulting in the loss of hundreds of lives to the Elizabethan gallows.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend special thanks to Professor Mark Stoyle for his guidance of my study of early modern witchcraft, and for his insightful advice on the conversion of my essay assignment into this article.

[20] MacFarlane, p. 201.; Thomas, p. 448.
[21] Sharpe, p. 108.

Appendix

Figure 1: *The Examination and Confession of Certaine Wytches at Chensforde in the Countie of Essex: Before the Quenes Maiesties Judges, the xxvi Daye of July, Anno 1566, at the Assise Holden There as Then, and One of Them Put to Death for The Same Offence, as Their Examination Declareth More at Large*, Early English Books: 1475-1640, <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240906300/citation/7828B53893D94A7BPQ/1?accountid=13963> [accessed 10 December 2021]

Bibliography

Primary

Gifford, George, *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcraftes in which is Laide Open how Craftely the Diuell Deceiueth Not Onely the Witches but Many Other and so Leadeth them Awrie into Many Great Errours*, Early English Books: 1475-1640, <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240872262/Sec0004/3FC5A181026648A5PQ/1?accountid=13963&parentSessionId=Hs%2Fia1TLv%2FBUvIL%2FO7xYbpPM7eVopmMnH0piaPjInj8%3D> [accessed 13 December 2021]

'An Act Agaynst Conjuracions, Inchantmentes and Witchecraftes', *The Statutes Project,* <https://statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/sixteenth-century/1563-5-elizabeth-1-c-16-an-act-against-conjurations-inchantments-and-witchcraft/> [accessed 13 December 2021]

A Detection of Damnable Driftes, Practized by Three Witches Arraigned at Chelmifforde in Essex, at the Laste Assises There Holden, Whiche Were Executed in Aprill. 1579 Set Forthe to Discouer the Ambushementes of Sathan, Whereby He Would Surprise vs Lulled in Securitie, and Hardened with Contempte of Gods Vengeance Threatened for our Offences, Early English Books: 1475-1640, <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240936602/99854184/EFA9DE4F1B9A46B9PQ/7?accountid=13963> [accessed 15 December 2021]

'The Injunctions of 1559', in *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, ed. by Henry Gee and W. H. Hardy, (New York, 1998), pp. 417-442

Secondary

Beier, A. L., 'Social Problems in Elizabethan London', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9.2 (1978), 203-221

Bernard, G. W., 'The Making of Religious Policy, 1533-1546: Henry VIII and the Search for the Middle Way', *The Historical Journal*, 41.2 (1998), 321-349

Devine, Michael, 'Treasonous Catholic Magic and the 1563 Witchcraft Legislation: English State's Early Response to Catholic Conjuring in the Early Years of Elizabeth I's Reign', in *Supernatural and Secular Power in Early Modern England*, (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 67-91

Jones, Norman, 'Defining Superstitions: Treasonous Catholics and the Act Against Witchcraft of 1563' in *State, Sovereigns and Society in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of A.J. Slavin*, ed. by C. Carlton et al., (Stroud: Sutton, 1998) pp. 187-203

Levin, Carole, 'Witchcraft in Shakespeare's England', *British Library Collections* (2016) <https://www.bl.uk/shakespeare/articles/witchcraft-in-shakespeares-england> [accessed 1 December 2021]

Macfarlane, Alan, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study*, 2nd ed., (London: Routledge, 1999)

——, 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart Essex' in *Witchcraft, Confessions and Accusations* ed. by Mary Douglas, (London: Routledge, 1970)

Maxwell-Stuart, P. G., *The British Witch: The Biography*, (Stroud: Amberley, 2014)

McBride, Paula, 'Witchcraft in the East Midlands 1517-1642', *Midland History*, 44.2 (2019), 222-237

Picard, Liza, 'Witchcraft, Magic and Religion', *British Library Collections*, (2016) <https://www.bl.uk/shakespeare/articles/witchcraft-magic-and-religion> [accessed 1 December 2021]

Pudney, Eric, 'Witchcraft in Elizabethan Drama' in *Scepticism and Belief in English Witchcraft Drama*: *1538–1681*, (Sweden: Lund University Press, 2019)

Raymond, Joad, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Sharpe, J. A., *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997)

——, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*, (London: Routledge, 2014)

Thomas, Keith, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*, (London: Penguin, 2012)

Young, Francis, *English Catholics and the Supernatural: 1553-1829*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2016), Google ebook

Gerald of Wales's Views of the Irish: Religious Disdain or Ethnic Hatred?

Jamie Biltcliffe

Abstract: *Medieval theologian, writer, and royal bureaucrat, Gerald of Wales is perhaps best known for his ethnographic works, particularly in relation to Ireland. These works were situated in the context of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, along with the spread of far-reaching church reforms to Britain and Ireland in the twelfth century – two transformative events that Gerald was deeply invested in and part of. As such, the highly critical views of Ireland and its people that Gerald displays in his writings were simultaneously influenced by and influential to this context. By returning to Gerald's own writings on Ireland, alongside his autobiography, this article aims to assess how his views on Ireland were formed, and with what purpose he deployed them.*

Born in 1146 at the imposing Manorbier castle, Gerald de Barry came from illustrious Welsh and Norman lineage, being the son of Anglo-Norman knight William de Barry, and Angharad, descendent of a King of Deheubarth.[1] This hybrid identity, between conquering and conquered people, would be greatly influential on Gerald's attitudes, especially towards Celtic peoples such as the Irish. As the youngest of four brothers, Gerald was not expected to inherit his father's lands, and instead focused on pursuing a career in the church; he claimed that as a child his father called him 'his Bishop.'[2] After being taught at an abbey in Gloucester, Gerald studied at the prestigious schools of Paris for several years, where he encountered, and was partly shaped by, the reform movement ideas of theologians such as Peter the Chanter. After Paris, Gerald attained the position of Archdeacon of Brecon, and also served as a Royal Clerk to Henry II. Famously, he sought on multiple occasions to be made Bishop of St Davids, but never succeeded, partially owing to his potentially conflicting interests in Wales.

From birth, and throughout his education and career, Gerald exhibited and developed a range of conflicting identities that affected his attitudes. He was pro-Angevin expansion but other times a Welsh nationalist, a moralistic, reforming ecclesiast and loyal clerk to Henry II, relative of invaders of Ireland and Wales yet descendant of those that were themselves conquered.[3] However, focusing on Gerald's understandings and perceptions of Ireland, there is very little conflict, as his writing reveals almost entirely negative views. Within this, religious disdain and ethnic hatred emerge as the two main strands, however political considerations and motivations, in light of Gerald's family and court

[1] Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (second edition, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012) p.12.
[2] Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, trans. H. E. Butler (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937) p.35.
[3] Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (second edition, Stroud: Tempus, 2006) pp. 11-12.

connections, must be taken into account to understand why Gerald focused on certain examples within these two strands.

It is clear from Gerald's views on the Irish church that the reformist ideas of Peter the Chanter had an immense impact on his religious views. The reform movement supported by the Chanter was focused on limiting secular influence in the church, enforcing clerical celibacy and preventing nepotism.[4] Robert Bartlett elaborates that, as part of the Chanter's circle, Gerald 'adopted a rigorous moralism, a reforming zeal, and a vocal concern with the pastoral duties of ecclesiasts.'[5] A practical example of Gerald's moralistic commitment can be seen through how he personally admonished, suspended, and ultimately replaced, the previous Archdeacon of Brecon due to his refusal to give up his concubine.[6]

As such, Gerald clearly saw himself as a leading promoter of the reform movement, and particularly the related 'cult of celibacy'.[7] Gerald asserted that any priest who was not celibate was 'unclean inside.'[8] Enforcing clerical celibacy was also important in preventing church property being passed from father to son. Gerald's hardline support for the reform movement perhaps goes some way to explain his horror and disgust towards how he claims the Irish people behave. Specifically, their marriage practices and sexual morality were seen as shocking and barbaric. Gerald claims incest was rife and that the Irish do not attend church regularly and are generally ignorant of the teachings of the church.[9]

However, in terms of marriage, rather than the Irish being 'barbaric', the main difference was that marriage was still treated as a matter of secular laws and customs in Ireland, while England and much of continental Europe accepted it as a matter of church law.[10] As a result, Gerald likely exaggerated the severity of the situation, due to his desire to see Ireland conform to church law in this regard, as part of his advocacy of the reform movement. Another religious issue Gerald was concerned by in Ireland was the failings of the bishops. He claimed the bishops were not providing good enough pastoral care and enforcement of morality. Interestingly, Gerald links these failings with the fact that there were no Irish martyrs.[11] The lack of martyrs alludes to Gerald's xenophobic characterisation that

[4] Thomas O'Loughlin, "Giraldus Cambrensis and the Sexual Agenda of the Twelfth Century Reformers" *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 8 (2000), p. 2.
[5] Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (second edition, Stroud: Tempus, 2006) p. 32.
[6] Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, trans. H. E. Butler (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937) pp. 42-43.
[7] Thomas O'Loughlin, "Giraldus Cambrensis and the Sexual Agenda of the Twelfth Century Reformers" *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 8 (2000), p. 4.
[8] Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (second edition, Stroud: Tempus, 2006) p. 33.
[9] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982) p. 106.
[10] John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000) p. 16.
[11] Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (second edition, Stroud: Tempus, 2006) p. 38.

the Irish were full of 'deceit... they are neither strong in war, nor reliable in peace.'[12] As such, Gerald is here ultimately linking the failings of the bishops with their supposed ethnic inferiority.

However, these religious inadequacies were certainly not unique to Ireland, despite their representation as wholly alien to Gerald. Furthermore, the reform movement was only just reaching Ireland in the late twelfth century. Gerald also, perhaps deliberately, fails to recognise the pressure for reform that actually existed within the Irish church. Although the reform movement took hold in Ireland later than in England, it was perhaps not as backwards as Gerald tried to suggest, with continental religious orders such as the Cistercians established in Ireland. However, the influence of Gerald and his contemporaries' malicious anti-Celtic attitudes was such that Pope Alexander III and Adrian IV 'seemed to completely ignore the successes of the native reform movement' in Ireland.[13] Gerald did however have some, albeit short, praise for the Irish clergy. Gerald approves of their observance of religious practices, such as reading and praying, however, he still feels the need to suggest they be more sincere and genuine.[14] Overall, a clear picture emerges that Gerald exaggerates the failings of the Irish church, and deliberately ignores the progress it had made, indicating that his personal prejudices against the Irish have an overriding influence on his views of the church in Ireland.

Gerald's disparaging views and attitudes towards the Irish, as living 'like beasts', stand in stark contrast to his seemingly 'balanced' attitudes towards another Celtic people – the Welsh.[15] However, it could be suggested that his almost wholly negative views towards the Irish were more representative of contemporary attitudes towards Celtic peoples than his more sympathetic views on Wales. Two decades before Gerald was even born, William of Malmesbury described Celtic people (particularly the Welsh) as barbarian.[16] While the term 'barbarian' had generally been applied to non-Christians up to the twelfth century, certainly by the 1140s there had been a semantic shift to 'barbarian' meaning people who were uncivilised and backwards, rather than specifically non-Christian. One of the main elements of this, and one that Gerald would highlight in Ireland, was the socio-economic element of 'barbarian.' For William of Malmesbury, the Irish lived 'in rustic squalor' as they had not developed towns or good knowledge of agriculture.[17] As such, Gerald continues, and even goes further in this argument by asserting that although the Irish had advanced from 'the woods to the fields', they had not yet advanced 'from the

[12] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982) p. 107.
[13] Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (second edition, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012) pp. 20-21.
[14] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982) p. 112.
[15] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982) p. 101.
[16] John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000) p. 27.
[17] Ibid., p.29.

fields to settlements' as the English (and parts of Wales) had.[18] Demonstrating the reach and impact of Gerald's work, this xenophobic view would remain central to English views of the Irish for 'the better part of five centuries.'[19]

However, it is inaccurate to blame this seeming economic backwardness on what Gerald would characterise as the underdevelopment and 'laziness' of the Irish.[20] Instead, the natural conditions of Ireland were simply better suited to pastoral over arable farming.[21] As such, Gerald's lack of understanding of the environmental and climactic differences of Ireland only served to reinforce his xenophobic views towards the Irish. Another area where Gerald's negativity towards the Irish is exposed as exaggerated is through the existence of towns in Ireland. Although he had suggested that the Irish were barbaric as they had not advanced from living in the fields to towns, in the *Conquest of Ireland*, Gerald discusses the 'townsmen' of various sea-port towns in Ireland and the 'city' of Dublin.[22] While these ports may have been established by Scandinavians, they nonetheless would have been inhabited by Irish people.

Furthermore, John Gillingham convincingly shows how another aspect of the Irish barbarity again was, to a significant extent, due to economic factors. While England was in the twelfth century a 'chivalrous society' where soldiers were ransomed, in Ireland 'they were butchered and decapitated.'[23]However, Gillingham discusses these differences in an economic context as using high-ranking captives to secure castles, towns or large sums of money, as happened in England, was far more difficult in Ireland as there was less supply of coin, and far fewer castles and towns. Therefore, the lack of a money economy caused different styles of warfare to be predominant, making hostage taking an undesirable outcome, when simply killing the enemy was easier.[24]

One key point of contention surrounding Gerald's views towards Ireland is whether, as suggested by historian Murray Dahm, he gullibly believed that the stories of the confirmation of Irish kingship through rites involving animal sacrifice and bestiality were true and still took place.[25] However, to suggest that Gerald included these shocking accusations as simply demonstrating the

[18] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982) pp.101-102.
[19] R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p. 116.
[20] Ibid., p. 122.
[21] Huw Pryce and John Watts eds, *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) p. 27.
[22] Gerald of Wales, *The Conquest of Ireland,* trans. Thomas Forester (Cambridge, Ontario: In parentheses Publications, 2001) pp. 21-27.
[23] John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000) p.15.
[24] Ibid., pp. 15-16.
[25] Murray Dahm, "Wild People: Gerald of Wales on the 'Conquest' of Ireland", *Medieval Warfare,* 6:4 (2016), p. 10.

distasteful truth fails to take into account the political aims of his writing, as well as his willful exaggeration of the immorality of the Irish. As such, it is equally possible to argue that Gerald did not necessarily believe these stories at all. Instead to include such striking examples of immoral, deviant sexual behaviour clearly legitimises English conquest and rule of Ireland to the reader. This particular example clearly has political undertones, as the immorality is being performed by an Irish King, a ruler that would be expected to set the example of good moral behaviour for their subjects. Meanwhile, Henry II, whom *The Topography of Ireland* is dedicated to, is presented antithetically as the ideal, virtuous, Christian king, who shows such 'mercy and laudable clemency.'[26] Furthermore, Michelle P. Brown supports this political interpretation of Gerald's outlandish stories of immorality, proposing that their inclusion, including explicit visual representations of bestiality were essential for maintaining church support for the conquest of Ireland. This was as, in light of the supposed 'sexual vices of the Irish' the Pope looked to Henry II 'for the imposition of Christian discipline.'[27] Further supporting this argument, some scholars have called into question whether Gerald either forged or altered Adrian IV's papal bull *Laudabiliter* to further legitimise the invasion of Ireland.

In conclusion, ethnic hatred was a more significant driving force behind Gerald's negative views of the Irish. This ethnic hatred was subsequently a key reason the immorality and religious inadequacies of the Irish were, to a greatly exaggerated extent, highlighted by Gerald. Furthermore, Gerald effectively combined religious disdain and ethnic hatred for political purposes. This is as, by presenting the Irish as barbaric, religiously unacceptable, and without a legitimate ruler, Gerald was legitimising and justifying the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland. Certainly, to suggest that Gerald had no political motivations behind presenting negative views of the Irish seems to completely underestimate the depth and aims of his work. In addition, it is notable that issues such as agriculture and the infrequency of hostage-taking, were largely down to environmental and economic factors, rather than the character of the Irish people as Gerald believed.

Gerald had multiple reasons for wanting the conquest to continue and be successful; on the one hand, he genuinely believed in the agenda of the reform movement and, as an outsider, was able to critically scrutinise the failings of the church in Ireland, particularly in relation to immorality, unsatisfactory pastoral care by bishops, and lay involvement in church affairs. On the other hand, he also had material interests in spreading ethnic hatred and justifying conquest. Not only was his employer Henry II in need of legitimacy to support his overlordship of Ireland, but Gerald also had numerous family members actively participating and profiting from the Norman conquest. Finally, in contrast to Wales, Gerald had no sentimental attachments or loyalties to the country or people of Ireland, and in

[26] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982) pp.124-125.
[27] Michelle P. Brown, "Gerald of Wales and the "Topography of Ireland": Authorial Agendas in Word and Image", *Journal of Irish Studies*, 20 (2005), pp. 58-59.

line with the prevailing perception of the contemporary clerical elite, firmly viewed them as ethnically inferior, Other, and in need of civilising.

Bibliography

Primary

Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, trans. H. E. Butler (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937).

Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982).

Gerald of Wales, *The Conquest of Ireland*, trans. Thomas Forester (Cambridge, Ontario: In parentheses Publications, 2001).

Secondary

Bartlett, Robert, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (second edition, Stroud: Tempus, 2006).

Brown, Michelle P., "Gerald of Wales and the "Topography of Ireland": Authorial Agendas in Word and Image", *Journal of Irish Studies*, 20 (2005), pp. 52-63.

Dahm, Murray, "Wild People: Gerald of Wales on the 'Conquest' of Ireland", *Medieval Warfare*, 6:4 (2016), pp. 9-12.

Davies, R. R., *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Dolley, Michael, *Anglo-Norman Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972).

Frame, Robin, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (second edition, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012).

Gillingham, John, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000).

O'Loughlin, Thomas, "Giraldus Cambrensis and the Sexual Agenda of the Twelfth Century Reformers" *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 8 (2000), pp. 1-15.

Pryce, Huw, and Watts John, eds, *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

The Evolution of the Study of Julian 'the Apostate': An Analysis on the Approaches to the Last Pagan Emperor

Millie Clark

Abstract: *This article serves as a historiographical essay on the controversial figure of Julian 'the Apostate', analysing the main approaches that have framed our study. Initially depicted as a wayward pagan that had turned his back on the true path of Christianity, it was impossible to produce a fair study of Julian that accommodated the influence of the historical context in which he acted. However, after La Bletterie's ground-breaking work in 1735, historians began to push beyond the assumption that Julian was simply a pagan sinner. Despite this, these preconceived notions seemed hard to shake, with many historians writing with the assumption that paganism was doomed to fail – thus framing their approach in the evitability and consistency of pagan decline. It has only been in recent decades that scholars have begun to question the very concepts that have been the foundation of the study of Julian, including the question of whether Julian was traditionally pagan at all. Susanna Elm is a pioneer within the study of Julian, attempting to disregard the dichotomies of Christian and pagan completely, instead focusing on his legacy as an author. Within this article, I aim to demonstrate that the traditional contrasts of Christian/pagan are counterproductive. However, this does not mean that the lens of 'religion' itself should be overlooked completely, not as a dichotomy but rather as a fluctuating and evolving dialogue of two religions attempting to find their orthodoxy.*

The study of Julian, despite being emperor for only 20 months from 361AD to 363AD, is saturated with debate, controversy and politics. For instance, even his name is a point of contention: with his popular title as 'the Apostate' defining Julian solely through his religion and his deviation from Christianity.[1] Despite the impact of an increasing focus on secularism and postmodernism, interpretations of both Christianity and paganism have significantly influenced the approaches taken by historians when researching Julian, since - for both Rome and the modern world in which scholars are writing today - religious concepts and langauge are the foundations of political and cultural life [2] [3] Consequently, the predominant scholarly thought on Julian has evolved throughout the centuries: initially, Julian was considered as a wayward pagan, simply a man who was tempted from the true path of Christianity to the depravity of Hellenism; thus the demise of paganism was seen as inevitable in its folly. However, within the last decade, many assumptions made about the interaction of paganism and Christianity, and thus Julian, have been reconsidered. In 2017, Adrian Scaife wrote a journal article that thematically

[1] Wiemer Hans-Ulrich and Stefan Rebenich, *A Companion to Julian the Apostate* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), p.1.
[2] Andrea Sterk and Nina Caputo, 'Introduction: The Challenge of Relgion in History', in *Faithful Narratives: Historians, Religion, and the Challenge of Objectivity,* ed. by Andrea Sterk and Nina Caputo (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2014), p.3.
[3] Andrea Sterk and Nina Caputo, 'Introduction: The Challenge of Relgion in History', p.3.

analysed and compared the similarities of the paganism that Julian propagated and the Christianity he hoped to replace, calling into question the assumption that Julian was traditionally pagan himself.[4] However, Susanna Elm argues that perhaps the emphasis on religion that has been inherent in the study of Julian has caused other historically significant aspects to be overlooked, specifically his strength as both an author and a writer.[5] Consequently, this article aims to demonstrate that the traditional scholarly divide between pagans and Christians is inherently arbitrary, one which hinders rather than progresses the study of Julian.

Initially the historiographical depiction was damning, with both the Byzantine Era and Middle Ages condemning Julian as an enemy of the one true Christian God, even verging on a pre-figuration of the anti-Christ.[6] This continued to be a sweeping denunciation that lasted until the 16th century, whereby Jean Bodin convincingly acknowledged the impossibility of a fair study if Julian was simply regarded as an apostate.[7] The change of the 18/19th century is of particular interest, in which a new expectation that historians were to put aside their personal beliefs was implemented, revolutionising the portrayal of Julian.[8] In 1735, Jean Phillipe Rene de La Bletterie created the first modern biography of Julian.[9] La Bletterie was a Catholic priest who presented Julian's life as a lesson on the consequences of a man who has turned away from God, yet simultaneously La Bletterie did attempt to reach a discerned judgment about Julian that was uncharacteristic of the prevailing contemporary attitudes.[10] La Bletterie's work 'The Life of Julian the Apostate', written in 1746, was hugely applauded, with the significant work of Edward Gibbon heavily incorporating the views of La Bletterie in his section on Julian.[11] Thus, the impact of La Bletterie's work was far reaching.[12]

Within the author's preface, La Bletterie admits that despite his apostacy, Julian was "elegant… ingenious… and worthy to be read".[13] In this way, La Bletterie raises Julian to become the main character in his parable, a key instrument in La Bletterie's narrative that highlights Julian's fall from grace: "an example in which every unbeliever should more or less contemplate himself".[14] Therefore, I believe that although Julian is presented to be a hero to his men and within his Persian expedition, with

[4] Adrian Scaife, 'Julian the Apostate: The Emperor who "Bought Piety as it Were Back from Exile"', *Midwest Journal of Undergraduate Research* 8 (2019), p.103.
[5] Susanna Elm, 'Julian the Writer and his Audience', in *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian 'the Apostate',* ed. by Nicholas Baker-Brian and Shaun Tougher, (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2012), p.1.
[6] Michael Tierney, 'Julian the Apostate and the Religion of Hellenism', *An Irish Quarterly Review* 20.80 (1931), p.584.
[7] Wiemer Hans-Ulrich and Stefan Rebenich, *A Companion to Julian the Apostate,* p.13.
[8] *A Companion to Julian the Apostate,* p.15.
[9] *A Companion to Julian the Apostate,* p.13.
[10] *A Companion to Julian the Apostate,* pp.13-14.
[11] *A Companion to Julian the Apostate,* p.14.
[12] F. La Bletterie, *The Life of Julian the Apostate Vol. 1, trans. by V. Desvoeux, V., (Dublin: S. Powell, for Peter Wilson, 1746)* p.1 of the Advertisement.
[13] *The Life of Julian the Apostate Vol. 1* p.ix.
[14] *The Life of Julian the Apostate Vol. 1* p.xi.

the anecdotal information of biography colouring the narrative with emotional language, it is primarily to elevate Julian towards a greater fall - similar to that of tragic hero within a tragedy. [15] [16] The assumption that paganism was fundamentally a deviation from the true faith of Christianity resulted in Julian's necessary failure underpinning La Bletterie's narrative: to La Bletterie it didn't matter whether Julian was killed by a Persian, or by a Roman as the Persians pretended, all that mattered that his death was the action of 'Divine Vengeance upon the Apostate'.[17]

While La Bletterie does engage in the methodical rules of historical research,[18] particularly in his close engagement with the works of Ammianus Marcellinus, Elm persuasively asserts that scholars who specialise in theology, like La Bletterie, often do not acknowledge the historical context in which Julian wrote.[19] Consequently, this article argues that the approach of biography does hinder La Bletterie in his analysis of historical context: he uses the biographical narrative to purposefully build an image to suit his religious views. Despite attempting to come to a judicial conclusion on Julian, he is unable to fully ignore his pre-conceived religious notions and thus interacts with Ammianus through this lens. However, La Bletterie's historical significance should not be understated, pioneering the first modern biography on Julian as well as intentionally attempting to move away from the long-standing tradition of branding Julian within the one-dimensional depiction of a pagan sinner.

A key historical question that has continued to pervade the study of Julian throughout the centuries has been why Julian was unable to revive the paganism that had been so long embedded and intrinsic within the Roman empire.[20] Therefore, many historians have engaged with this debate framing their approach to the study of Julian, with no particular modern theory prevailing in popularity over other concepts. Initially, La Bletterie and many early Christian historians, like Paul Allard, believed that this was simply due to the fact that Christianity was the true religion, and therefore all other religions (such as paganism) must fail.[21] This is another instance of the religious views of the historians dominating their thought on Julian. However, Rowland Smith in 1995 convincingly contended that the failure of paganism was actually tied to the fate and actions of Julian himself: once Julian had created a universal pagan orthodoxy, he allowed the newly dominant Christianity to focus their attacks.[22] This is supported by Scott Bradbury's argument that Julian's revival of blood sacrifice was integral to the demise of paganism since it was regarded as the most repulsive aspect of the cult by the already hostile

[15] *The Life of Julian the Apostate Vol. 1* p.277.
[16] *The Life of Julian the Apostate Vol. 1* p.284.
[17] *The Life of Julian the Apostate Vol. 1* p.308.
[18] Wiemer Hans-Ulrich and Stefan Rebenich, *A Companion to Julian the Apostate* p.14.
[19] Susanna Elm, 'Pagan Challenge, Christian Response: Emperor Julian and Gregory of Nazianzus as Paradigms of Interreligious Discourse', in *Faithful Narratives: Historians, Religion, and the Challenge of Objectivity,* ed. by Andrea Sterk and Nina Caputo (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2014), p.18.
[20] Scott Bradbury, 'Julian's Paganism and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice', *Phoenix* 49.4 (1995), p.331.
[21] Wiemer Hans-Ulrich and Stefan Rebenich, *A Companion to Julian the Apostate* p.16.
[22] Rowland Smith, *Julian's Gods: Religion and philosophy in the thought and action of Julian the Apostate* (London: Routledge, 1995) p.220.

Christians.[23] Before Julian had become emperor, public sacrifices had already declined, accelerated by the hostility of the Christians.[24] This was precisely why Julian chose to spotlight blood sacrifices within his revival of paganism, an unequivocal confrontation to the Christians that he so despised.[25] Bradbury is persuasive in his thematic approach: comparing the sacrifices conducted under Julian's Christian predecessors to those under the pagan revival in order to track the decline of blood sacrifices as well as the impact of its abrupt reintroduction.

However, James O'Donnell is the most convincing in his assessment on the inevitability of the demise of paganism, with his journal article in 1979 devoted to the topic. O'Donnell makes the persuasive contention with the concrete definitions of 'paganism' that historians assumed to be universal, instead moving the parameters to an attitude rather than a religion itself.[26] [27] This explains the complexity and variety within what historians have defined as 'paganism', although grouping them together was convenient for the Christians who opposed them into one hated pagan movement.[28] By redefining the conception of paganism to an ideological model, O'Donnell is better able to closely study the men on which the traditional narrative of the decline of paganism has been constructed.[29] Consequently, O'Donnell credibly concludes that paganism may not have been eradicated as it has long since been presumed, since the extinction of pagan cults does not necessarily equal the demise of paganism itself within his new definition of an ideological frame.[30] However, the last statement that O'Donnell makes that paganism survived simply within the Christian notion that different opinions may be no better, or worse, than theirs is not convincingly supported by his article.[31] Instead, paganism did indeed live on within Christianity, but it was instead through the assimilation of what Christians believed to be the best of paganism in the purposeful forging of the Christian orthodoxy.[32] O'Donnell does not give enough emphasis to the focused creation of the beginnings of Christian standardisation that this pagan revival and subsequent decline generated, instead presenting it as a passive by-product of Christian virtues.

Within recent decades, the assumption that Julian was pagan became increasingly called into question due to Julian's call for an unprecedented pagan orthodoxy that did not resemble traditional paganism.[33] The use of biography has been instrumental in articulating this approach, with many historians such as Robin Lane Fox citing Julian's early life within a devout Christian imperial household

[23] Scott Bradbury, 'Julian's Paganism and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice' p.331.
[24] 'Julian's Paganism and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice' p.355.
[25] 'Julian's Paganism and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice' p.346.
[26] James O'Donnell, 'The Demise of Paganism', *Traditio* 35 (1979) p.45.
[27] 'The Demise of Paganism' p.87.
[28] 'The Demise of Paganism' p.48.
[29] 'The Demise of Paganism' p.45.
[30] James O'Donnell, 'The Demise of Paganism' p.87.
[31] 'The Demise of Paganism' p.88.
[32] Michael Tierney, 'Julian the Apostate and the Religion of Hellenism' p.597.
[33] James O'Donnell, 'The Demise of Paganism' p.53.

as evidence of the influence of Christianity within Julian's paganism.[34] The biographical approach allows the historian to emphasise a narrative that builds on the influence of Christianity within his life, with the murder of his family by Constantine and thus his devotion to his education under Christian tutors to be the culmination of Christianity's influence.[35] Julian himself even used his early circumstances to his own end, creating an autobiographical myth written years later to propagate his change to paganism.[36] Thus, biography has been used to emphasise the author's agendas for centuries. However, I believe that a thematic comparison between paganism and Christianity, as demonstrated by Adrain Scaife in 2017, is much more conducive to analysing the extent that Julian was influenced by Christianity. Scaife compares Julian's attempt to create a unified religion, akin to a pagan orthodoxy, in relation to its Christian counterpart.[37] This is evident when considering the traditional Chrisitan practice of allegorical meaning that Julian also attempted to apply within pagan myth, as well as the continuation and differences of Julian's pagan rule to earlier pagan emperors.[38] [39] What makes this journal article so convincing in its argument is Scaife's analysis of political imperial reasonings for Julian's actions: the recognition of the religious power that Christians had accumulated within such a short time frame, and the desire to emulate this within his own revival.[40] [41] This approach allows Julian to be portrayed as not just simply a pagan, one whose hatred against Christianity was the only motive of his actions, and instead studies Julian in a way that has been natural to the other emperors who have not been seeped in the religious controversy that Julian has been unable to escape. As such, it is important to consider that Julian's decisions and motive were not made within a vacuum, especially since Julian was a usurper to a newly Christianised empire: Julian had no choice but to imitate Christianity, they were in a position of power and Julian had to create a continuity of rule and civic life during such an unstable time. Thus, the assumption that Julian was a traditional pagan is unfounded, Christianity had forever changed the religious and imperial Roman landscape even by the time Julian became emperor.

However, each of the aforementioned approaches are dominated by interpretations of Christianity and paganism - whether that was the assumption that Julian was a wayward pagan who had wandered from the true path of God, the pervasive question of the inevitability of the demise of paganism or if Julian was even traditionally pagan at all. However, the book 'Emperor and Author: the Writings of Julian 'the Apostate', a collection of papers of a conference held in 2009, aims to move

[34] David Neal Greenwood, *Julian and Christianity: Revisiting the Constantinian Revolution* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2021) p.4.
[35] *Julian and Christianity: Revisiting the Constantinian Revolution* p.4.
[36] *Julian and Christianity: Revisiting the Constantinian Revolution* p.5.
[37] Adrian Scaife, 'Julian the Apostate: The Emperor who "Bought Piety as it Were Back from Exile" p.104.
[38] 'The Emperor who "Bought Piety as it Were Back from Exile" p.118.
[39] 'The Emperor who "Bought Piety as it Were Back from Exile" p.122.
[40] 'The Emperor who "Bought Piety as it Were Back from Exile" p.104.
[41] 'The Emperor who "Bought Piety as it Were Back from Exile" p.103.

away from Julian's religious identity as the primary focus, and instead remembers him as a prolific author.[42] Elm is of particular interest within this book, considering Julian not only as a writer but also his audience. Like Scaife, Elm emphasises the political motivations of Julian, precarious as he was in his imperial legitimacy.[43] Thus, Elm is convincing in her assessment that Julian's works have been given far less attention than one would assume, and instead ventures that the traditional fixation of religion and old dichotomy of the division of the later Roman world into pagans and Christians hinders the study of Julian.[44] [45] Elm breaks down the Greek culture into three key areas: *logoi, hiera* and the *polis*, in order to analyse his imperial letters in relation to these factors.[46] The most important part of her article is the dialogue formed between the works of Julian and Gregory of Nazianzen, Archbishop of Constantinople and the source of Julian's initial image as an apostate.[47] This dialogue allows historians to be able to appreciate a more detailed picture of the interactions between both paganism and Christianity, since they are emblematic of this relationship, as well as to appreciate the works in their own right.[48] While Gregory of Nazianzen is the most direct depiction of this interaction, and therefore the most useful to analyse, his words are aligned with the prevailing Christian thought of Julian at that time, although it is important to note that he waited until safely after Julian's death to voice them. However, this is the very start of a much wider approach that could be taken, one that is arguably much more advantageous to the study of Julian than the use of biography or thematic comparisons (although it is obvious that both of these do have their uses as seen within this article). However, her work should still be analysed through the lens of religion – since stripping Julian's work of this topic is impossible and therefore should be embraced.

In conclusion, the study of Julian is fascinating in its evolution and progression throughout the centuries, although there are undeniably significant approaches that these historians repeatedly revert back to. These approaches are predominantly focused on Julian's religious identity: initially as an unrepentant sinner, as well as considering the fate of the paganism he heralded and whether its demise was inevitable. Within recent decades, modern approaches have sought to challenge the assumptions that have long been held in the study of Julian, leading to the discovery that Julian was not at all traditionally pagan, but instead heavily influenced by the Christianity he despised. Additionally, Elm has attempted to move away from interpretations of paganism and Christianity almost entirely in recent years, instead focusing on his legacy as a writer. However, one commonality that I have endeavoured to demonstrate throughout these approaches is the fruitlessness yet pervasiveness of the traditional divide of pagans and Christians. If the study of Julian is handled in this way, the findings are inevitably

[42] Nicholas Baker-Brian and Shaun Tougher, 'Introduction', p. xviii, p. xv, p.xiii.
[43] 'Julian the Writer and his Audience' p.1.
[44] Ibid.
[45] 'Julian the Writer and his Audience' p.3.
[46] 'Julian the Writer and his Audience' p.5.
[47] 'Julian the Writer and his Audience' p.7.
[48] 'Julian the Writer and his Audience' p.2.

limited, although it is unquestionable that these old contrasts are hard to shake. I believe that examining the dialogue between Julian and Gregory of Nazianzen is the best approach to accommodate the complexities of the religious landscape of the later Roman empire. However, Elm's assessment is just the beginning; there is still far more to uncover.

Bibliography

Secondary

Baker-Brian, Nicholas and Shaun Tougher, 'Introduction', in *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian 'the Apostate',* ed. by Nicholas Baker-Brian and Shaun Tougher (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2012) pp.xiii-xxi

Bradbury, Scott, 'Julian's Paganism and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice', *Phoenix* 49.4 (1995) pp.331-356

Elm, Susanna, 'Julian the Writer and his Audience', in *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian 'the Apostate',* ed. by Nicholas Baker-Brian and Shaun Tougher, (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2012) pp.1-18

Elm, Susanna, 'Pagan Challenge, Christian Response: Emperor Julian and Gregory of Nazianzus as Paradigms of Interreligious Discourse', in *Faithful Narratives: Historians, Religion, and the Challenge of Objectivity,* ed. by Andrea Sterk and Nina Caputo (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2014) pp.15-31

Greenwood, David Neal, *Julian and Christianity: Revisiting the Constantinian Revolution* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2021)

La Bletterie, F., *The Life of Julian the Apostate Vol. 1,* trans. by V. Desvoeux, V., (Dublin: S. Powell, for Peter Wilson, 1746)

O'Donnell, James, 'The Demise of Paganism', *Traditio* 35 (1979) pp.45-88

Scaife, Adrian, 'Julian the Apostate: The Emperor who "Bought Piety as it Were Back from Exile"', *Midwest Journal of Undergraduate Research* 8 (2019) pp.103-127

Smith, Rowland, *Julian's Gods: Religion and philosophy in the thought and action of Julian the Apostate* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Sterk, Andrea and Nina Caputo, 'Introduction: The Challenge of Relgion in History', in *Faithful Narratives: Historians, Religion, and the Challenge of Objectivity,* ed. by Andrea Sterk and Nina Caputo (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2014) pp.1-12

Tierney, Michael, 'Julian the Apostate and the Religion of Hellenism', *An Irish Quarterly Review* 20.80 (1931) pp.583-597

Wiemer Hans-Ulrich and Stefan Rebenich, *A Companion to Julian the Apostate* (Leiden: Brill, 2020) pp.1-37



CREATED BY HISTORY STUDENTS
FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON