SOUTHAMPTON JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE HISTORY | ISSUE 5 | 2021



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Foreword by the Editor

Hi all,

The 2020-2021 academic year has presented many challenges for all of us, and I have been blown away by the tenacity and resilience of all history students in rising to meet those challenges. With that in mind, it is my absolute pleasure to be able to present the fifth edition of the *Southampton Journal of Undergraduate History*.

I have been continuously impressed and surprised by the sheer enthusiasm for the Journal this year. We received a record thirty submissions and narrowing them down to the thirteen you see here was a tough job. The ones that made it were really the best of the best, and reflect an incredibly diverse breadth of time, place, and people.

A huge debt of gratitude goes to the student markers who helped select the articles that went into this edition: Sem Halil, Rose Urmston, Jason Leedham, Jaromir Dukaczewski, Milly Jones, Imogen Tozer, Lucy Williams, Lucy Rouse, Anna Hubbard, Sam Pearson, Macey McDermott and Rachel Manthorpe. An extra special thanks go to my Deputy Editors, Jason Leedham and Anna Hubbard, who were an invaluable help in the final editing process, making my job much easier.

I would also like to thank Dr Eleanor Quince and Dr Christopher Prior for their help from within the history department, for their continual support for the journal and those involved in it, and for helping to organise our first launch party this year. Thank you to all those who submitted articles this year, even if they didn't make it into the journal – it was a pleasure to read them, and you can all be proud of yourselves and the work you have produced.

And finally, thank you to you, the reader. I sincerely hope you enjoy it!

Rebecca Williams

Editor-in-Chief, 2020-2021

The Archaeological Potential of Shipwrecks: Understanding the Past through Sunken Ships

Cal T. Pols

Abstract

In maritime archaeology, the study of shipwrecks remains a key element of research because these sites are of high archaeological and historical potential. The quality of the resources present at these sites as well as excellent preservation of organic and inorganic materials (under certain conditions) can lead to exceptionally detailed insights about past societies on both the macro and micro scale. Moreover, shipwrecks can also preserve the immaterial aspects of a society; its socio-cultural influences, aims, desires, and the connections between different communities in the past. Shipwreck sites can provide archaeologists and historians insights and understandings about the past that is comparable to, if not better than, those derived from archaeological sites on land. By combining elements of theory and the use of examples and case studies, this article details why shipwrecks hold great archaeological and, therefore, historical potential.

In order to set out why shipwrecks can be sites of great significance and potential, there is first the need to establish what is meant by a 'ship' and a 'shipwreck'. Sean McGrail devised a system to differentiate between the different types of watercraft based on their fundamental characteristics; how buoyancy is derived, construction materials, and construction methods (see Figure 1).[1] Ships fundamentally can be defined by the fact they achieve buoyancy through water displacement by a hollowed, watertight vessel.[2] This is in contrast to rafts, for example, where floatation derives from the use of intrinsically buoyant materials.[3]

In defining a shipwreck, Keith Muckelroy stated:

> "The shipwreck is the event by which a highly organised and dynamic assemblage of artefacts are transformed into a static and disorganised state with long-term stability." [4]

According to Muckelroy, the archaeologist's primary concern should be with the former state (i.e. the ship pre-wreckage) but understood via the latter (i.e. the shipwreck).[5] This follows from the axiom that archaeology is about understanding *people*, not things. Although other areas of maritime

[1] Sean McGrail, *Ancient Boats in North-West Europe,* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp.4-11.
[2] Ibid*,* p.5.
[3] Ibid, p.5.
[4] Keith Muckelroy, *Maritime Archaeology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p.157.
[5] Ibid, p.157.

research have increased in popularity, shipwrecks continue to constitute the main site type under study.[6]

Ships as Technology: Technical, Social, and Cognitive Aspects

First and foremost is the fact that shipbuilding often represents the most complex and highest technology in a pre-industrial society.[7] Ships are products of complex socio-cultural processes; their development, use, and disposal occur under the influence of both physical and mental constraints.[8] Steffy emphasises that ships and boats were always a means to an end and were used to complete specific ventures for specific purposes.[9] Their structural complexity reflected the needs for their assignments and therefore what activities the society that produced them thought of as important.[10]

Therefore, any change or subsequent development to these technologies also must reflect change(s) in that society.[11] For example, during the medieval period in northern Europe, the change from *clinker* (Figure 2) to *carvel* (Figure 3) hull construction, in part, reflected the connectivity and interaction between the Mediterranean and northern Europe as well as the formation of larger political polities occurring at that time.[12] Therefore changes in building traditions, observed by comparing longitudinal data of shipwrecks, can reflect social, political, and cultural changes in a society.[13]

It may seem logical to see shipwrecks as representations of failures to achieve those aims, whether through bad designs, poor craftmanship, or otherwise, as the ships did not reach their destinations. Instead, however, they should be seen as representing human enterprise and calculated risk taking.[14] Shipwrecks, then, can provide archaeologists insight into the aims of a society which are, in a sense, immaterial and would not otherwise survive.

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[6] David Gibbins & Jonathan Adams,'Shipwrecks and maritime archaeology', *World Archaeology,* 32:3, (2001), p.279.
[7] Richard. A. Gould, *Archaeology and the Social History of Ships,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.121.
[8] Gibbins and Adams, 'Shipwrecks and maritime archaeology', p.281; Gould, *Social History of Ships,* p.122.
[9] Richard J. Steffy, *Wooden ship building and the interpretation of shipwrecks,* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1994), p.23.
[10] Steffy, *Wooden ship building*, p.23.
[11] Jonathan Adams, 'Ships, society, maritime space and identity: Or the agency of power, vernacular boats and bacteria', *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, Amsterdam 2012*, Jerzy Gawronski, André van Holk & Joost Schokkenbroek (eds.), (Eelde: Barkhuis, 2017), p.21.
[12] Adams, 'Ships, society, maritime space', p.23.
[13] McGrail, *Ancient Boats,* pp.98-162.
[14] Jonathan Adams, 'Ships and boats as archaeological source material', *World Archaeology,* 32:3, (2001), p.293.

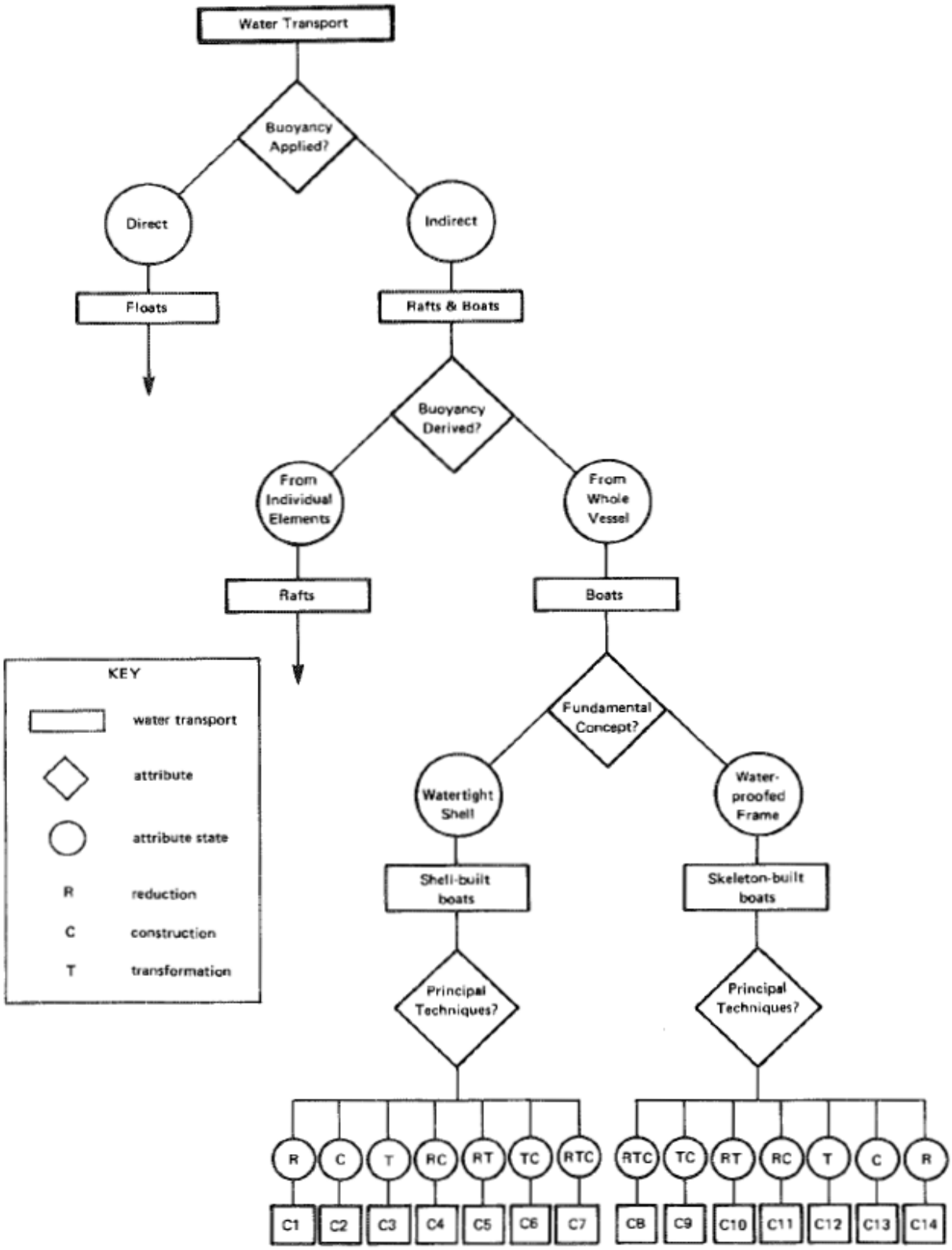


Figure 1 - The characterisation of watercraft types based on fundamental characteristics.[15]

[15] McGrail, *Ancient Boats*, p. 8.

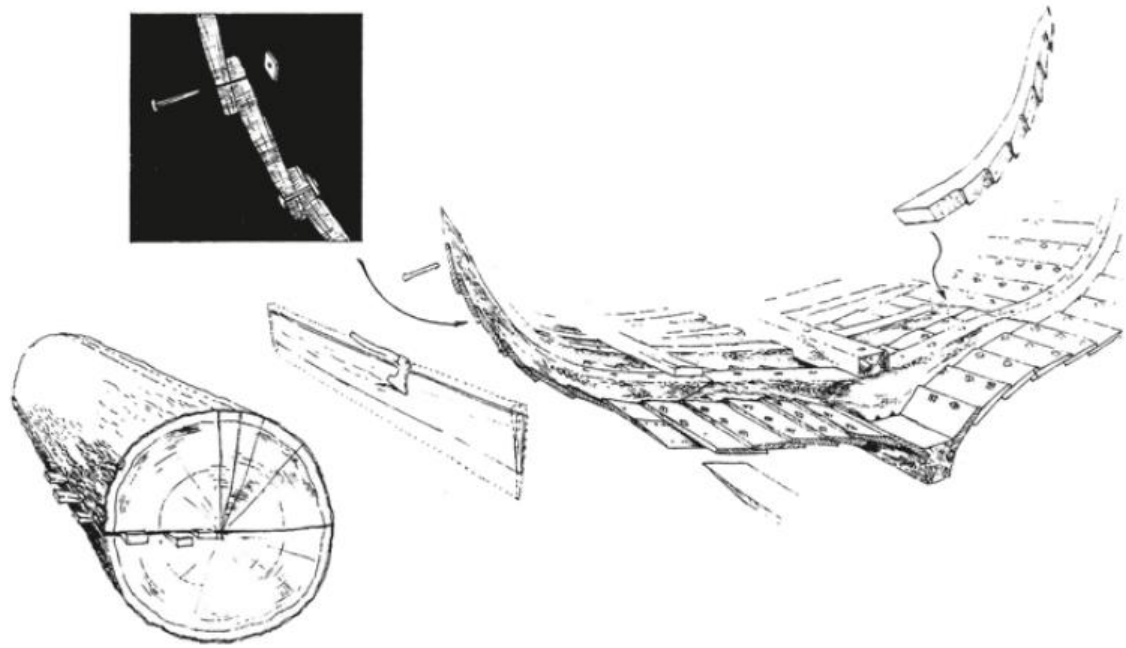


Figure 2 - A ship showing 'clinker' hull construction; the watertight hull surface is made by joining overlapping planks together then inserting frames afterwards.[16]

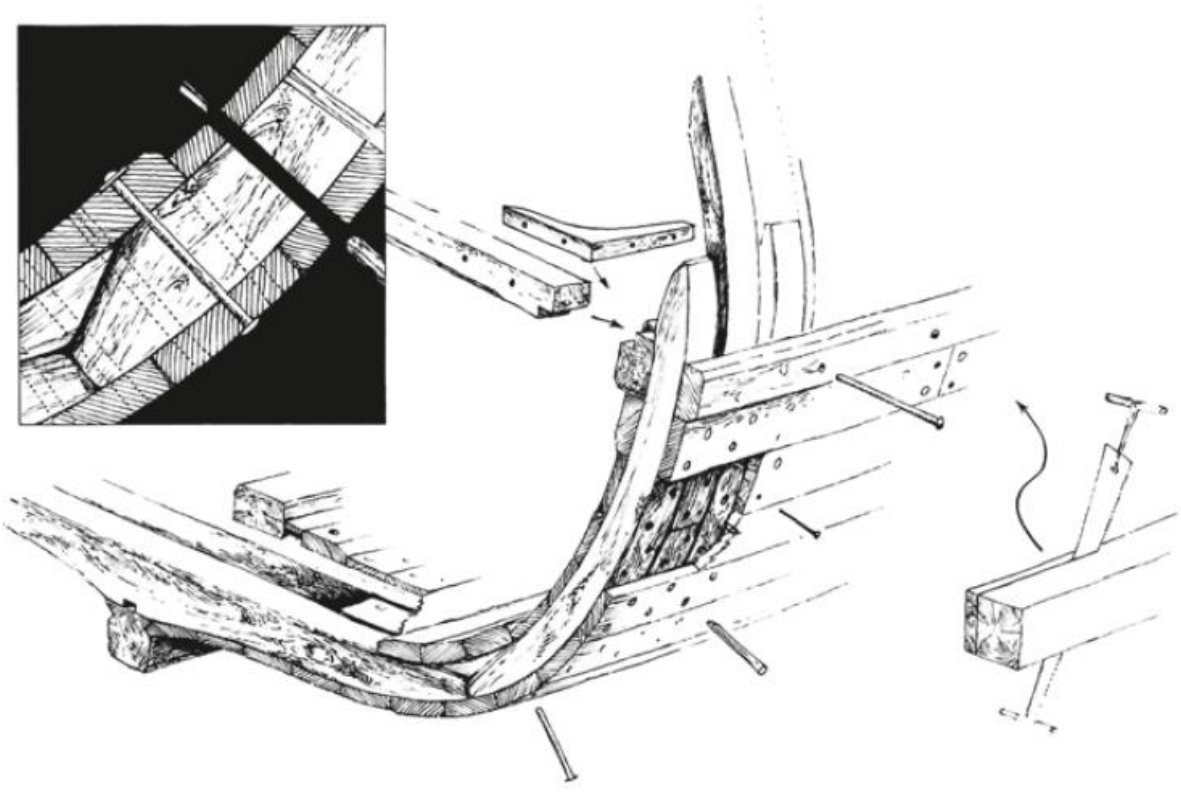


Figure 3 - A ship showing 'carvel' hull construction; the watertight hull is made from joining planks directly to an inside frame.[17]

[16] Adams, 'Ships, society, maritime space', p. 22.
[17] Adams, 'Ships, society, maritime space', p. 22.

So, it is clear that ships represent significant social undertakings and show an investment of large amounts of resources and time by a community of people, requiring cooperation and long-term thinking.[18] Shipwrecks can therefore give insight about how these shipfaring societies thought about and engaged with the sea.

In order to recognise both the physical (resources and materials) as well as the cognitive aspects to shipwrecks, Westerdahl proposed the term "maritime cultural landscape".[19] This is because ships are just a piece in understanding the wider "mariculture" of a society.[20] Seafaring requires not just the ships themselves and the water, but other structures and industries on land such as harbours and road networks to distribute transported materials as well as knowledge of sailing routes, tidal or wind patterns, and navigation techniques.

Recently, however, there has been some criticism of the theory of the maritime cultural landscape, particularly in relation to the vagueness of its boundaries, which has led to some difficulty implementing the theory into practical heritage management.[21]

Case Studies: Trade and Connectivity

Shipwreck sites have high archaeological potential in providing evidence for trade and maritime connectivity between different areas, which can be especially useful for prehistoric time periods. Two examples which demonstrate this well are the Bronze Age shipwrecks found at Cape Gelidonya and Uluburun, both off the southern coast of Turkey.[22]

The wreck at Uluburun, dated to c.1300 BC, is the oldest seagoing vessel found underwater to date.[23] The artefacts found on-board highlight a wide range of materials and styles, with objects having suspected origins in Egypt, mainland Greece, and the Levantine coast.[24] The wreck at Cape Gelidonya was dated to around 1200 BC, carrying large amounts of bronze and copper and was likely to have been travelling from Syria, to Cyprus, then onto the Aegean but sank en route.[25] These wrecks are extremely significant as they highlighted the extent of maritime connectivity across the Mediterranean during the Bronze Age and the cultural exchange that was occurring. For example,

[18] Adams, 'Ships and boats', p.300.
[19] Christer Westerdahl, 'The maritime cultural landscape', *International Jounal of Nautical Archaeology,* 21:1, (1992), p.5.
[20] Westerdahl, 'Maritime cultural landscape', p.6.
[21] Jonathan Benjamin, et. al., 'Integrating Aerial and Underwater Data for Archaeology: Digital Maritime Landscapes in 3D', *3D Recording and Interpretation for Maritime Archaeology,* 31, (2019), p.213.
[22] George F. Bass, 'Cape Gelidonya: a Bronze Age shipwreck', *Transactions of American Philosophical Society,* 57:8, (1967), pp.1-177; Cemal Pulak, 'The Uluburun shipwreck: an overview', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology,* 27:3, (1998), pp.188-224.
[23] Pulak, 'Uluburun shipwreck', p.187; Gould, *Social History of Ships*, p.127.
[24] Gould, *Social History of Ships*, p.128.
[25] Bass, 'Cape Gelidonya', p.164.

Pulak argues convincingly that the Uluburun wreck is a clear indicator of a sea route going from the eastern to western Mediterranean for the transport of copper, tin, and other raw materials.[26]

It should be noted, however, that the site of a shipwreck itself is not necessarily any indicator of the ship's intended destination or origin.[27] Instead, a variety of different evidence can help to restrict the ship's likely origins; hull construction method, cargo, the crew's personal items, and the typology of artefacts to name a few. In an attempt to overcome this problem, larger numbers of wrecks, their locations, and cargo needs to be collated and related together. Parker collected 1,200 shipwreck sites into a catalogue, which could then be analysed and interpreted.[28] In Figure 4, Parker compares the number of wrecks in different regions across longer time periods, which can indicate the importance or amount of ship traffic in these areas at different times throughout history.

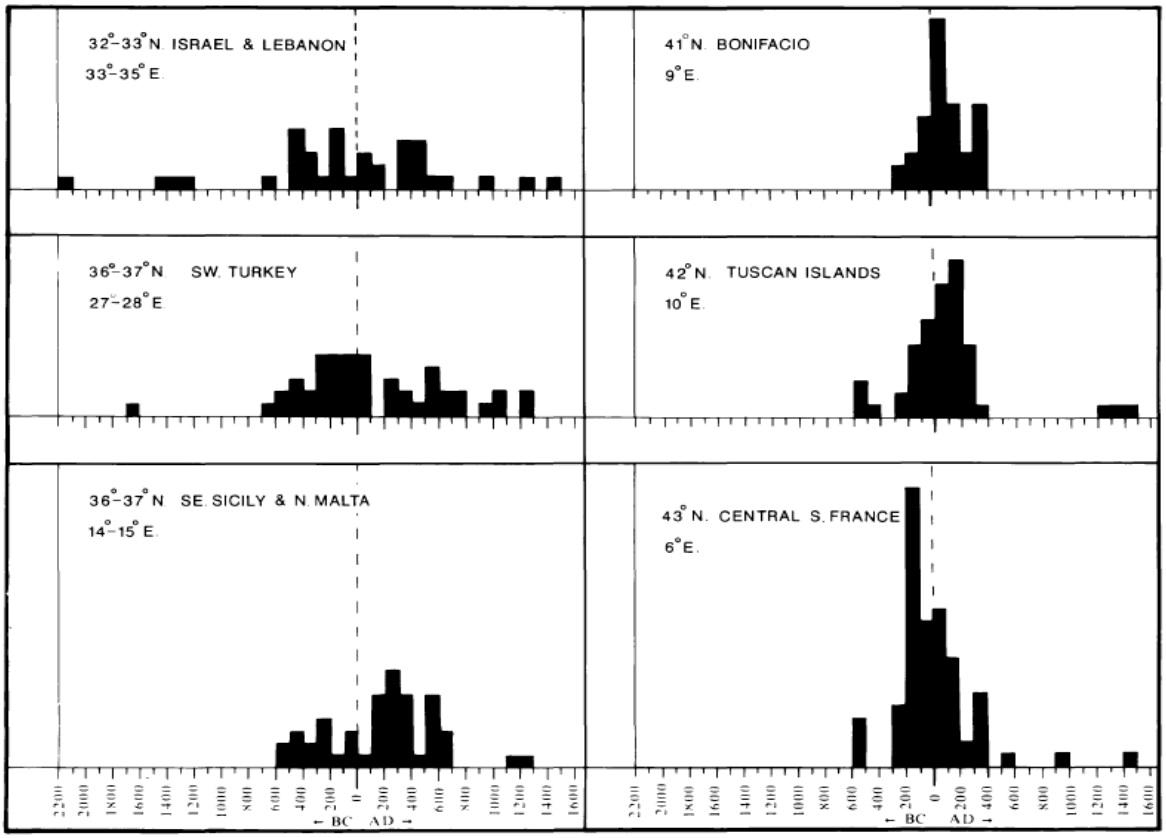


Figure 4 - Graphs plotting the number of wrecks found at different locations in the Mediterranean over time.[29]

[26] Pulak, 'Uluburun shipwreck', p.191.
[27] Adams, 'Ships and boats', p.299.
[28] A. J. Parker, *Ancient shipwrecks of the Mediterranean & the Roman provinces,* (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 1992), pp.39-461.
[29] Parker, *Ancient shipwrecks,* p.9.

However, any attempt to reconstruct the maritime networks of the past from the analysis of shipwrecks is always constrained by the data available at that time. These proposed networks can only be formed using known and surviving wreck sites, with cargo whose origins can be determined. Furthermore, biases or misidentifications in the archaeological record can carry through into these models, and potentially misleading or inaccurate conclusions could be drawn.

Quality of the Archaeological Resource

There are several key differences between shipwreck sites and land sites that highlight their archaeological potential. Firstly, the difference between land sites and shipwrecks is that often terrestrial archaeology (especially settlements) reflects successive periods of habitation and use, whereas shipwrecks represent a group of objects that were present at a single moment in time.[30] Although it cannot be known how for long any individual object was on-board (discussed later), what is certain is that they were all in contemporaneous use. Also, due to the weight and space restrictions on board any working vessel, there is unlikely to have been large amounts of redundant material present.[31] Secondly, shipwrecks represent archaeological material that was not intended to be lost, which means that the assemblage likely represents 'normal' daily affairs at the time.[32]

Artefact contemporaneity and unintended deposition are highlighted by Gibbins as key aspects of shipwrecks and why he terms them "fine-grained assemblages".[33] Even if land sites, such as burials, have high resolution and integrity, inference about these sites is limited by the fact the material has been deliberately deposited.[34] In contrast, these attributes are very often (if not always) present at shipwreck sites, due to the very nature of how they have come to be formed. As such, shipwrecks are often seen as 'time-capsules' due to the fact that a wreck site is a closed-system and is tied to a specific event at one specific time in the past. However, the extent to which any individual wreck being a 'time capsule' depends on several factors: circumstances of loss, wrecking process, site environment, and the site formation processes, and thus each wreck needs to be quantified to avoid simplistic understandings of the past.[35]

All shipwreck sites, to varying degrees, undergo the same series of transformations due to their underwater environment and site formation.[36] Gibbins also highlights that shipwrecks have comparable assemblages due to the standard reasons for seafaring across cultures and time.[37] As such,

[30] Parker, *Ancient shipwrecks,* p.3.
[31] Gibbins and Adams, 'Shipwrecks and maritime archaeology', p.280.
[32] Parker, *Ancient shipwrecks,* p.3.
[33] David Gibbins, 'Analytical Approaches in Maritime Archaeology: a Mediterranean perspective', *Antiquity,* 64:243, (1990), p.377.
[34] Gibbins, 'Analytical Approaches', p.377.
[35] Adams, 'Ships and boats', p.296.
[36] Muckelroy, *Maritime Archaeology*, p.158.
[37] Gibbins, Analytical Approaches', p.376.

it is possible to apply similar theories and techniques to study shipwrecks from drastically different time periods and locations, which is not commonly possible on land sites.[38]

Shipwreck Preservation: Material and Immaterial

Another aspect of shipwrecks that poses great archaeological potential is the fact that there can be excellent preservation of archaeological material underwater. This can occur for several reasons. If a ship sinks and becomes submerged in anaerobic sediments of a lake, river, or seabed organic material, it can be well preserved.[39] High organic preservation of shipwrecks is especially prevalent at deep water sites.[40] For example, Hansson and Foley were able to analyse DNA traces inside amphora from a 2,400-year-old shipwreck.[41] Their findings provided evidence for some of the commodities carried and transported in amphora at the time (olive oil and oregano).[42]

In part, the high preservation in deep water is due to the absence of destructive wave action that can scramble or damage a shipwreck assemblage, but it is also caused by the environmental conditions.[43] In the Black Sea, wooden shipwrecks, even several thousands of years old, remained extremely well preserved (Figure 5) due to the anoxic (without oxygen) environment that occurs below 150m.[44] Similar levels of preservation can also occur in the cold and salty waters of the Baltic Sea, highlighted by the extensive preservation of a mid-17th century Dutch ship (Figure 6).[45]

Adams points out that ships can be quite old when they sink and may carry items from previous voyages or items that are otherwise unrelated to their final voyages.[46] This results in the ship, prior to sinking, having an "onboard stratigraphy" which incorporates all the different elements of the vessel; ballast, cargo, fixtures, and the hull structure.[47] This stratigraphy can contain artefacts from different time periods, which may extend from decades to even centuries.[48] Analysis of these

[38] Gibbins, Analytical Approaches', p.376.
[39] Adams, 'Ships and boats', p.293.
[40] Shelley Wachsmann, 'Deep-submergence Archaeology' In *The Oxford Handbook of Maritime Archaeology,* Ben Ford, Donny L. Hamilton, and Alexis Catsambis (eds.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013), p.207.
[41] Maria C. Hansson and Brendan P. Foley, 'Ancient DNA fragments inside Classical Greek amphoras reveal cargo of 2400-year-old shipwreck', *Journal of Archaeological Science,* 35:5, (2008), pp.1169-1176.
[42] Hansson and Foley, 'Ancient DNA fragments', p.1169.
[43] Brendan P.Foley, 'Deep-water Archaeology', in *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology,* Claire Smith (ed.), (New York: Springer, 2014), p.2079.
[44] Rodrigo Pacheco-Ruiz, et. al, 'Deep sea archaeological survey in the Black Sea – Robotic documentation of 2,500 years of human seafaring', *Deep Sea Research Part I: Oceanographic Research Papers,* 152, (2019) p. 3.
[45] Niklas Eriksson and Johan Rönnby, ' 'The Ghost Ship'. An Intact Fluyt from c. 1650 in the Middle of the Baltic Sea', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology,* 41:2, (2012), p.350.
[46] Jonathan Adams, *A Maritime Archaeology of Ships: Innovation and Social Change in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Havertown: Oxbow Books, 2013), p.20.
[47] Adams, *Maritime Archaeology of Ships*, p.20. (For a comprehensive explanation of the principles of archaeological stratigraphy, see Harris, 1979).
[48] Adams, *Maritime Archaeology of Ships*, p.20.

preserved artefacts and the relationship between them at shipwreck sites can reveal information about the crew; their lives, socio-economic status, and roles on-board.

For example, the excavation and analysis of the *Mary Rose,* King Henry VIII's flagship which sunk in 1545 in the Solent, revealed much about the crew through their personal items.[49] Relating groups of artefacts together enabled the identification of specific individuals and their role onboard the ship, such as the barber-surgeon, who possessed items including ointment jars, razors, and syringes.[50] Preserved items of clothing, musical instruments, and game boards also shed light on what life for the crew was like on a Tudor warship.[51] However, even when a shipwreck is not intact, and the site is discontinuous, the relations between the different artefacts can still be preserved by understanding the forces affecting the assemblage's distribution.[52] Muckelroy demonstrated this when studying the Dutch VOC ship *Kennemerland,* which had broken up completely during the wrecking processes.[53]

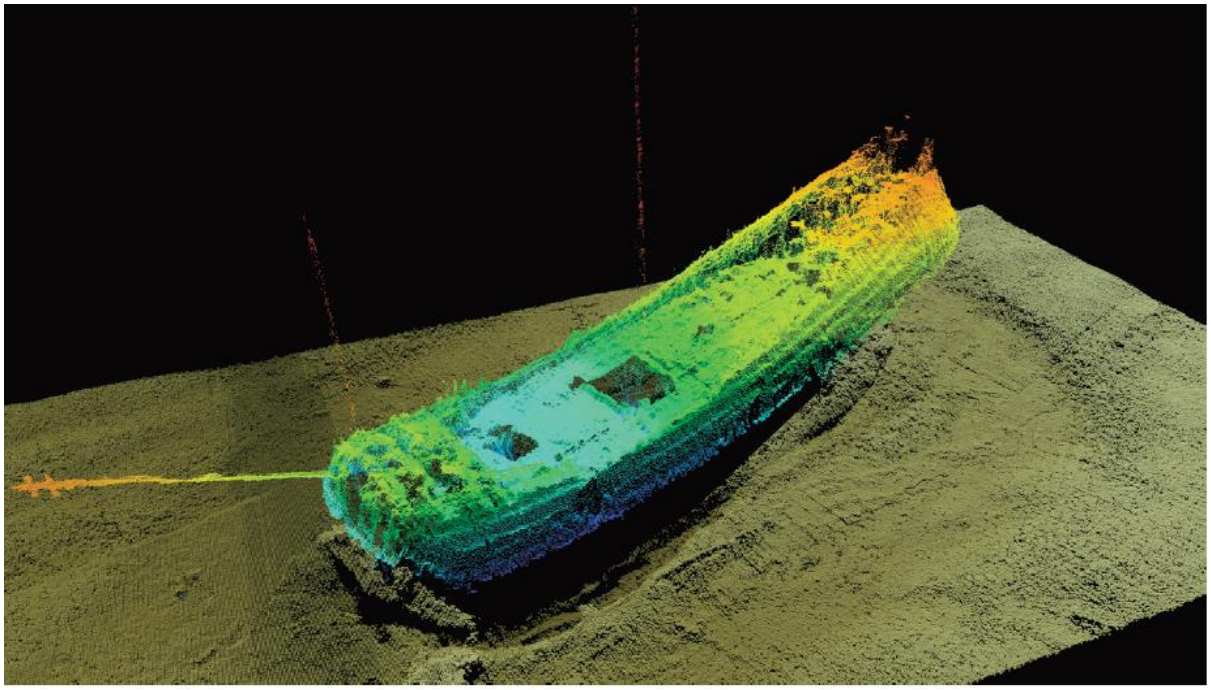


Figure 5 - An accurate, rendered model of a 4th century BC shipwreck in the Black Sea showing extensive preservation.[54]

[49] Margaret Rule, *The Mary Rose*, (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1983), pp.184-201.
[50] Rule, *Mary Rose*, pp.186-193.
[51] Rule, *Mary Rose*, pp.196-201.
[52] Muckelroy, *Maritime Archaeology*, pp.197-214.
[53] Muckelroy, *Maritime Archaeology,* p.172.
[54] Pacheco-Ruiz, et al., 'Deep sea archaeological survey', p.14.

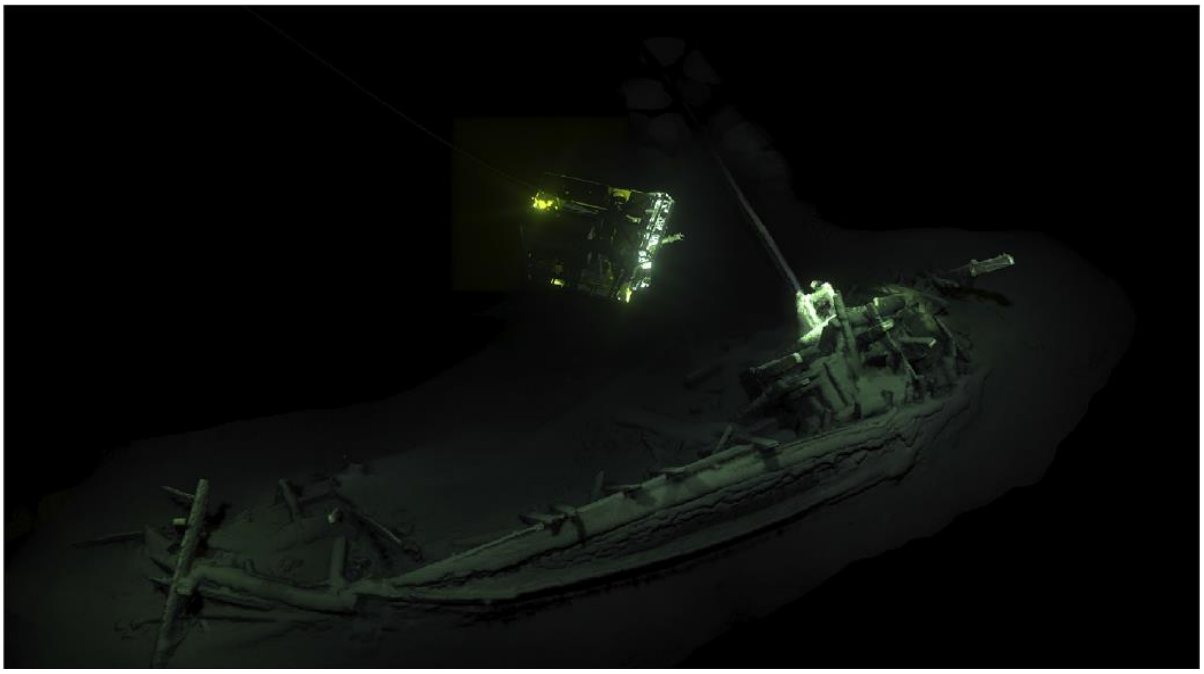


Figure 6 –A 3D model created from depth-soundings showing the surviving remains of a 17th century Dutch *Fluyt*.[55]

Conclusion

This article has attempted to show why shipwrecks are sites of high archaeological potential by highlighting how they can greatly improve our understanding of the past. Principally, shipwrecks can offer archaeological resources and insights into past societies that are unique, which may not be available on land sites. The very nature of shipwreck sites themselves results in a contemporaneous assemblage that dates to a specific event in the past and that was unintentionally lost. This is in comparison to land sites, which can be inhabited, changed, and destroyed over time.

Resources preserved on shipwreck sites can offer insights into a wide variety of aspects of a past society, from physical actions to cognitive approaches. This is due to the fact that shipwrecks represent but a part of a maritime landscape that were engaged with in past societies. Artefact assemblages on shipwrecks, differences in ship construction methods, and the development of ship technology represent the immaterial aims of past societies as well as the complex socio-cultural forces acting on them.

Uniquely, shipwrecks from different periods and locations can be investigated using similar methods. It is also significant that at both continuous and discontinuous wreck sites, that the relations between artefacts can be preserved, understood, and explained. The underwater nature of sites,

[55] Eriksson and Rönnby, 'The Ghost Ship', p.352.

particularly under certain conditions, can preserve archaeological material that would otherwise very likely not survive on terrestrial sites.

Therefore, shipwrecks are not just a group of scattered, unrelated objects on the seabed, but instead representations of highly complex, socio-culturally significant undertakings than can offer archaeologists unparalleled insight into past societies.

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Isolation or Connection: An Assessment of How the War Scroll Reflects the Nature of the Qumran Community

Alexander Read

Abstract

Ever since their discovery in 1947, the Dead Sea Scrolls have presented the stage for strong historical debate over their precise historical and religious significance. Similarly debated and elusive is the nature of the community itself from which the scrolls are believed to have originated. Through looking at one of the more peculiar scrolls found at Qumran, the War Scroll, I will argue that despite the community's seemingly drastic isolation from both Jewish and wider society, they were still very much in touch with wider religious ideals and experiences that many of the prominent Jewish sects of their time would be engaged with. This therefore emphasises the fact that this was not a marginalised Jewish sect at the time they were active, which can be seen through the experiences and common features that the community shared with other sects.

The War Scroll, known as 1QM, is a manuscript found in Cave 1 at the Qumran archaeological site, situated in the Judean desert. Whilst the date of the War Scroll remains uncertain, there is a large consensus amongst scholars dating it between the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE. The War scroll falls within the sectarian group of scrolls within the discovered Dead Sea corpus, and it is this sectarian group which represents the actual Qumran community most directly. The scroll itself depicts a detailed battle plan for the final eschatological battle that will culminate in the defeat of the 'wicked' and success for those chosen by God. The scroll highlights the fact that despite the community's self-imposed isolation from both Jewish and wider society, the Qumran community was not marginalised from other Jewish groups during the period as at their core, the views they held had common features to those of other Jewish sects at the time. This can be seen by the fact that the apocalyptic worldview clearly present in the community's thinking was a common aspect of Jewish identity at the time which did not set them apart as a unique or isolated group. Furthermore, some of the views presented in 1QM can be seen as containing 'Deuteronomistic' ideology as well as other biblical ideas, which identifies the group as embedded in similar biblical thinking to the other Jewish groups in Judea. Lastly, the Romans can be identified as the main enemy to the Qumran community which acts to create further common ground between the Qumran community and other Jewish groups as all would have experienced oppression and marginalisation in the face of Roman hegemony.

The apocalyptic nature of the War Scroll, and therefore the apocalyptic worldview of the Qumran community that is presented through it, can serve to demonstrate how the community was not marginalised from other Jewish sects at the time. The scroll demonstrates apocalyptic traits through its central themes of dualism, as seen by the 'sons of light' and 'sons of darkness', along with the divine intervention presented, in which 'the great hand of God shall overcome'.[1] Furthermore, the apocalyptic theme is not unique to the war scroll amongst the Qumran corpus, as shown by the sectarian 'Messianic Rule' scroll, 1QSa, which refers to the 'latter days' of Israel and depicts an eschatological community.[2] This is significant as it conveys the prevalence of an apocalyptic worldview within the Qumran community itself, which ultimately serves to connect and create similarities between the Qumran community and the wider Jewish sects in Judea. This is because, as argued by Robert Kugler, 'eschatology was integral to the fabric of most expressions of Judean identity', and this sentiment can be seen within the War Scroll, which shows how the Qumran community was no less marginalised than other groups in Judea.[3] This is because whilst they were identifying as an isolated group that followed its own ideals, they still adhered to the same overarching themes that informed their group, and would have informed other Jewish groups. This means that in a broad sense the Qumran community and other Jewish sects were similar, and that the nuance in ideas occurred at a smaller level within different groups ideologies, which conveys the nature of the Qumran community as a group that was not extensively marginalised. Furthermore, the potential function of the scroll as a work that was intended to console its community, can further link the Qumran community to other Jewish groups and demonstrate that they were not more marginalised. These kinds of statements can be seen in the scroll when it refers to there being a 'time of salvation for the people of God' following the victory for the sons of light, as well as the emphasis of the Kittim's destruction of which there will be 'no remnant remaining'.[4] Furthermore, the sentiment of this consolation function is conveyed by George Brooke, who argues that the statements made in the scroll could be a 'set of reassurances that all will be well in the end', with the text being a 'weapon' in the group's arsenal when facing a threat.[5] Additionally, this kind of response can also be shown from other groups, as seen with the writing of 4 Ezra, a pseudepigraphic Jewish apocalypse that lamented the Temple's destruction in 70CE. Much like

[1] 1QM 1:1.
[2] Jonathan Ben-Dov, and Yigal Bloch, 'The Rule of the Congregation from Cave 1 of Qumran: A New Annotated Edition', *Revue Des Études Juives*, 178, (2019), pp. 17-20.
[3] Robert Kugler, 'The War Rule Texts and a New Theory of the People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Brief Thought Experiment' in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature,* Kipp Davies, Kyung Baek, Peter Flint and Dorothy Peters (eds.), (Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 170.
[4] 1QM1:5; 1QM 1:6.
[5] George Brooke, 'Text, Timing, and Terror: Thematic Thoughts on the War Scroll in Conversation with the Writings of Martin G. Abegg, Jr' in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature,* Kipp Davies, Kyung Baek, Peter Flint and Dorothy Peters (eds.), (Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 53.

the war scroll, 4 Ezra gives hope for the future when it describes Ezra's vision of the mourning woman who transforms into a heavenly vision of Jerusalem, and the Jewish readers are told 'don't fear, and don't let your heart be afraid'.[6] This demonstrates an attempt to console Jewish groups that felt threatened after the destruction of the Temple, through the medium of apocalyptic ideology. Therefore, this again ultimately conveys how the apocalyptic worldview adopted by the Qumran community links them to other groups, in terms of the overarching theme of apocalypticism and its function within the group, which ultimately demonstrates that they were not massively different and thus marginalised from other Jewish sects at the time.

The eschatological elements of the War Scroll can be seen to have biblical tendencies, such as Deuteronomistic ideology as well as links to other biblical texts, that ultimately presents the Qumran community as embedded in the same biblical thinking as many other Jewish groups in Judea at the time.[7] This is shown in the scrolls when it gives promises of deliverance, as seen when it says 'there shall be a time of salvation for the people of God'.[8] This theme runs throughout the narrative of the scroll, and is argued by Mark Matthews to evoke 'Deuteronomistic promises' within an 'eschatological context'.[9] The book of Deuteronomy is the fifth book of the Torah, which serves the purpose of exhorting obedience from Jews in order to gain reward, whilst warning against disobedience that will lead to punishment, as shown by the book stating Jews must 'be careful to follow every command' so that they may 'enter and possess the land the Lord promised'.[10] The consistent reaffirmation of salvation after dedication to and suffering for the cause in the 1QM, can therefore convey how the War Scroll reflects within it the Deuteronomistic promise of blessings for the faithful. The Jewish nature of the Qumran community and the parallels between the War Scroll and the themes of the book of Deuteronomy, convey the idea that the Qumran community was embedded in Biblical literature and thinking that influenced the community's own texts. This ultimately shows that the Qumran community was operating with in the same framework as other Jewish groups in Judea, and whilst the specific thinking of the group was unique to itself in terms of the way they expressed and articulated it, it still fell under the umbrella of a clearly Jewish sect and thus they were not marginalised from other Jewish groups.[11] Additionally, the Scroll has parallels with the Book of Daniel, a biblical apocalypse which is present in both the Hebrew and Christian bibles, which again highlights the

[6] 2 Esdras 10:55-56.
[7] Section revised for clarity following feedback of Dr Helen Spurling.
[8] 1QM 1:5
[9] Mark Mathews, 'Dead Sea Scrolls: sectarian Hebrew documents' in *Riches, Poverty, and the Faithful: Perspectives on Wealth in the Second Temple Period and the Apocalypse of John,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 111.
[10] Deuteronomy 8:1.
[11] Section revised for clarity following feedback of Dr Helen Spurling.

Qumran community as embedded in biblical ideas. It is noted by Brian Schultz that the War Scroll has a degree of 'dependence upon Daniel 11:40-45', and is certainly inspired 'linguistically' by it.[12] There are significant parallels between the prevalent eschatological themes of Daniel 11-12 and that of 1QM, as well as the more direct links such as the importance of the angel Michael in both texts and the reference within the War Scroll to the Sons of light going to 'do battle against the Kings of the North'.[13] Whilst the links between Daniel and the War Scroll are recognised by scholars as a point of potential influence for the scroll's creation, the similarities can also be used to infer that the Qumran community was not a marginalised Jewish sect. This is because the use of Daniel as a point of inspiration demonstrates that the community was embedded in ideas that were widespread amongst other Jews. Therefore, Daniel, a mainstream Jewish text, serves as a part of the root of the group's own unique ideas, which ultimately serves to link the Qumran community and other Jewish groups.

The War Scroll lists many enemies, but one of the most significant in the scroll is the 'Kittim of Asshur'.[14] There is a consensus amongst the majority of scholars that the *Kittim* refers to the Romans, who by the mid-first century BCE were major hegemonic powers within the Levant, and thus would have posed a threat to the Qumran community itself. The scroll therefore, as argued by Philip Davies, presents the Romans 'against whom a hostile attitude is now expressed in the scroll', as they take up the mantle as one of the key enemies in the eschatological battle.[15] Furthermore, the term *Kittim* can be noted in the scroll, from columns 15-19, as being used to refer to all the nations that were perceived as enemies of the community and consequently were to fight alongside the biblical forces of Belial.[16] This is significant as by placing the name for the Romans, *Kittim,* as a general word for what the Qumran community perceived as the nations of evil, it implies that the Romans were at the forefront of the community's thinking at the time and were thus the most pressing threat against them during the period, as other enemies such as those 'who violate the covenant' are side-lined in the scroll.[17] This is significant as whilst Roman hegemony grew in the Levant through the first century BCE, many other Jewish groups in Judea would have felt the same way about the threat of the Romans. This is because the Romans did not approach or view different Jewish groups in different ways, they viewed them all as a part of a Jewish nation. This way of Roman thinking is demonstrated in book five

[12] Brian Schultz, 'The Historical Setting of the War: A Dependence upon Daniel 11:40–12:3' in *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered,* Florentino Martinez (ed.), Vol 76 (Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 92.
[13] 1QM 1:4.
[14] 1QM 1:2.
[15] Philip Davies, 'War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness' in Anchor *Bible Dictionary*, David Noel Freedman (ed.), (New York: Doubleday, 1992), p. 967.
[16] Martin Abegg, Cook, Edward. Wise, Michael. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation,* Revised edition, (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2005).
[17] 1QM 1:2.

of Tacitus' *Histories,* which has a section dedicated to the origins of Jerusalem and its Jewish inhabitants, in which he simply refers to the Jewish groups as 'the Jews' as a whole, or simply as a 'race'.[18] There is no mention of the complex groups that made up Jewish society, as they were seen as one and the same, and thus the different factions were just referred to as the Jews as a whole. This is significant as it means that all the Jewish groups that would ultimately experience Roman hegemony would have been dealt with in the same way and thus experienced this rule in the same way. Consequently, this ultimately means that it would not be unlikely that many Jewish groups would have held similar thoughts and ideas towards the Romans as that of the Qumran community. Therefore, the fact, as noted by Alexander Bolotnikov, that the defeat of the *Kittim,* and thus the Romans, is a 'major concern of the author' demonstrates how the Qumran community were not marginalised or different from other Jewish sects, as they all experienced Roman hegemony in the same oppressive way and thus were in a sense united by their negative views towards them.[19]

In conclusion, 1QM demonstrates the fact that the Qumran community was not a marginalised group from other Jewish sects at the time, as they had many similar experiences as well as common features within their ideas that are not distinctive from other groups. This is shown by the clear apocalyptic worldview of the group that is presented in 1QM, which was a common aspect of Judaism within Judea at the time and would thus not be a distinct feature amongst Jewish sects, with many groups having this worldview and producing apocalyptic texts. Furthermore, the Qumran community can be seen to have been embedded in biblical literature such as the book of Deuteronomy and the Book of Daniel, as seen by its influences on 1QM, which demonstrates how the Qumran community was developing its ideas out of the same framework as other Jewish sects, and that whilst this created different views, they were not entirely exclusive to the point they would marginalise the Qumran community from other Jewish sects. Lastly, the negative and tense attitude towards the Romans, presented as the *Kittim* in 1QM, create another similar feature between the Qumran community and other Jewish sects at the time, as the Romans did not distinguish between the different Jewish sects present and thus all of these sects where essentially subjected to the same experience of Roman hegemony. This created the negative attitude towards the Romans that is very common amongst Jewish sects between the first century BCE and first century CE, and thus links the Qumran community to other Jewish sects as opposed to marginalising it.

[18] Tacitus. *Histories,* 5:5.2-13.
[19] Alexander Bolotnikov, 'The Theme of Apocalyptic War in the Dead Sea Scrolls', *Andrews University Seminary Studies, (vol* 43, 2005), p. 264.

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The Conflicting Figure of Empress Theodora: Ancient and Modern Receptions

Millie Clark

Abstract

Ancient historiography concerning Empress Theodora is, on the whole, particularly damning, with Procopius (the leading historian of the era) eloquently dubbing her as an "avenging demon."[1] Her unusual rise to Empress from the bottom of the social pyramid made her a key target for these ancient historians, exacerbated by the common trope of accusing women they disliked of sexual deviance and concentrating on her past as an actress and prostitute. This is exemplified within three key areas: deviating from the pre-established ideal of an Empress, supposed perversion of womanhood and her alienation, and simultaneous vocality, as a minority. As such, I argue that these views have had a profound impact on the scholarship of both Theodora and her husband Emperor Justinian, since they constitute our main sources and are thus inescapable. Conversely, it is this very same influence that has contributed to modern scholarship viewing her with an equally unrealistic feminist slant. Instead, I propose that by evaluating the narrative given by both ancient and modern sources through the lens of the main factors that invited these criticisms, we can glean a more nuanced depiction of Theodora herself, revealing her to be equally devious, fervent, devoted and forthright: a woman that cannot be placed in any binary category of good or evil.

Empress Theodora, who reigned alongside Justinian from 527CE to 565CE, is a polarising figure.[2] Born to a common bear keeper and initially working as both an actress and prostitute, she ascended to the throne in 527CE after marrying Emperor Justinian in 525CE.[3] Theodora represented both a continuation and disruption in the long-established traditions of the imperial Roman empire, exacerbated by the Roman admiration of their own past, and the Byzantine desire to embody themselves as the rightful possessors of Rome.[4] The figure of Theodora is particularly complex and conflicting, with ancient historians (of which Procopius is the leading figure) vehemently against her and use their works to highlight her deviancy. This resulted in modern historians like Peter Frankopan

[1] Procopius, *The Anecdota or Secret History,* H. B. Dewing (trans.), (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), p.149.
[2] Nadine Elizabeth Korte, 'Procopius' Portrayal of Theodora in the Secret History: 'Her Charity was Universal'', *Hirundo,* 3, (2004), p.109.
[3] James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian,* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2002), p.14; C. Foss, 'The Empress Theodora', *Byzantion*, 72:1, (2002), p.169.
[4] Michael Edwards Stewart, *The Danger of the Soft Life: Masculinity, Identity, and Power Politics in the Age of Justinian: A Study of Procopius,* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), p.81; Anne McClanan, *Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses: Image and Empire*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.121.

convincingly arguing that much of the criticism associated with Theodora was because she was not only a woman, but a powerful one at that – inviting the common ancient trope of sexual deviance and fetishes in order to portray their 'evil nature'.[5] This, combined with her 'sordid' past, determined the views of the ancient historians. Since Procopius serves as our main source on the Justinian age, this angle should be carefully considered when evaluating the resulting historiography.[6] This is exacerbated through Theodora's influence despite her diversion from the pre-established ideal of an imperial Empress, her perceived perversion of womanhood and her precarious position as a minority as both a woman and Monophysite: these are the most fundamental aspects that simultaneously made her so powerful, but also invited the criticism that is synonymous with Theodora. However, due to the misogynistic stance of ancient historians and resulting scholarship, there has been an equally extreme backlash, with Averil Cameron credibly asserting that Theodora has been lifted away from the context of her time to become a feminist icon.[7] It is my argument that both stances constitute a poor caricature of Theodora, with both ignoring the nuances of her personality: passionate and outspoken but also manipulative and vindictive. It is these conflicting aspects that result in her being perhaps one of the most interesting and relatable, even human, historical figures in ancient history.

While Justinian wanted to restore the Byzantium to the former glory of the old Western Empire, he also officially acknowledged Theodora as his equal co-ruler, subverting the cultural imperial norm of the wife of the emperor epitomising the ideal as a submissive woman, simultaneously bolstering the emperor's own image.[8] Theodora's influence peaked in 535CE, instigating the takeover of the church in Constantinople by appointing Anthimus, a Monophysite Bishop, as patriarch.[9] Since Justinian was attempting to create conformity within the church and empire, Theodora implementing her own personal Christian sect demonstrates she was not only influential but also independent in her use of it.[10] This created a sharp dichotomy between her court subjects which is reflected in the disjunction between Procopius' public works and his unpublished *Secret History,* which has been increasingly criticised within modern scholarship, particularly by John Julius Norwich who branded Procopius as a "sanctimonious hypocrite".[11] Nonetheless, James Allan Evans persuasively asserts that although the *Secret History* may contain half-truths reinforced through gossip, it nevertheless serves

[5] 'Justinian and Theodora', *You're Dead to Me,* BBC, 20th September 2019, online sound recording, BBC Sounds <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p07nww1w> [accessed 27/11/2020].
[6] Nadine Elizabeth Korte, 'Procopius' Portrayal of Theodora in the Secret History: 'Her Charity was Universal'' p.109.
[7] Averil Cameron, *Procopius in the Sixth Century,* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 1985), p.67.
[8] J.B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire: from Aracdius to Irene (395 AD to 800 AD),* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.351; C. Foss, 'The Empress Theodora', p.150.
[9] James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian* p.45.
[10] Sentence added after submission for contextual purposes.
[11] James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian,* p.16 & 23.

as an accurate depiction of the thoughts of the elite whom were both fascinated and terrified of her.[12] Thus the *Secret History* is perhaps the most important source in the evaluation of her character.

Her influence is exemplified in the 254CE law which allowed the marriage of Justinian and Theodora, despite their vastly different social standings, with Justinian set to be Emperor with the eventual death of the ailing Justin.[13] Although the law is generalised to apply to the whole of the Byzantine population, the specifics of the ability to be wiped clean of "any other blemish whatsoever" in their past seems too coincidental to not be, at least in part, intended for Theodora.[14] This was unprecedented in the fact that Romans were bound to their vocation by law, thus for all intents and purposes Theodora should have been stuck where she was born, at the very bottom of the social pyramid, even denied the sacraments until she was on her death bed.[15] Even after being elevated to patrician status after becoming Justinian's mistress, Justinian and Theodora were still not able to marry by law; instead, they needed to push for a new law that allowed their union, a law that Justin's wife, Euphemia, fervently opposed (despite being an ex-slave herself).[16] The fact that the law was passed demonstrates the power that Theodora had over Justinian and thus Justin: she had proven that she was able to control him in overturning longstanding laws, customs and traditions to elevate her own status. Whether or not Justinian wanted to marry her is not the important aspect of this exchange, rather it was the possibility that someone like Theodora, with her sordid history, was able to rise up and become wife to the heir to the throne. It represented a huge disruption to the social order that was the foundation of the Roman and Byzantine Empire, with Euphemia's response typifying that of the ruling elite, despite her own personal history. When Theodora did become Empress, Justinian went even further by recognising her as an equal; this was a huge insult to the elite. It was such a diversion from the tradition of order that Justinian's marriage to Theodora became evidence for his own moral corruption, tainting Justinian as well as Theodora in the eyes of Procopius.[17]

Considering this, the conflicting receptions and interpretations of Theodora are overwhelmingly determined by the fact that she was a powerful woman, in a world that actively constrained the rise of women. This has had a profound impact on the scholarship, which needs to be addressed when analysing perceptions of Theodora, since early scholars like Edward Gibbon

[12] Ibid, p.15.
[13] Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women in Power in Byzantium AD 527-1204,* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), p.14.
[14] Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses,* p.15.
[15] James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian,* p.14.
[16] Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses,* p.14.
[17] Ibid, p.19; This section was added in response to assessment feedback.

predominantly despised Theodora's past and actions, accepting the reports of Procopius that focused on her supposed sexual deviance.[18] This is poignantly exemplified in Procopius delightfully yet coquettishly describing Theodora's shamelessness in performing the debauched 'Leda and the Swan', in which the mythological tale of Zeus laying with the mortal Leda in the form of a swan is used as an excuse for a girl, in this case Theodora, to strip down into a revealing loincloth for geese to peck grains from her body. [19] Procopius did not feel the need to justify these lewd passages, with Theodora's past feasibly being all the evidence and justification that Procopius and contemporary readers needed to accept what Nadine Elizabeth Korte dismisses as "rhetorical flourishes" and "embellishments".[20] As a consequence of this, more recent research romanticises her narrative in order to fully depict the misogyny of Procopius and the world in which Theodora lived in, with Roland Betancourt applying modern feminist contexts such as 'slut-shaming' to an alien world.[21] Thus, the binary conflictions within Theodora are also reflected within scholarship of her and must be carefully considered when researching the Justinian era.

Nevertheless, Leonora Neville credibly asserts that the character of Theodora is a literary device used by Procopius as a foil to Justinian, using her courage to emphasise his timidity.[22] If this is indeed the case, then Averil Cameron perhaps rightly indicates that modern debate has over emphasised the scandalous parts of the *Secret History*, attempting to rebrand a purely literary device in the name of feminism.[23] The disjunction of the two characters can be seen plainly within Procopius' depiction of the Nika Riots (532CE), in which Theodora intervenes with a rousing speech to persuade, or perhaps even belittle or intimidate Justinian into fighting against the rebels instead of fleeing.[24] She declares "may I never be separated from this purple", with purple being overtly synonymous with the Emperor and Empress and the power that comes with it.[25] This provides a convincing example for Theodora as a literary device to instead comment on her husband, giving much integrity to the argument that the scandalous nature of Theodora is emphasised, especially considering the increasing

[18] Averil Cameron, *Procopius in the Sixth Century,* p.67; Roland Betancourt, *Byzantine Intersectionality: Sexuality, Gender, and Race in the Middle Ages,* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2020), p.86.
[19] Procopius, *The Anecdota or Secret History,* p.109; Roland Betancourt, *Byzantine Intersectionality: Sexuality, Gender, and Race in the Middle Ages,* p.61.
[20] Nadine Elizabeth Korte, 'Procopius' Portrayal of Theodora in the Secret History: 'Her Charity was Universal'' p.113; Description of Leda and the Swan added in response to assessment feedback.
[21] Roland Betancourt, *Byzantine Intersectionality,* p.86 & 88.
[22] Leonora Neville, *Byzantine Gender*, (Yorkshire: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), p.17.
[23] Roland Betancourt, *Byzantine Intersectionality,* p.87.
[24] Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses,* p.32.
[25] Procopius. *History of the Wars, Volume I: Books 1-2. (Persian War),* H. B. Dewing (trans.), (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1914), p.231.

consensus (such as Lynda Garland, Cameron and Korte) that Theodora's speech itself is purely a rhetorical device created by Procopius.[26]

In the traditional Roman Empire, the likes of Livia, the wife of Emperor Augustus, set a specific expectation for womanhood that continued into the early Byzantine Empire, just as Augustus himself set the precedent for Emperors: with defined virtue, image and influence. This was all reinforced by the praise and disapproval of ancient historians, in which Pliny and his *Panegyric* played a defining role.[27] This is an important note to consider as it created a scope of 'the accepted woman', and thus her conflicting nature is more convincingly caused by the perception of her supposed perversion of womanhood, which invited both criticism and admiration. This is particularly poignant in Judith Herrin's statement that the early historians only concerned themselves with writing about women if they were especially noteworthy, which not only reinforced the expectations of imperial women within people like Livia, but also influenced the depiction of those that they deemed to behave inappropriately to set a marked contrast.[28] As aforementioned, Theodora did not fit into the traditional submissive role of an empress, but Procopius also delights in illustrating her vindictiveness in the case of Buzes, an important Roman general, whom she threw into solitary confinement for more than two years after agreeing to dissent that never came to fruition.[29] Procopius also highlights the case of Priscus, an honorary consul and commander of the imperial guard who was exiled in 529CE after being accused of insulting Theodora.[30] This cruelty raged against the virtues of both classical Rome and Christianity, resulting in Theodora being viewed as embodying "everything a late Roman woman should not be."[31]

Theodora does fit into the feminine ideal in that she is described as a woman of indescribable beauty, as exemplified in Figure 1 with her location and clothing signifying her proximity to the teachings of the Bible.[32] However, her beauty coupled with her known unscrupulous beginnings is depicted as a negative, since actresses were considered available sexual partners.[33] Thus, it was her

[26] Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses* p.32; Averil Cameron, *Procopius in the Sixth Century* p.69; Nadine Elizabeth Korte, 'Procopius' Portrayal of Theodora in the Secret History: 'Her Charity was Universal'', p.122.
[27] Pliny the Younger, *Letters, Volume II: Books 8-10. Panegyricus,* Betty Radice (trans.), (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp.517-519.
[28] Judith Herrin, Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2015), p.1.
[29] C. Foss, 'The Empress Theodora', p.174.
[30] Ibid, p.153.
[31] Michael Edwards Stewart, *The Danger of the Soft Life,* p.73.
[32] James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian* p.23; Rosa Maria Parrinello, 'Women and the Bible in Byzantium', in *The Early Middle Ages,* Franca Ela Concolino and Judith Herrin (eds.), (Atlanta: The Society of Biblical Literature, 2020), p.36.
[33] Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses,* p.13.

perceived perversion of these ideals of femininity that made her so powerful, but also what made her so feared.



Figure 1:[34]
A closer look at the Mosaic from Basilica of San Vitale, Ravenna. (547CE). One of the only portraits of Theodora (middle) that is widely accepted to be her.

However, a key aspect of this argument has not yet been considered and perhaps is overlooked within the scholarship of Theodora: her position as a minority while simultaneously being in a position of power. Theodora was a commoner, a woman and part of a smaller Christian sect of Monophysites at a time where Justinian was beginning to define a different orthodoxy (Chalcedonian) within the divided Christian Church.[35] While this is not the leading cause of the divided opinions of Theodora, its exacerbation of the extremist nature of both sides is a fundamental aspect to consider. Theodora opposed Justinian in his definition of the orthodoxy of the Christian Church, becoming a devotee and patron to the Monophysites.[36] The Monophysites believed that Christ was completely divine, whereas the orthodoxy that Justinian championed ruled that Christ was equally divine and human.[37] Despite Procopius asserting that the diverging beliefs of the couple "set the Christians at each other's throats… thus splitting the whole populace in two groups".[38] Their disagreements could have been politically advantageous, since communication between the two sides could continue while the Monophysites knew they had a friend at court, with the most significant of these discussions being in 532CE in the Palace of Hormisdas, attended by six eminent orthodox bishops and six Monophysite

[34] Ibid, p.22.
[35] James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian,* p.24.
[36] Ibid, p.23.
[37] Stella Duffy, 'Theodora: the empress from the brothel', *The Guardian,* 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2010/jun/10/theodora-empress-from-the-brothel> [accessed 10/12/2020].
[38] James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian,* p.23.

bishops.[39] However, Theodora was also known to protect Monophysite monks in Constantinople from her own husband's persecution, and her influence is obvious within the subsidising of persecutions in 527CE.[40] Those who had been exiled for years were finally allowed to return back to their monasteries, with John of Ephesus, an orthodox Christian and biographer, increasingly criticising her naivety of listening to them.[41]

Simultaneously, her past not only set her apart from the other women at court, but her choice of friends from her old life such as Antonia and Chrysomallo, both dancers and prostitutes, for whom she found advantageous husbands within court that usually would have been impossible to attain.[42] This act further disrupted the natural social order and created a sharp dichotomy between those who were favoured and those who were not. This was particularly poignantly felt within the more traditional elite such as Anicia Juliana who Garland dubs as the "greatest heiress of her time" who was related to both the Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III among other imperial connections, and thus would have been an obvious match for Justinian himself.[43] Juliana epitomises the social opposition that faced Theodora: Juliana's regret at being unable to found a dynasty are evident in the inscription of the epigram around the nave of the magnificent Church of St Polyeuktos (Figure 2).[44] Built for the city between 524-527CE from her own pocket, it immortalises her objection for being surpassed by a prostitute as Empress.[45] Being obvious and vocal in minority beliefs demonstrated yet another way in which Theodora deviated from tradition, further emphasising those who had her favour and those who did not – heightening her binary perception within both contemporary times and scholarship.

[39] James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian,* p.24; Brian Croke, 'Justinian, Theodora, and the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus', *Dumbarton Oak Papers,* 60, (2006), p.36.
[40] Brian Croke, 'Justinian, Theodora, and the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus' p.35.
[41] Brian Croke, 'Justinian, Theodora, and the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus' p.34; Anne McClanan, *Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses: Image and Empire,* p.100.
[42] C. Foss, 'The Empress Theodora', p.158.
[43] Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses,* p.19.
[44] Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses,* p.19.
[45] Carolyn L. Connor, 'The Epigram in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos in Constantinople and its Byzantine Response', *Byzantion,* 69:2, (1999), p.280; This section was added in response to assessment feedback.



Figure 2:[46]

Epigram within the Church of St Polyeuktos. Picture shows the fragment of the first part of line 31.

Lines 1 to 41 are of particular interest, pronouncing the dynastic prowess and pretensions of Anicia Juliana and her family:

"From this stock Juliana, bright light of blessed parents, sharing royal blood in the fourth generation… she gave birth to a family which is immortal, always treading the full path of piety".[47]

In conclusion, Theodora is a complex character. Despite being both loved and feared in equal measure, she managed to rise her way to the very top from the dregs of society, demonstrating that she was a force to be reckoned with. This was also emphasised by her vocality of minority views. However, ultimately it was her position of power coupled with her sordid past and personality that raged against the accepted expectation of women that resulted in ancient historians, like Procopius, in using her as a literary device to personify the dangers of a degraded women. As a likely consequence of this, modern historians use this depiction to look at her through a feminist slant, perhaps giving her an equally unrealistic portrayal. As such, the differing responses she received throughout her life has also continued into Byzantine debates, perhaps rendering her one of the most interesting characters to study in ancient history.

Appendix

Figure 1: 'Mosaic from Basilica of San Vitale, Ravenna', (547CE), cited in Garland, Lynda, *Byzantine Empresses: Women in Power in Byzantium AD 527-1204,* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), p.22.
Figure 2: 'Epigram within the Church of St Polyeuktos', cited in Boero, Dina, 'Great Entablature, Hagios Polyeuktos, Istanbul', *Monastic Matrix,* n.d, <http://monasticmatrix.osu.edu/figurae/great-entablature-hagios-polyeuktos-istanbul> [Accessed 10/03/2021].

[46] Dina Boero, 'Great Entablature, Hagios Polyeuktos, Istanbul', *Monastic Matrix,* n.d, <http://monasticmatrix.osu.edu/figurae/great-entablature-hagios-polyeuktos-istanbul> [Accessed 10/03/2021].
[47] Carolyn L. Connor, 'The Epigram in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos in Constantinople and its Byzantine Response', p.486 & 519.

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The Roles played by Slaves in Viking-age Society

Anna Hubbard

Abstract

Slaves ('thralls' in Old Norse) have long been acknowledged by historians as being important to Viking society by having a wide range of different roles. However, there are limited amounts of primary evidence that can directly demonstrate the roles that slaves undertook. Whilst there is a general understanding of the expectations of Viking slaves, the roles of individual thralls were dependent upon their age and sex. Recent studies have also suggested that slaves also had a role in Viking ceremonies and sacrifices, emphasising concepts that slaves were to be presented and directly associated with a Viking's status. Archaeological evidence has limitations in what knowledge it can provide about Vikings, as it is 'almost impossible to demonstrate exclusively' the role of slaves without using interdisciplinary methods.[1] By combining archaeological case studies with a range of literary and historical evidence, this article aims to analyse the range of roles that Viking society expected slaves to undertake.

It can be reasoned that slaves had a clear role of importance within Viking society, with the sheer numbers of thralls being acquired by Norsemen between the eighth and eleventh centuries suggesting their role as crucial and important to Scandinavian economy. There has been much interest in the roles of thralls by modern historians, however academic works have so far only been able to generalise the expectations of Viking slaves instead of providing a detailed analysis of separate roles being assigned to differing slave groups. A brief set of three clear roles of Viking slaves can be observed when analysing interdisciplinary primary evidence and sources, crucially with each role depending on issues of gender and age; therefore suggesting that the overall role of a Viking slave was predetermined against a range of different factors, and that not all slaves were expected to perform the same tasks.

PHYSICAL LABOUR

The primary role of slaves within Viking society appears to centre around physical labour, including farm work and perhaps even building ships for Norsemen. Although there is limited archaeological evidence that provides direct insight into the role of slaves, there are some sites which

[1] Janel M. Fontaine, 'Early Medieval Slave-Trading in the Archaeological Record: Comparative Methodologies', *Early Medieval Europe,* Vol. 25, No. 4, (2017), p.488.

feature archaeological data of exceedingly large farmsteads. Notably, a farmstead site discovered in Sanda, Sweden, provides evidence of the site being a plantation-style farm where slaves lived, ate, and worked on the crops.[2] Similarly, evidence of ceremonial halls on large farming sites provide interesting evidence which suggests that large numbers of slaves were primarily used as an agricultural labour force. These massive halls 'would have been able to house a large number of people, possibly including slaves' and arguably imply that large numbers of slaves were involved in agricultural work; Stefan Brink argues that thralls could 'work entire farms or pieces of land'.[3] Comparably, historians including Ben Raffield argue that slaves were likely to have been used as a labour force which may have constructed ships for the Vikings, citing that the Viking expansions of the ninth century would have been unobtainable without slave labour.[4] He brings up the point that a single 90-square-meter sail might take a single person up to five years to produce, where both land is needed to pasture sheep in order to obtain the wool, followed by multiple labour-intensive processes to turn the wool into a sail.[5] With the rapid increase of Viking expansion requiring new fleets of ships, it becomes clear why slaves were needed; they were to act as a labour force for the Vikings, and this labour force needed to consist of many young, strong workers. However, there is an absence of primary evidence which would directly support this assertion, but looking at the historical context, the suggestion can be generated that Vikings used slave forces for labour primarily. It is estimated that thralls made up 25% of Scandinavia's total population, with this estimation being at the height of the Viking expansion.[6] These long expeditions must have required Norsemen to allocate the upkeep of their lands to others, a role which the archaeological evidence above administers to slaves.

Historical documents and findings acknowledge that Viking slaves were used for a range of different forms of manual labour other than farm-work, and that female slaves may have had different roles than male slaves. The Domesday Book, written under Viking rule in England,[7] classifies male and female slaves separately in its documentation, 'the references towards slaves within the book is

[2] Gustaf Svedjemo, *Landscape Dynamics – Spatial analyses of villages and farms on Gotland AD 200- 1700,* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2014), p.222.
[3] Ellen Anne Pedersen & Mats Widgren, 'Agriculture in Sweden: 800 BC-AD 1000' in *The Agrarian History of Sweden: from 4000 BC to AD 2000*, Janken Myrdal & Mats Morell (eds.), (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011), p.60; Stefan Brink, 'Social order in the early Scandinavian landscape', in Charlotte Fabech & Jytte Ringtved (eds.), *Settlement and landscape: Proceedings of a conference in Århus, Denmark, May 4–7 1998,* (Højbjerg: Aarhus University Press), p.233.
[4] Sarah Pruitt, '*What We Know About Vikings and Slaves',* HISTORY (25th June 2019), <https://www.history.com/news/viking-slavery-raids-evidence>, [Accessed 23/12/2020].
[5] Andrew Lawler, 'Vikings may have first taken to seas to find women, slaves', *ScienceMag*, (15th April 2016), <https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2016/04/vikings-may-have-first-taken-seas-find-women-slaves> [Accessed 27/02/ 2021].
[6] Ibid.
[7] Editor's note: The Normans responsible for the Conquest of England in 1066 were of very recent Viking descent, thus the Conquest could rightly be considered a Viking Conquest rather than a French one.

assumed to be indicative of males, as other entries specifically state the number of female slaves.'[8] This suggests that a Viking slave's tasks were determined by gender. Similarly, the Laws of Sjaelland in Denmark define the role of slave women within the context of milling grain and baking food, separating this from male slave's roles.[9] Although this came towards the end of the Viking era, it is important for the historical understanding of Viking slave women and how slave labour was gendered in this period.[10] It is evident that one of the more significant roles of a Viking slave was focussed around a range of physical activity and labour. By contextualising the Viking expansion, it is clear that additional agricultural workers were needed as more Norsemen left their farms to travel, and that more ships needed to be built in order for the expansion to occur. When combined with the primary evidence that has been discovered currently, it is clear that these were crucial roles for slaves.[11]

SEX AND CONCUBINAGE

It should be remembered that physical labour was not the only role that Viking slaves were forced to undertake, as a range of literary and historical evidence suggests that Vikings often kept slaves specifically for sexual purposes. Interestingly, the language of male slaves and female slaves needs to be analysed for an exact exploration into Viking roles, as the terms are often separated in the writing of this period. This division suggests that Viking female slaves had a specific and separate role from the 'average' Viking slave, which makes reference to male slaves only. There are literary examples of Viking raids where the women are only taken as slaves, namely the Irish chronicle, 'The Annals of Ulster', which describes the Viking raid of Dublin in the 820s where the Vikings are described as taking many women as slaves specifically: 'they carried off a great number of women into captivity'.[12] The vast numbers of Viking slaves being predominantly female and a range of interdisciplinary evidence that identifies thrall women being specifically targeted in Viking raids suggests that 'concubinage and slavery were intimately and intricately connected'.[13] Viking sex slaves

[8] Sarah Elizabeth Haga, 'Slaves in the Viking Age: Functions, Social Roles and Regional Diversity', (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2019), p.28.
[9] Medievalists.net, *What work did Viking slaves do?*, (August 2012), <https://www.medievalists.net/2012/08/what-work-did-viking-slaves-do-new-research-looks-at-slavery-in-medievalscandinavia/#:~:text=%E2%80%9CAccording%20to%20the%20Law%20of,the%20fine%20of%20the%20seducer.&text=Some%20saga%20accounts%20have%20stories,by%20saying%20they%20milked%20cows>, [Accessed 19/12/2020].
[10] Janken Mydral, 'Milking and Grinding, Digging and Herding: Slaves and Farmwork 1000-1300' in *The Medieval Countryside: Settlement and Lordship in Viking and Early Medieval Scandinavia*, Volume 9, Bjørn Poulsen & Søren Michael Sindbæk, (eds.), (Abingdon: Brepolis, 2011), p.295.
[11] Andrew Lawler, 'Kinder, Gentler Vikings? Not According to Their Slaves', *National Geographic,* (28th December 2015), <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2015/12/151228-vikings-slaves-thralls-norse-scandinavia-archaeology/>, [Accessed 19/12/2020].
[12] *'What We Know About Vikings and Slaves'.*
[13] Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Concubinage and Slavery in The Viking Age', *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol.62, No.2 (1990), p.141.

exist in a range of Norse literature and sagas. This includes the Laxdale saga, where a slave woman is bought for the purpose of a concubine and is treated as a second wife by Hoskuld.[14] However, this story comes from a saga written in the thirteenth century and is based on earlier history, which is unlikely to have been documented accurately, and it therefore cannot confidently be acknowledged that the story correctly recalls past societies. Despite this, similar activity is documented in historical accounts of figures such as Ibn Fadlan, whose eyewitness testimony describes Viking masters raping a female slave in a ritualistic practice.[15] Although Fadlan was not a Viking himself, because he had the opportunity to personally see the Viking world his account remains 'a valuable primary source for scholars dealing with the history of the Swedish Norsemen since it is an eyewitness account about a people on whom sparse primary material is available'.[16]

Combined with the widely accepted historical assertion that Viking society followed some polyamorous ideas, including concubinage, these literary accounts imply that another role of Viking slaves was focused on performing sexual acts, and to be available for sex whenever required. Ruth Mazo Karras comments that 'as in all slaveholding societies male slaveholders had sexual access to their slaves, and they often purchased women for that purpose alone'.[17] However, many historians assume that this role was only reserved for slave women, but it is necessary to explore whether there is any evidence that suggests that a male slave's role might have also been focused on sex, as many historians only explore this role of Viking slaves amongst female thralls. Although Icelandic Viking Law condemns acts of homosexuality as being punishable by death, there are a range of allusions to homosexual rape in Norse literature, including in Gul L, chapter 198, where reference is made to male slaves being separate from female slaves in a sexual context. In the text, the term *legord* (translated in English as 'carnal intercourse') 'refers here to the corruption of both male and female slaves' as it is documented as a separate form of intercourse than that of a free woman, where gender is specifically mentioned.[18] This can be used to infer that male thralls may have also been exploited for sex, although it remains unclear the extent that male slaves were used for sexual purposes.[19]

[14] Anonymous, 'The Laxdale Saga', Muriel A. C. Press (trans.), *Icelandic Saga Database*, Sveinbjorn Thordarson (ed.), <http://www.sagadb.org/laxdaela_saga.en>, [Accessed 18/12/2020].
[15] Ibn Fadlan*, Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North*, Caroline Stone (trans.), (London: Penguin Classics, 2011).
[16] Amin Tibi, 'The Vikings In Arabic Sources', *Islamic Studies*, vol.35, no. 2, (1996), p.215.
[17] Concubinage and Slavery in The Viking Age', p.141.
[18] Kari Ellen Gade, 'Homosexuality and Rape of Males in Old Norse Law and Literature', *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol.58, No.2 (1986), p.136.
[19] Ibid, p.133; Carol J. Clover, 'Regardless of Sex: Men, Women, and Power in Early Northern Europe', *Representations*, 44, (1993), pp.8-11.

SYMBOLS OF VIKING STATUS

The last identifiable prominent role of thralls was to act symbolically as a sign of Viking status, bravery, and expansion. Viking slaves were often taken from other countries and from defeated armies so, although they physically fulfil a role focussed on manual labour, they also simultaneously allow Vikings to showcase their pillaging victories to others by appearing as a show of status and bravery. Described as chattel slaves, thralls are legally the property of their slaveholder and are described as such in legal documents, including the earliest Scandinavian laws which imply 'that the enslaved were perceived as chattel'.[20] This assertion infers that thralls were used in exchange for other goods, as legally they were seen only as property. Another less historically discussed slave role was that of an economic object for trade, they acted as commodities and were interchangeable for other goods – particularly in the East. Neil Price argues that slavery was the main factor that allowed Viking society to advance, evidencing a series of Viking trades where slaves were exchanged for goods such as silver and fabrics.[21] The literary account from Ibn Hawqual describes how large the Viking slave trade had expanded, with trade routes being extended across the entire Mediterranean and Arabic spheres, suggesting the importance of slaves for not only local trade but also for international exchange.[22]

Much like thralls acting as economic possessions for Vikings, another vital use of slaves appears to be concerned with appearing as a status symbol for Norsemen, as commonly wealthier Vikings had larger slave forces. A range of archaeological evidence has suggested that some Viking slaves were used as human sacrifices upon their master's death, being buried amongst them and other grave goods, under the Viking belief that they would accompany their master to the afterlife.[23] A series of deviant burials have been recognised as slave sacrifices; these normally include richly furnished graves that are accompanied by a bound and/or executed body with no associated grave goods. DNA and dietary differences suggest different social standings amongst the bodies in the same burial plots at Flakstad, Norway. This information can be used to support this assertion about slaves serving as an identifier of the status of a Viking.[24] The wide range of $\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$ results (see Figure 1) from the

[20] Ben Raffield, 'The slave markets of the Viking world: comparative perspectives on an 'invisible archaeology'', *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol.40, No.4, (2019), p.684.
[21] Neil Price, 'New Worlds, New Nations' in *Children of Ash and Elm: A History of the Vikings*, (London: Penguin Books, 2020), pp.400-411.
[22] *'What We Know About Vikings and Slaves'.*
[23] Stefan Brink, 'Slavery in the Viking Age', in *The Viking World,* Stefan Brink & Neil Price (eds.), (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.54–5.
[24] Hilda Ellis Davidson, 'Human Sacrifice in the Late Pagan Period in North Western Europe', in *The Age of Sutton Hoo,* Martin Carver (ed.), (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), p.334; Elise Naumann, Maja Krzewińska, Anders Götherström, Gunilla Eriksson, 'Slaves as burial gifts in Viking Age Norway? Evidence from stable isotope and ancient DNA analyses', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 41, (2014), pp.538-539.

site's human bone samples are 'significantly larger than what would be expected from a population consuming a homogeneous diet'.[25] This suggests that there was a strong differentiation between the lifestyles of individuals at this site. The difference in DNA at the site additionally supports the proposal of slave sacrifice, as Viking slave trade is discussed as a 'cross-border phenomenon', explaining why DNA may have greatly differed between thralls and Vikings.[26] Literary evidence reinforces that slave sacrifices were practiced in the period, including The Adam of Bremen saga which writes on the sacrifice of thralls, although in an extravagant form, and Ibn Fadlan's documentation of slave sacrificial practices.[27]

Overall, what is clear from this wide variety of evidence is that there was no singular role of the slave in Viking society. Instead, different slaves had a different variety of roles depending on their age and sex. Male slaves were generally expected to do more physical tasks in comparison to female slaves, who appear to be used more generally for sexual purposes, and it is only the young, strong slaves who were valued for their physical strength. However, there are still certainly many limits to the wider understanding around Viking roles simply due to the lack of primary evidence that exists today. As the majority of Vikings did not document the roles they assigned to their slaves, an interdisciplinary analysis is able to provide the most conclusive indication of the roles that Viking slaves undertook.

[25] Lovell et al., 1986 as cited in: 'Slaves as burial gifts in the Viking Age', p.535.
[26] J. M. Fontaine, 'Early Medieval Slave-Trading in the Archaeological Record: Comparative Methodologies', *Early Medieval Europe*, 25, (2017), p.475.
[27] Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen,* Francis J. Tschan (trans.) (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2002); HISTORY, *Eyewitness to the Vikings*, <https://www.history.co.uk/shows/the-real-vikings/articles/eyewitness-to-the-vikings> [Accessed 18/12/2020].

Appendix

Figure 1: The $\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$ values from human bone samples at a Viking burial site. Flagstad, Norway. Naumann, Elise., Krzewińska, Maja., Götherström, Anders., and Eriksson, Gunilla, 'Slaves as burial gifts in Viking Age Norway? Evidence from stable isotope and ancient DNA analyses', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 41, (2014), p.536.

A.No	Sex	Age	Sample	% Coll.	$\delta^{13}C$ (‰)	$\delta^{15}N$ (‰)	%C	%N	C/N	MtDNA motif	Est. Hg
5858	F	20–25	M3	3.2	−16.6	16.7	43.0	14.5	3.4	16162G	H1a
			Rib	8.0	−15.4	17.7	44.3	15.5	3.3		
5860	F	40–45	M2	6.4	−17.4	14.3	44.1	15.2	3.4	ND	ND
			L. Bone	1.1	−16.9	15.9	43.3	15.0	3.4		
5861	M	35–45	M2	5.7	−16.3	16.1	44.6	16.1	3.2	rCRS	H*
			L. Bone	9.1	−16.5	16.3	44.5	15.2	3.4		
5863A	F	40–45	M3	6.8	−19.2	10.8	45.5	15.6	3.4	16069T	J*
			Mandible	3.5	−18.5	12.8	39.4	12.9	3.6	16126C	
			L. Bone	3.7	−19.5	12.4	41.6	15.4	3.1	16184T	
5863B*	M	20–25	*Femur*	7.8	−15.3	17.6	44.8	15.6	3.3	16153A 16189C 16304C	H*
5864A	M	45–50	M2	3.9	−18.9	12.9	43.1	14.7	3.4	rCRS	H*
			Mandible	5.0	−18.9	13.7	39.3	14.5	3.2		
			Femur sin	3.8	−18.9	13.3	44.9	15.5	3.4		
5864B*	M	20–35	*Femur sin*	4.6	−15.4	17.7	44.1	15.3	3.4	rCRS	H*
5864C*	?	?	*Femur*	4.0	−16.2	16.7	44.8	15.6	3.3	16134T 16240G 16286A 16356C	U4
5865A	M	25–30	M2	7.1	−18.7	12.8	44.3	15.5	3.3	16069T	J1b1
			Mandible	6.9	−16.8	15.4	40.3	14.5	3.2	16126C	
			Tibia	9.7	−17.3	14.5	42.6	14.9	3.3	16145A 16172C 16192T 16222T 16261T	
5865B*	F	25–30?	*Femur dx*	8.7	−17.1	14.7	44.3	15.5	3.3	16192T 16256T 16270T 16291T 16325C	U5a

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Exploration or Exploitation? The Impacts of the Columbian Voyages on Indigenous Peoples, c.1492-c.1550

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Abstract

Columbus and his Spanish armada carried with them a mass of European principles when they set foot in the new world of the Americas. It wasn't long before these became succinctly embedded into the local indigenous population through brutalised exploitation, capitalising upon their unfamiliarity of European technologies. The impact of this has been most heavily recorded through the establishment of the slaving network across the Atlantic between Africa and the Caribbean, into Mesoamerica which would endure well into the nineteenth century. We still up to this day live with the competing version of the age of discovery amongst the voices of the European explorers and those of the indigenous people that were exploited. Up until the last century, historical scholars had failed to give equal weighting between these competing sides of the tale. This article seeks to offer a counter-narrative to European accounts by giving a voice to the indigenous people of the new world and seeks to identify the horrors they endured as a consequence of Spanish and eventually other European exploitation.

From Columbus's initial contact with the indigenous people of the Americas through his voyage across the Atlantic in 1492, a multitude of expeditions followed throughout the subsequent decades. These contacts simultaneously brought together two polarised worlds: the European one, dependent on technological warfare and advanced economic and political systems, and the American world reliant on nature. Consequently, the Spanish found themselves the dominating power and implemented their European ideals, such as a system of tribute, through methods of violence, resulting in the subsequent poor treatment of the indigenous people.[1] Scholars of history, such as Alfred Crosby, have broadly described these voyages as the 'Columbian Exchange' whereby they produced a complex and long-term series of processes that had a profound impact on both the Americas and Europe, politically, culturally, socially and economically.[2] However, whilst there are a multitude of impacts, such as the Spanish tributary system, the key aspects that had the most impact on indigenous people were: demographic collapse through disease, violence and the brutal conditions

[1] Laurence Bergreen, *Columbus: The Four Voyages, 1492-1504,* (London: Penguin Books, 2012), p. 201.
[2] Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Voyages, the Columbian Exchange, and their Historians,* (Washington DC: American Historical Association, 1987).

of the encomienda system, the cultural destruction of the indigenous people through the implementation of Christianity, and finally, the depletion of the local economy by gold raiding and the introduction of Spanish livestock.

One impact of the Columbian voyages between 1492 and 1550 that merits discussion was the demographic implosion as a result of the diseases brought over by the Spanish. Throughout their exploration, the Spaniards brought over a variety of diseases including, smallpox, typhus and measles, which the indigenous people had evolved no resistance to due to isolation.[3] Although it has been controversially argued amongst historians, such as Charles Mann, that the Spanish could not control the spread of disease, they did understand the effects of it, coming from areas that had experienced epidemics.[4] As a result, many of the indigenous people died and communities collapsed with important figures such as religious leaders dying leading to a deeper cultural impact. This is corroborated by Mann, who states that epidemics broke the bonds that held 'cultures together' as evidenced in Peru, where civil war had broken out after their Emperor, Wayna Qhapaq, died from smallpox.[5] Moreover, the diseases often led to famine as 'fields were uncultivated' meaning that the price of food rose significantly, and so many indigenous people had no access to food.[6] This is certainly true in the Aztec encounter of the smallpox epidemic whereby diseased peoples could not farm for food and others who were not ill had to care for them, meaning that people starved to death in their beds.[7] The number of indigenous people who died as a result is widely debated amongst scholars of history due to there being no official census from the time. For example, Heniege claims that disease took forty million, which is an accurate account with most estimates between 8.4 to 90 million.[8] Furthermore, disease had an impact on future populations as these epidemics affected fertility rates and produced low life expectancy.[9] This is articulated by S. R. Johansson, who states that if there was a decline in the population of only one per-cent per year, this would result in a reduction by half in

[3] G.V. Scammell, *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires c.800-1650*, (London: Methuen & co, 1981), p. 350.
[4] Charles C. Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2006), p. 148.
[5] Mann, *1491: New Revelations*, pp. 100-101.
[6] Mann, *1491: New Revelations*, p. 105.
[7] *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*, M. Leon-Portilla, (ed.), (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), p. 193.
[8] Mann, *1491: New Revelations*, p. 151.
[9] Linda A. Newson, 'The Demographic Collapse of Native Peoples of the Americas, 1492-1650', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 81, (1993), p. 255.

seventy years.[10] Overall, disease had an immediate cultural and demographic impact on indigenous people which continued to affect the population even after the epidemic had passed.

Moreover, the impact of demographic implosion is further evidenced through the implementation of the Spanish Encomienda system. The Encomienda system was a reciprocal system whereby the Spanish gave civilisation and protection to indigenous people in exchange for tribute in the form of labour or gold, which effectively resulted in forced labour. From Columbus's diary of his first voyage, the Spanish motive to exploit the indigenous people is clear, with Columbus exclaiming that they would make 'good servants' due to their innocence of warfare.[11] A system of tribute was soon enforced, whereby the Indians were required to pan the rivers searching for gold, and once they had found a certain amount, they received a token to wear around their necks as a symbol of their work .[12] This brutal system had both a physical and psychological impact on the local people as they were not used to enduring continuous work over heavy periods. The physical impact is evidenced in Spanish friar, De Las Casas's account in which he described men dying in the gold mines, 'hunger starved' and 'oppressed with labour' due to having been compelled to carry heavy weight.[13] Furthermore, the psychological impact on indigenous people resulted in fifty thousand choosing to end their own lives, rather than face demoralisation.[14] Evidently, the impact of the system was the complete exploitation of the indigenous people to the point of death with no regards to their well-being. Abulafia corroborates by arguing that they were not treated like humans but like they were excrement in the middle of the road.[15] However, there is some evidence, which is often overlooked by historians, that the encomienda system had a positive impact with the emergence of educated Indigenous elites. This is demonstrated by the example of the Ladinos, hispanised Mexicans, who became a vital part of the colonial world as translators, as a result of Spanish exploitation.[16] These small positive impacts however do not outweigh the significant negative impact of the system, with the Columbian voyages opening the slave trade in the Americas for decades. Overall, the encomienda

[10] S.R. Johansson, 'The Demographic History of the Native Peoples of North America: A Selective Bibliography', *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology*, 25 (1982), p. 140.
[11] Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *Columbus on Himself,* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publisher, 2010), p. 53.
[12] Bergreen, *Columbus: The Four*, p. 204.
[13] Bartolome De Las Casas, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies,* ([n.p]: Project Gutenberg, 2007), p.8.
[14] Bergreen, *Columbus: The Four*, p. 204.
[15] David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 210.
[16] C. Dodds-Pennock, 'Aztecs Abroad'? Uncovering the Early Indigenous Atlantic', *The American Historical Review*, 125, (2020), p. 801.

system had a direct impact from the Spanish on demographic collapse due to the deaths it evoked and the collapse of communities.

Furthermore, the enforcement of Spanish Christianity on the indigenous population had a profound effect on the local culture. The conquest of the New World was seen by many Spaniards to be the continuation of the Reconquista project by expanding the dominion of Christendom through the mass conversion of 'infidels'.[17] This is referenced in Columbus's first voyage in 1492 where he believed the indigenous people presented, because of their innocence, a 'unique opportunity' to Christianise them, as he argued they held no religious persuasion.[18] Contrary to Columbus's initial belief, some inhabitants, specifically the Aztecs, did hold 'great religious traditions' which the Spanish sought to remove all traces of.[19] This is evidenced in De Las Casa's account of the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs, whereby the Spanish set fire to the temples and destroyed religious idols, thus removing any symbol of their cultural traditions.[20] Once this was achieved, the Spanish attempted to integrate their own Christian culture by setting up altars with images of Christian saints including the Virgin Mary and building crosses on the sites where temples once stood.[21] The Spanish removal of Aztec cultural traditions meant that the indigenous people struggled to preserve their own identity as over time these traditions would be lost through generations. Moreover, much of the Spanish Christian practices conflicted with the traditional Mexican Indian patterns of government. This is supported by Carol Higham, arguing that groups, like the Pueblans, struggled with the religious focus on the patrilineal system which created 'social and political stress'.[22] Nevertheless, although the top of the Aztec system of religion had been destroyed by the Spanish destruction of temples, the majority of the indigenous people did not fully convert to Christianity.[23] This is corroborated by Brian Hamnett who argues that they adjusted aspects of Christianity to accord with their own beliefs as evidenced by the Aztec's alteration in their belief of the Virgin Mary.[24] Whilst, the Spanish did destroy key aspects of the Aztecs religious traditions which had a noteworthy cultural impact, the success they had in implementing Christianity was small due to the fact that many Aztecs did not fully embrace Christianity, meaning that the religious impact of the Columbian voyages was limited.

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[17] Bert Roest, 'Early Mendicant Mission in the New World: Discourses, Experiments, Realities' *Franciscan Studies*, 71, (2013), p. 200.
[18] Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *The First Atlantic Crossing,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 82.
[19] Justo L. Gonzalez & Ondina E. Gonzalez, *Christianity in Latin America,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 13.
[20] De Las Casas, *A Brief Account,* p. 15.
[21] Nicholas Cheetham, *New Spain: The Birth of Modern Mexico,* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1974), p. 114.
[22] Carol L. Higham, *Christian Mission to American Indians,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 2.
[23] Todd Hatch, *Understanding World Christianity: Mexico,* (Minneapolis: 1517 Media, 2019), p. 8.
[24] Brian R. Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 64.

In addition, the impact of the Columbian voyages is evident through the introduction of Spanish livestock depleting the Indian economy. When the Spanish arrived in the Americas, they quickly realised that the Indians had not developed any form of extensive agriculture due to the lack of domestic animals and mainly focused instead on crop production.[25] This means of agriculture was not sufficient for the Spanish as livestock, such as cattle, was a staple in Spanish diet, resulting in its exportation to the Americas. Within months cattle herds doubled, replacing Indian crops, which led to widespread dietary change as the locals were accustomed to living off a plant-based diet.[26] The introduction of Spanish livestock considerably impacted the economic and ecological lives of the Indians as it removed their system of agriculture, forcing trade in livestock rather than crops. Moreover, due to the lack of fencing, herds completely overran the countryside, destroying the Indian peoples' crops and driving them from their villages, which often resulted in the complete depopulation of regions.[27] This is corroborated by the Tepeapulco tribe who had to move out of their village due to a huge herd of cattle, evoking demographic change. The immediate impact of this was famine as crops remained either unattended or destroyed, which led to a shortage of food.[28] This is supported by the chronicler, Peter Martyr, who pointed out to Columbus that natives had been 'vexed by famine' so widespread that more than 'fifty-thousand men' had died.[29] Hennessy captivates this well in summarising that, 'sheep ate men' as Spanish livestock resulted in the decline of the indigenous population, alongside destroying the local economy as there were no crops to trade.[30] Furthermore, according to Murdo Macleod, the Spanish served little interest in preserving the systems of Indian land tenure, however, nomadic hunting and gathering remained untouched, suggesting that the Spanish had not removed all aspects of indigenous agriculture.[31] Nevertheless, Spanish introduction of livestock caused the collapse of indigenous agriculture, resulting in widespread famine that decimated both the population and the local economy due to the lack of food crops.

Likewise, the Spanish raiding of the indigenous people, through the Columbian voyages, resulted in the destruction of the local economy. From the outset, it is clear that one of the main motives of Columbian exploration was the search for gold. This is evidenced in Columbus's journals whereby he noticed one of the Indigenous people with a gold piercing through his nose so he asked

[25] Murdo J. Macleod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720,* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2008), p.124.
[26] Alistair Hennessy, 'The Nature of the Conquest and the Conquistadors' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 81, (1993), p.20.
[27] Francois Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda*, Alvin Eustis (trans.), (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p.93.
[28] Scammell, *The World Encompassed*, p.350.
[29] Bergreen, *Columbus: The Four*, p. 204.
[30] Hennessy, 'The Nature', p.20.
[31] Macleod, *Spanish Central America,* p.125.

the inhabitants where more could be found.[32] This would eventually lead to a wide scale pursuit for gold throughout the Caribbean by means of river panning which was carried out by the local people. Eventually, the Caribbean's limited supply of gold was depleted, ruining the previously resilient economy since the Spanish imposed gold as a currency.[33] This had a significant impact on the indigenous people as it plunged the islands into an economic depression which according to Borah lasted 'more than a century'.[34] Moreover, the Spanish also raided a considerable amount of the Indians' food supplies as the Indians were compelled to turn over agricultural surpluses to the Conquistadores.[35] This is corroborated in the Aztec account of Cortes raiding Mexico, whereby the Spaniards demanded supplies of 'tortillas, fried chickens' and 'hen's eggs', which their King, Montezuma, handed over.[36] As a result, their hierarchical system completely collapsed as the chiefs were angry with Montezuma and no longer respected him, thus destroying their political system.[37] Furthermore, this greatly impacted the Indian's economy as this forced up food prices, due to a lack of supply, and provided the Spanish with an opportunity to enforce high trading prices. As a result, Macleod articulates, there were reports of Indians dying of hunger due to their inability to pay for basic food.[38] Overall, the raiding of indigenous resources by the Spanish meant that previous trading carried out by inhabitants was now non-existent due to the lack of resources they now had. This meant that the Spanish effectively now controlled the economy of the indigenous people which consequently broke down the cultural and political systems that the inhabitants had enforced for centuries.

In conclusion, whilst there were a substantial multitude of impacts of the Columbian voyages, the most significant was the impact of disease. Disease, unlike the other factors, was completely uncontrollable by the Spanish, meaning that it spread through Indian communities at a rapid pace. As a result, millions of indigenous people died, completely wiping out communities and forcing a complete demographic transformation. This demographic implosion saw the death of important religious figures and leaders of communities which disrupted cultural and political systems. This is corroborated by the civil war that broke out in the Inca empire after their emperor died from smallpox. Furthermore, disease had an economic impact as indigenous people were no longer able to tend their crops meaning that food was scarce and so they were unable to use it as a resource for trade, thus resulting in famine. Moreover, the impact of disease would be seen for decades after 1550 as it produced low fertility and life expectancy which would affect the size of populations for generations,

[32] Fernandez-Armesto, *Columbus on Himself*, p.54.
[33] Bergreen, *Columbus: The Four,* p.203.
[34] Mann, *1491: New Revelations*, p.148
[35] Macleod, *Spanish Central America,* pp.125-126.
[36] *The Broken Spears*, Leon-Portilla (ed.), p.66.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Macleod, *Spanish Central America*, p.60.

proving that disease had an impact even after it had been eradicated. Overall, the arrival of the Spanish in the Americas dismantled the political, economic, and cultural systems that the indigenous people had had in place for generations. The enforcement of the Spanish way of life meant that the local people lost their traditional values and their identities.

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"*Hier Stehe Ich!*": The role of Martin Luther in the spread and appeal of Lutheranism, 1517–1560

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Abstract

When Martin Luther published his ninety-five theses in 1517, a wave of theological, ecclesiological, and social proposals regarding the role and function of the Church were unleashed in a manner that had not been seen before. Following this unleashing of debate and reform, the previously unquestionable authority of the Church and the Papacy was quashed, and needed, itself, to reform and resist reform. This article examines the cause and spread of the Lutheran Reformation, placing Luther and his teachings as the primary cause in its spread. In doing so, the article explores a number of Luther's writings and publications, with explanation of his reasoning behind certain editorial decisions, and the impact of them on the spread of Luther's new theology.

In 1520, Martin Luther and a supporter, George Spalatin, exchanged a number of letters discussing how they were to deal with increasing Papal suspicion surrounding Luther's teachings.[1] In this 1520 letter, Luther outlined how he wished to divert the rumours of 'Lutheranism' being a direct criticism of the Pope personally towards a more general criticism of papal advisors and supporters:

> Greetings. My Spalatin, Sir Karl Miltitz and I have met at Lichtenberg. We agreed…that I should publish a letter in German and in Latin, addressed to the Pope… In this letter I am to relate my whole story and show that I never wanted to attack the Pope personally, and throw the whole blame on Eck…[2]

The letter presents two significant traits of the early period of the Lutheran Reformation: firstly, that Luther believed his actions were leading to 'Reformation' and that his teachings were having an impact, not only on the sale of indulgences, as he intended, but also on the institution of the Papacy. Secondly, that Luther himself was playing a significant role in the doctrine's spread: "…I never wanted to attack the Pope personally".[3] The role of Luther himself was the most important aspect of the theology's spread, both as hinted at in this letter, and as we will explore further. Luther was propelled to prominence in 1517 with the publishing of *the 95 theses* – a work which criticised the actions of the Catholic Church, primarily surrounding indulgences, and it was this aspect of his theological objections

[1] Martin Luther, *The letters of Martin Luther,* (London: Forgotten Books, 2018), p.156.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

to sixteenth century Catholicism which is most attributed to the difficulties he caused the Papacy.[4] It was also the primary issue that Luther was concerned with in 1517 – the rest of his theology would evolve over time, as demand for further teachings and criticisms required. Luther should, therefore, be held largely personally responsible for the damage caused to the reputation of the Catholic Church, and the spread of the new theology, which bared his name.

The socio-economic context of Catholicism is essential to understanding what first led Luther to speak out against the Church and spread his doctrine. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Popes as temporal rulers had run a significant deficit. Their fighting in the Italian Wars (1494 – 1559), increasing the bureaucracy of the papal curia, and renovating papal property (such as St Peter's Basillica) had led the institution to run a significant deficit.[5] This level of spending meant that papal fiscal policy had to change to accommodate for it. Pope Leo X began selling indulgences to help fund the renovation of St Peter's Basilica, and was Pope in 1517 when Luther published his *Disputatio pro declaration virtutis indulgentiarum*, (or *Ninety-five theses*).[6] For the papacy, indulgences were important as they provided extra income which they saw as vital for being able to pay for the renovation of the Basilica. For Luther, however, it was the way that the Church suggested that buying indulgences would result in less time in purgatory that was controversial for Luther.[7] The first of the theses to directly mention the sale of indulgences as immoral was the twenty-first: "Thus those indulgence preachers are in error who say that a man is absolved from every penalty and saved by papal indulgences…".[8] Here, Luther argued that achieving salvation though the purchasing of indulgences is impossible. His theological objections which led to this were two-fold: forgiveness was God's alone to grant, thus making the sale of indulgences immoral, and a lack of scriptural evidence for the morality of the sale of indulgences.[9] These objections led Luther to assert two facts about the Christian faith: that Christians should live according to scripture alone (*Sola Scriptura*), and that God

[4] In 1517, whilst working as a lecturer in Theology at the University of Wittenberg, it is stated that Luther nailed his first work of considerable significance to the Reformation to the door of the Castle Church, Wittenberg.

[5] Julian Romane, *The First and Second Italian Wars, 1494 – 1504: Fearless Knights, Ruthless Princes & the Coming of Gunpowder Armies,* (Barnsley:Pen and Sword Books ltd, 2020), pp. xiv-xv; '*Roman Curia*' in Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Roman-Curia> [accessed 15/12/2020].

[6] *Pope Leo X* in Papal Artifacts [online] <https://www.papalartifacts.com/portfolio-item/pope-leo-x/> [accessed: 2/02/2021]; Martin Luther, *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum* trans. Disputation on the Power of Indulgences (1917, 2020) <https://www.degruyter.com/view/book/9783111633282/10.1515/9783111633282-001.xml> [accessed: 15/12/2020].

[7] Margaret A Miles, The Word Made Flesh: A History of Christian Thought, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p.249.

[8] Martin Luther, *The Ninety-Five Theses*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1957).

[9] '*The Indulgences Controversy: Indulgences and Salvation*' in Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Martin-Luther/The-indulgences-controversy#ref59845> [accessed: 16/12/20].

would save those based on the strength of their faith in Him, rather than by works or schemes such as indulgences (*Sola Fide*).[10] This was contrary to Catholic dogma and the teachings of the Catholic Church that placed the role of the clergy and institution of the papacy at the forefront of achieving salvation. Following Luther's *Sermon on Indulgences and Grace* (1518), Johann Tetzel (a German Cleric who was responsible for selling a considerable number of indulgences) published a 'rebuttal' of that work. Tetzel disagreed with Luther that faith and scripture alone was enough to achieve salvation, stating that those who do not have faith in the popes to claim indulgences and govern the Church (through apostolic succession) are wrong. He wrote in response to Luther:

> Now indulgences also concern faith, for whoever does not believe that the pope can grant indulgences and plenary indulgences to the living and the dead—as long as they remain in God's love—that person maintains that the pope has not received complete authority from the Lord Christ over Christian believers, which contradicts sacred canon law.[11]

Luther must have already been causing concern for the papacy as early as 1518, as high-profile clerics, such as Tetzel, wrote scathing responses to his criticisms. Yet, it has been suggested that Luther's teaching did very little to impact the sale of indulgences in the early years. In 2016, historians writing from Chapman University stated: "While there was certainly spontaneous enthusiasm for Luther in the first few years after 1517, this support did not necessarily result in the institution of Protestantism in the cities and territories of Central Europe."[12] Whilst this may appear to be the case (as 'Protestantism' was not yet recognised), there was a change in the way in which people purchased indulgences. In 1518, the *'Ablasskistenvisitationsprotokoll'* (indulgence box opening records) recorded that there was forty-nine guilders worth of indulgence receipts in the town of Duderstadt.[13] Mülhausen – a free state with a larger, richer, more literate population than Duderstadt – recorded only forty-eight guilders worth of receipts. According to the German historian Reinhold Kiermayr, they should have been receiving income of "… at least three times that amount", due to the city's size, and other demographic factors that made it more susceptible to papal commands.[14] Why was this? Luther's teaching that there was no scriptural basis for indulgences resonated with those who already held concerns about them. Equally, Mülhausen, being significantly closer to Wittemberg than

[10] Ibid.
[11] Johann Tetzel, *Johann Tetzel's Rebuttal Against Luther's Sermon on Indulgences and Grace* (Atlanta: Pitts Theological Library), p.29.
[12] S. O. Becker, S Pfaff & J Rubin, *Causes and Consequences of the Protestant Reformation* [online] <https://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1177&context=esi_working_papers> [accessed: 23/02/2021].
[13] Reinhold Kiermayr, 'How Much Money was Actually in the Indulgence Chest', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol.17, no.3, (1986), pp.312–314.
[14] Ibid.

Duderstadt, with a larger, more literate population, meant they were in a better position to access and understand Luther's arguments. This geographical factor could be considered an argument for the spread of Lutheranism in itself. However, later in 1518, Luther took advantage of the literate population through certain editorial and linguistic decisions he took in the publishing of *The Sermon on Indulgences and* Grace (1518). This was published, unlike the *Ninety-Five theses*, in German and avoided regional or colloquial words and phrases.[15] It is likely that this was an attempt to avoid any potential linguistic barriers that may arise from using them.[16] This meant that in areas with higher literacy rates (such as Mülhausen), his work was more accessible, as many could read German, but not Latin. This decision to write in German was almost certainly a conscious decision made to increase his literature's accessibility to the non-Latin speaking population. It follows, therefore, that Luther should be considered highly personally responsible. His publishing of a list of criticisms regarding the Church that rapidly spread across the Holy Roman Empire, challenging indulgences (a payment of which some already held reservations) and his editorial decisions which increased the accessibility of his work.

A fact that further enhances Luther's personal role in his doctrine's spread is that he was not the first to criticise the Papacy and their apparent corruption, yet Luther's work received a greater response from the Church. In 1511, Erasmus (a famous Dutch humanist), wrote the essay *The Praise of Folly*.[17] In the essay, Erasmus satirically mocks the popes over their tendencies to over-indulge and appear materialistic – he suggests that the only way that the popes live or appear like Christ is through their claim to do so. Erasmus wrote:

> And for popes, that supply the place of Christ, if they should endeavour to imitate His life, to wit His poverty, labour, doctrine, cross, and contempt of life, or should they consider what the name pope, that is father, or holiness, imports, who would live more disconsolate than themselves? or who would purchase that chair with all his substance? or defend it, so purchased, with swords, poisons, and all force imaginable? so great a profit would the access of wisdom deprive him of—wisdom did I say? nay, the least corn of that salt which Christ speaks of: so much wealth, so much honour, so much riches, so many victories, so many offices, so many dispensations, so much

[15] *Social Media in the Sixteenth Century: How Luther Went Viral* in 'The Economist' [online] <https://www.economist.com/christmas-specials/2011/12/17/how-luther-went-viral> [accessed: 22/02/2021].
[16] Ibid.
[17] Darmaid MacCulloch, *A History of Christianity* (London: Penguin, 2009), p.613; Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, John Wilson, (trans.), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p.12.

> tribute, so many pardons; such horses, such mules, such guards, and so much pleasure would it lose them.[18]

Erasmus' assertion that to truly live like Christ would cost (politically and financially) the popes too much,[19] supports Luther's claim that the argument for indulgences were earthly, rather than heavenly: Erasmus compares the 'labour' and 'contempt for life' of Christ, and the 'wealth…offices…[and] dispensations' of the popes. Erasmus (like Luther) reveals a truth about papal government and theology of the 16th century - increasing cost of Papal government could only be sustained by schemes such as the sale of indulgences, alleged simony, and other forms of corruption. In *The Praise of Folly*, it is obvious that Erasmus (although satirically) attacked the popes more personally than Luther had done by 1520. The serious, academic way in which Luther approached the injustices he experienced was therefore a significant factor in new criticisms being taken seriously, and thus, being able to spread.

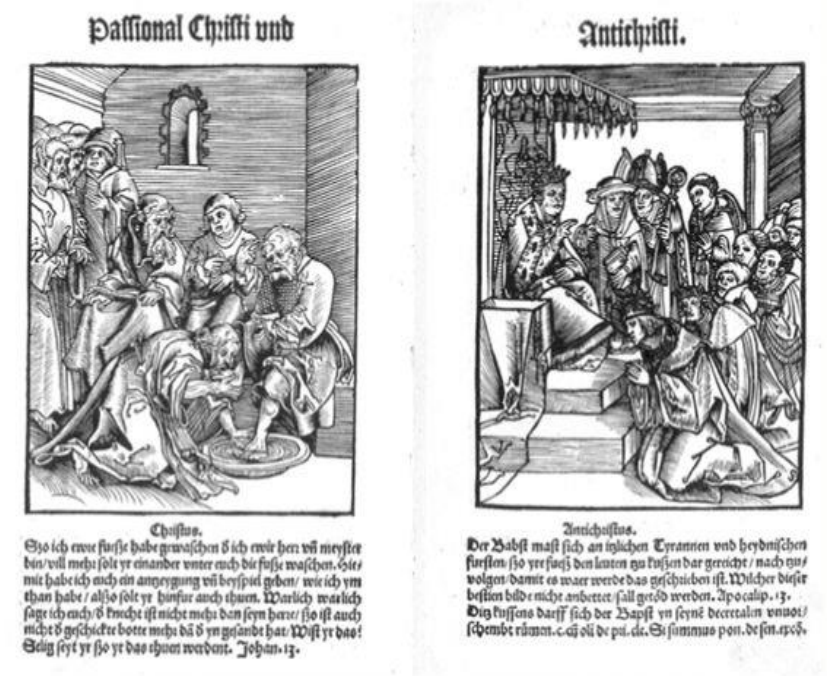


Figure. 1

Luther's claim in the 1520 letter to Spalatin that he never meant to attack the popes personally may have been justifiable in 1520, but by 1521, this was no longer the case. Following the Diet of Worms (1521) and Luther's famous, alleged exclamation "Here I stand… I can do no other", Luther attacked the papacy and their lifestyle continuously.[20] In 1521, Luther published a pamphlet containing woodcut illustrations by Lucas Cranach the Elder: *Antithesis*

[18] Ibid, p. 41
[19] Ibid
[20] Barbra Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Short History,* (Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 2018), p.62; '*Hier Stehe Ich!*' in 'Christianity Today' [online] <https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2002/aprilweb-only/4-8-52.0.html> [accessed: 16/12/2020];
It is disputed as to whether Luther ever stated "Here I stand, I can do no other". Instead, it sums up Luther's response to Charles V's demands at the Diet – Luther no longer felt morally or religiously comfortable with the prospect of practising and teaching under the Church in its current form (see: *Did Luther really say, "Here I Stand"?*, Concordia Publishing House, 2016).

figurata vitae Christi et Antichristi.[21] The pamphlet (like *The Praise of Folly*) compares and contrasts the life of the popes and the life of Christ. The left woodcut shows Christ washing the feet of his disciples, as he does in John 13: 1 – 17.[22] The pope, however, living extravagantly and indulgently, has his feet washed by his servants. The images and text in this pamphlet could not be more explicitly critical or damaging for the popes as religious, or political leaders. Luther challenges the popes politically and personally here, by claiming that the sale of indulgences and other earthly, materialistic aspects of papal lifestyle, are exploitative of their duties and those they are meant to serve. The strength of Luther's message (comparing the materialism of the popes with the poverty of Christ), combined with the revolution of the printing press, has often been seen as the cause of the spread of Lutheranism.[23] The main issue here, however, is that Luther and Cranach's deliberately provocative publications further discredited Luther's 1520 claim to 'not have attacked the pope personally'.[24] It also shows the considerable shift from Luther's initial criticisms of indulgences in 1517, to a more general, personal attack, by mid-1521. Other than an attempt to further increase popular appeal to his teachings, or providing further criticisms for the sake of providing for a demand, it is difficult to see why Luther took this step. Either one of these explanations allows for Luther's 1520 claim to avoid personal criticisms of the papacy to be discredited, and place responsibility for the spread of his doctrine solely at his door.

Another development in Luther's criticisms of Catholic theology was that it did not benefit the average layperson. The prohibition of the publishing of bibles in the vernacular, and the Catholic Church's promotion of the spiritual value of the priest above others, are two significant ways in which Luther saw the Church as neglecting the spiritual importance of individuals. This resulted in Luther asserting facts regarding the Christian faith itself – that the Word of God was for everyone, and therefore the Bible should be allowed to be published in the vernacular. In 1522, Luther published the New Testament in German, and would later go onto publish the Old Testament – something obviously against Catholic dogma.[25] Luther believed that Christianity should only be based on and taught based

[21] *Luther's anti-papist pamphlet, 'Passional Christi Und Antichristi', 1521* in The British Library [online] <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/luthers-anti-papist-pamphlet-passional-christi-und-antichristi-1521> [accessed: 16/12/2020].
[22] *Luther's anti-papist pamphlet, 'Passional Christi Und Antichristi', 1521* in The British Library [online] <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/luthers-anti-papist-pamphlet-passional-christi-und-antichristi-1521> [accessed: 16/12/2020]*; The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments*, New Revised Standard Version (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[23] Peter Stanford, *Martin Luther: A Catholic Dissident* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2017), p. 23
[24] Martin Luther, *The letters of Martin Luther,* (London: Forgotten Books, 2018), p.156.
[25] *Luther Bible* in the British Library [online] <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/luther-bible> [accessed: 06/03/2021]; Ann Leavitt, *The Importance of Vernacular Bible Translation by Martin Luther, John Wycliffe and Erasmus in the Reformation* (2014) <https://owlcation.com/humanities/The-Role-of-Bible-Translations-in-the-Reformation> [accessed: 26/12/2020]

on what was permissible through scripture, and that the Latin vulgate text had significant linguistic mistakes.[26] Equally, as he had asserted that salvation is achieved on the basis of individual faith in God, it followed that all should be able to read biblical texts, and would, therefore need translation. Yet, this was not the only significant feature of Luther's translation of the Testaments. Through translation, Luther could now spread his message faster (he could, and did, adapt the vulgate by working with Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic originals text to suit his teachings). In his 1522 publication of his translation of the Vulgate text, Luther sparked debate regarding a translation that would become central to his theology – the doctrine of salvation *Sola Fide* was written into the Luther Bible. It is debated whether the adverb 'alone' (*allein)* was in the original text of Romans 3:28.[27] The Latin Vulgate text stated "arbitramur enim iustificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis."[28] This translates to: "For we judge a man to be justified by faith without lawful (meaning earthly) works."[29] Luther's translation: "So halten wir nun dafür, dass der Mensch gerecht werde ohne des Gesetzes Werke, allein durch den Glauben", which included adverb *'allein'* (alone), was controversial for a two main reasons.[30] Firstly, if correct, it proved Luther's arguments against indulgences, instead saying that faith was the only way to salvation. Secondly, it brought into question other Catholic teachings based on the vulgate text – Luther had worked closely with the original Greek version of the Epistle of Romans and believed that the Vulgate version was incorrectly translated.[31] This inevitably raised social, as well as theological issues – if salvation could be determined only by the faith of the individual, any roles that a person may hold (such as being a part of the nobility or clergy), or any works that an individual may have partaken in, are neglected when the person is judged – they are ultimately saved by the strength of their faith in God. It follows therefore, that Luther's translations and promotion of vernacular texts had a two-fold impact on the papacy and the Church: more people reading non-approved versions of texts (thus leading to greater diversion from original Catholic dogma) and potential social issues that comes from the idea of salvation being open to all – this was also a popular concept, for some.

In addition to the theological challenges presented by Luther's belief in *Sola Fide* and *Sola Scriptura*, the teaching that members of the clergy were not more qualified to talk about scripture, or

[26] Ibid.
[27] *Martin Luther Translations* in 'By Faith Alone: 500 years of Martin Luther's faith and legacy' [online] <https://byfaithaloneluther.wordpress.com/martin-luther-translations/> [accessed: 06/01/2021].
[28] The Bible, The Latin Vulgate, Romans: Chapter III, Verse.XXVIII [online] <https://www.fourmilab.ch/etexts/www/Vulgate/Romans.html> [accessed: 26/12/2020].
[29] With thanks to Dmitriy Kravets for his assistance in this translation.
[30] *The Reformation Room: Did Luther add "Alone" to Romans 3: 28?* [online] <https://www.thereformationroom.com/single-post/2017/01/12/did-luther-add-alone-to-romans-328> [accessed: 26/12/2020]
[31] Ibid.

achieve salvation, also had social implications – the significant teaching in this regard was the doctrine of a 'Priesthood of all believers'. In his essay, the *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate* (1520), Luther stated:

> Through baptism all of us are consecrated to the priesthood, as St. Peter says in I Peter 2:9, "Ye are a royal priesthood, a priestly kingdom," and the book of Revelation… says "Thou hast made us by Thy blood to be priests and kings." For if we had no higher consecration than pope or bishop gives, the consecration by pope or bishop would never make a priest, nor might anyone either say mass or preach a sermon or give absolution.[32]

The concept of being 'consecrated into the priesthood' through baptism furthers the ecclesiological challenge Luther presented to the Church, but also, in the eyes of the German peasantry, allowed an excuse for radical social change. The socio-religious backdrop in this period was dominated by a hostile, widespread anti-clericalism within the German peasant population. This 'hostile atmosphere' is not speculatory, or unsubstantial. In 1524, the German peasants war sparked after a group of serfs petitioned against their work.[33] This soon spread to being a major rebellion, requiring support from nobles to crush it.[34] Some Marxists, such as Engels, attribute the long-term cause of the rising to Luther. Engels suggested that Luther's apparent challenging of the hierarchy within the Church, such as his teaching regarding the 'priesthood of all believers', led to the masses to take up arms.[35] This assertion may seem convincing as Luther's teachings reduced the role of the priest within Church government significantly, and gave greater scriptural authority to all of the congregation. If correct, this view shows that Luther was not only responsible for the spread of a theological revolution, but a social one as well.

Whilst Luther's teaching may have been significant within this revolt, it is unlikely that it was the primary cause of such significant social unrest in the way that Engels suggested, or that it was his intention. Firstly, there is the practical issue that only 5% of the German population were literate in the early fifteenth century, meaning that even though pamphlets were a successful way of spreading Luther's message, amongst the peasant population, challenging theological issues would remain hard

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[32] Martin Luther, *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate, 1520* (Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company, 1915), p.10, [online] <http://www.onthewing.org/user/Luther%20-%20Nobility%20of%20the%20German%20Nation.pdf> [accessed: 26/12/2020].
[33] Frederick Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* [online] <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/peasant-war-germany.pdf> [accessed: 27/12/2020].
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid, p.20.

to grasp.[36] Secondly, Marxist interpretations of the Peasants War place Luther's challenging of hierarchy at the core. However, in many ways, Luther was still a social conservative. Like as the Church encouraged obedience to the popes and other ecclesiastical offices theologically, Luther encouraged obedience to temporal rulers of the states of the Holy Roman Empire politically.[37] In October 1523, Luther published the pamphlet *Secular Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed* In the pamphlet, Luther wrote:

> First, we must provide a sound basis for the civil law and sword so no one will doubt that it is in the world by God's will and ordinance. The passages which do this are the following: Romans 12, "Let every soul be subject to the governing authority, for their in no authority except from God; the authority which everywhere exists has been ordained by God. He then who resists the governing authority resists the ordinance of God, and he who resists God's ordinance will incur judgment." Again, in I Peter 2 [:13-14], "Be subject to every kind of human ordinance, whether it be to the king as supreme, or to governors, as those who have been sent by him to punish the wicked and to praise the righteous."[38]

Contrary to an intended hierarchical or social revolt under the name of his teachings, Luther writes that it is God's will that there is temporal, political authority that earthly authority and hierarchy is therefore theologically and morally 'right'. To reject Luther's aforementioned hierarchical criticisms would be to absolve him of responsibility altogether. The fact that Luther agreed that temporal authority was good and right does not distract from the fact that, even inadvertently, he may have sparked a social uprising from what was previously only clerical discontent. Towards the end of the war, he condemned the belligerents explicitly, stating:

> In my preceding pamphlet [on the "Twelve Articles"] I had no occasion to condemn the peasants, because they promised to yield to law and better instruction, as Christ also demands… in spite of their promises [they] rob and pillage and act like mad dogs. From this it is quite apparent what they had in their false minds, and that what they put forth under the name of the gospel in the "Twelve Articles" was all vain pretense. In short, they practice mere devil's work…[39]

Luther, as shown here, rejected social upheaval under the name of his criticisms of the Church for the two main reasons. Firstly, the fact that there is scriptural evidence to suggest political submission to

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[36] Mark U Edwards Jnr, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1994), p.1.
[37] Martin Luther's "Two Kingdom doctrine".
[38] Martin Luther, *Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed* [online] <https://www.socalsynod.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/606.pdf> [accessed:27/12/2020].
[39] Martin Luther, *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants (May 1525)* [online] <http://zimmer.csufresno.edu/~mariterel/against_the_robbing_and_murderin.htm> [accessed: 27/12/2020]

earthly authority.[40] Secondly, as in many cases, revolts in this way would be in contrast "to law and better instruction."[41] One may also view the support that Luther enjoyed from the nobility (such as the Schmalkaldic League and Frederick III, Elector of Saxony) as a reason for his criticisms of the peasants, and his will to maintain the existing social order.[42] Without their support after the Diet of Worms, his capture by the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, would have been inevitable. These ideas are significant as they show a consistency in Luther's theology – the need for reform of ecclesiastical hierarchy, yet a promotion of the importance of law and order, and support for reforms from across social classes. As a result, Engles' interpretation of the Peasant's War cannot be seen as wholly incorrect. Luther enjoyed support from across the peasantry and the nobility in 1524. The rapid spread in his teachings allowed for a great number of people to latch on to his ideas regarding Church governance and hierarchy, and expand them beyond ecclesiastical issues.

In addition to understanding Luther's teaching and how this relates to the spread of Lutheranism, it is also important to look at the response of the Church to the spread of Lutheranism. The initial response of the Catholic Church was somewhat imitative of Luther's technique and approach. It is today recognised as the 'Catholic Reformation' (in previous historiography, the 'Counter-Reformation').[43] As was the case with Luther's promotion and spread of ideas, the invention and increased use of the printing press heated the debate, spread new ideas, as well as improving literacy rates in some urban areas.[44] There are two areas of the counter-reformation that are important when discussing the true impact of Luther's actions on the Catholic Church. Firstly, the actions of the Papacy and the Church government against Luther directly; secondly, the way in which Luther forced consideration for reform within the Church.

As the original letter to Spalatin shows, the Church and Catholic nations (such as the Holy Roman Empire) were, at first, to deal with the spread of Luther and his teachings in a diplomatic manner, through meetings, debates and letters. In the summer of 1519, the Catholic Church sent Johannes Eck – a well-known Catholic debater, to have a public debate with Luther regarding indulgences (and other issues of authority in the Church).[45] Despite the debates not being a complete

[40] Martin Luther, *Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed* [online] <https://www.socalsynod.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/606.pdf> [accessed: 27/12/2020].
[41] Ibid.
[42] *Schmalkaldic League* in Encyclopaedia Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/event/Schmalkaldic-League> [accessed: 29/12/2020].
[43] *Counter Reformation* in Encyclopaedia Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/event/Counter-Reformation> [accessed: 27/12/2020].
[44] Mark U Edwards Jnr, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther,* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1994).
[45] *Leipzig Debates* in 'Reformation 500' [online] <https://reformation500.csl.edu/timeline/leipzig-debate/> [accessed 03/01/2021].

success for Luther (Eck drew a logical comparison between Luther and Bohemian heretic Jan Hus – and Luther was forced to concede that he did share some of Hus' views), the event provided a platform for Luther to promote his ideas, and gain popular status.[46] This intellectual response of the Church when compared to others denounced as 'heretics' appears measured.[47] Whilst they asked Luther to apologise to the Pope early in the reformation, no severe measures were taken against him until 1521. Hus, however – the fifteenth century heretic with whom Luther was compared – was burnt at the stake.[48] Equally, the response of some of the English kings to Lollardy (a heretical movement based on the teaching and scholarly work of John Wycliffe during the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries) was even more severe.[49] In the instance of the Lollards in England, Henry IV (1399 – 1413) and Henry V (1413 – 1422) crushed their religious opposition 'without mercy', around 100 years before Luther rose to prominence.[50] In the time of Luther, the start of the Inquisition in the Netherlands by Charles V and Adrian VI in 1523, is evidence of strict papal and temporal involvement against heresy.[51] Documentary evidence suggests that the emperor and the pope targeted the heretics 'harshly' (thousands were executed), establishing a special court to deal with cases.[52] Why then, was the treatment of Luther apparently 'preferential' prior to 1521, and what was the significance of this in allowing the spread of Lutheranism?



Figure. 2

[46] Alastair Armstrong, *European Reformation, 1500 – 1610,* (New Hampshire: Heinemann, 2002), p.25.
[47] The Oxford English dictionary describes 'heresy' as "contrary to orthodox religious (especially Christian) doctrine. To describe Luther as a 'heretic', therefore, would be inaccurate. However, it would be legitimate to describe him as 'heterodox', i.e. not conforming with accepted or orthodox standards or beliefs. I believe the noun 'standards' to be particularly pertinent in this case.
[48] *Jan Hus* in Encyclopaedia Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jan-Hus> [accessed: 03/01/2021].
[49] J. A. F. Thompson, 'Orthodox Religion and the Origins of Lollardy in 'History'', *History,* 74:240, (1989), p.53.
[50] *Henry IV* in Encyclopaedia Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-IV-king-of-England> [accessed: 27/12/2020]; *Henry V* in Encyclopaedia Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-V-king-of-England> [accessed: 27/12/2020].
[51] J. L. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic, 1555 – 1566* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1874), Part II, Chapter III.
[52] Alastair Duke, *A legend in the making: News of the 'Spanish inquisition' in the Low Countries in German Evangelical pamphlets, 1546, 1550,* (Dutch Review of Church History: Brill, 1997), p.143

Despite the controversial nature of his propositions, Luther's arguments were mostly intellectual and logically legitimate – and, unlike later reformers (such as Huldrych Zwingli),[53] never encouraged violence or divergence from the Church to achieve his theological goals.[54] As a result of this, those who opposed Luther attempted to damage his reputation and credibility in the same way he had damaged theirs. For instance, this 1529 woodcut by Johannes Cocleus (figure 2) is entitled *Siben Kopffe Martinus Luthers* – the Seven Heads of Martin Luther.[55] Cocleus was one of Luther's most prominent Catholic opponents and his work attempted to recognise apparent inconsistencies in heretical arguments. The seven heads of the creature presented here are: *Doctor* (Luther as a lecturer and academic of theology), *Martin* (Luther as a monk), *Lutther* (Luther presented as a Ottoman), *Ecclesiastes* (Cocleus stated "[Luther] preaches what the mob wants to hear", *Schwirmer* (Luther as a madman surrounded by hornets), *Visitator* (Luther as the new pope), and *Barrabas* (Luther as Barrabas – the criminal that was pardoned during Jesus' trial).[56] Perhaps equally as significant as the heads themselves is that Luther is depicted as having seven of them. In the book of Revelation, the Bible describes a 'beast':

> …And I saw a beast rising out of the sea, having ten horns and seven heads, and on its horns were ten diadems, and on its heads were blasphemous names… The beast was given a mouth uttering haughty and blasphemous words, and it was allowed to exercise authority for forty-two months…[57]

The message of this woodcut is damning for Luther – a beastly image in the apocalyptic book of the Bible shows the vexation with which Catholics viewed his teaching, the fear they associated with the spread of his theology. Luther could not have been surprised, however. By the time he held ample support from the German nobles, and any implementation of legal punishment was unrealistic, it was natural that the Church should respond in such a way – to discredit and offend Luther, as he had done to them.

Alongside personal attacks on Luther during the Catholic Reformation, there are some examples of changing attitudes within the Catholic ecclesiastic body itself. The Council of Trent, which

[53] Zwingli encouraged violent acts of iconoclasm against churches and places of worship. See *Huldrych Zwingli: Reformation in Conflict* by Stephen Brett Eccher.
[54] N.B. Luther's condemnation of the Peasants War.
[55] *Seven-Headed Luther*, Pitts Theology Library at the Candler School of Theology [online] <http://www.pitts.emory.edu/dia/image_details.cfm?ID=461> [accessed: 27/12/2020].
[56] Ibid; *The Holy Bible containing The Old and New Testaments (New Revised Standard Version)*, John 18:39-40 (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1995), p.110.
[57] Ibid, Book of Revelation, 13: 1 – 16, pp.250 – 251.

met intermittently between 1545 and 1562 discussed potential reforms.[58] In large part, however, the first period of the Council (1545 – 1547) essentially aimed to affirm existing Catholic belief and doctrine. These included a statement regarding the suitability of the Latin Vulgate text as a basis for doctrine, the acceptance of tradition as a source of faith, and a definition of the Church's position on sin and faith.[59] Whilst this may seem a failure for Luther towards the end of his life as the Church failed to accept nearly any of his teachings, in reality, the fact that debate and factionalism was created within the Church proved a significant and successful 'shake-up' of the Church's unquestionable authority.

In addition to the First Council of Trent's discussion (and ultimate rejection) of Lutheran ideas, the group of people that allowed the spread of Luther's ideas must not be neglected in understanding the Reformation's source and spread. Aforementioned support from the nobility was an essential aspect of why Luther failed to endure any real punishment. Leo X had excommunicated Luther in 1521, after the 'diplomatic' attempts to subdue his theology failed.[60] Following his excommunication, Charles V called Luther to Worms to renounce his views. When he failed, he was proclaimed a 'notorious heretic' and was to be punished as one.[61] Ordinarily, following the verdict of the emperor or the Diet itself, the punishment would be enacted forthwith - in the case of 'heresy', as Luther was accused, resulting in execution. Yet, instead of being imprisoned immediately after, Luther left Worms under the protection of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony.[62] Many rulers who were sympathetic to Luther and his teachings would ignore the edict throughout the 1520s, and continue to offer him their support and protection. By this time, many of the states in the Holy Roman Empire had at least some who supported Luther – in fact, outside the Diet at Worms, Cranach and other supporters of Luther sold woodcuts to the adoring crowds who supported Luther.[63] This, although early in Luther's campaign, is perhaps the most important development that would occur – escaping from Worms with the support he had personally won from the nobility allowed Luther both to evade punishment, and more significantly, continue to spread his theology. It set a precedent for the future that reformers such as Luther could not be silenced by political or ecclesiastical decree, and would have to, inevitably,

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[58] *The Council of Trent* in Encyclopaedia Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/event/Council-of-Trent> [accessed: 04/03/2021].
[59] Ibid.
[60] *The Indulgences Controversy* in Encyclopaedia Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Martin-Luther/The-indulgences-controversy> [accessed:27/12/2020].
[61] *The Edict of Worms (25th May 1521)* [online] <http://www.henryviiithereign.co.uk/edict-of-worms.html> [accessed: 28/12/2020].
[62] *Frederick III, Elector of Saxony* in Encyclopaedia Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Frederick-III-elector-of-Saxony> [accessed: 27/12/2020].
[63] Timothy F Lull and Derek R Nelson, *Resilient Reformer: The Life and Thought of Martin Luther,* (Minneapolis: 1517 Media, 2015), p.121.

be dealt with diplomatically, and even force the Church and papacy to reconsider their own theological positions (as they did at the Council of Trent).

It follows from this, therefore, that the spread of Lutheranism was a highly personal achievement of Luther. By 1521, it was too late for the Papacy to attempt to stop Lutheranism's spread. Following Charles V's failure to reach a compromise with Luther and the Schmaldick League at Diet of Augsburg (1533), the Catholic Church, papacy, and office of the Holy Roman Emperor had all sustained incomprehensible reputational damage from their fight to try and stop Luther. The end result of struggle that lasted decades was the Peace of Augsburg (1555), where Charles V admitted defeat over Lutheranism, and allowed states of the Holy Roman Empire to choose whether they were Catholic or Protestant.[64] The impact of the Luther's actions were, on a macro level a temporal challenging and loss of power of the Holy Roman Emperor, and further temporal and theological decline for the papacy. The causes of this, of course, were plentiful: the printing press, social tensions, and historic criticisms all played a role. They should not, however, distract from the role that Luther himself played in continuing to spread and develop his ideas. Through his controversial, yet relatable teachings, his writings alongside Cranach's illustrations, and the evolution of his ideas over time to being an almost fully formed theology, Luther had forever changed the ecclesiastical government of Western Europe, and the wealthiest, most powerful institution in history.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Peter Clarke for his advice towards the latter stage of completing this article. I also extend thanks to my good friend, Dmitriy Kravets, of New College, Oxford. His assistance in some of the Latin translation (a task in which I am noticeably rusty) was much appreciated. The feedback and work of Rebecca Williams and the peer reviewers is also much appreciated.

Appendix

Figure 1: *Luther's anti-papist pamphlet, 'Passional Christi Und Antichristi', 1521* in The British Library [online] <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/luthers-anti-papist-pamphlet-passional-christi-und-antichristi-1521> [accessed: 16/12/2020].

Figure 2: *Seven-Headed Luther*, Pitts Theology Library at the Candler School of Theology [online] <http://www.pitts.emory.edu/dia/image_details.cfm?ID=461> [accessed: 27/12/2020].

[64] *Peace of Augsburg: Germany (1555)* in Encylopedia Britannica [online] <https://www.britannica.com/event/Peace-of-Augsburg> [accessed: 23/02/2021].

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A Revolutionary System, or Formalised Continuity? An Assessment of the Tudor Military

Imogen Tozer

Abstract

The Tudor period is often characterised as an era of large-scale military ambition, a view driven by Henry VIII's French campaigns, the defence against a potential invasion from Catholic powers after the Break with Rome, and renowned battles such as the Battle of the Spurs and the defeat of the Spanish Armada. However, a vision of a revolutionised military system evolving as a result of this is in fact misleading. Despite grand aspirations, wars with foreign powers, and supressing internal rebellions, there was no mass movement propelling the Tudor military from a traditional system based upon nobility towards a county based, modern regime. While there were arguably more changes seen in the navy, including an uptake in shipbuilding, this alone is not indicative of a Tudor military revolution. This article will examine potential aspects of change, including recruitment and the expansion of armies, and highlight the formalised continuity in a military system that was arguably not revolutionised until the English Civil War.

It has been argued that advancements in warfare, changes in recruitment, and the expansion of armies and the navy led to a Tudor military revolution, moving from an older system based upon nobility to a more formalised, national system, resulting in lasting changes to government and society. While there were certainly developments in this period, the term revolution suggests a complete overthrow of an antiquated system in favour of a new regime, which is overall an inaccurate assessment of military change in the Tudor period. There is something of a split amongst historians on this matter, with revolution having strong advocates including Steven Gunn, who highlighted the decline of noble power, and those who refute this such as Brian Downing, who stated that the Tudors did not achieve a modern military system.[1] Overall, while it is inevitable that there were some developments from 1485-1603, particularly regarding naval warfare, there was not a complete transformation as many aspects remained consistent, including having no standing army, meaning an assessment of formalised continuity rather than revolution is largely accurate.

[1] Steven Gunn, et al., *War, State and Society in England and the Netherlands, 1477-1559,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 215; Brian M. Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 65-6.

A shift in how armies were raised, with noble recruitment from amongst their tenants, servants, and friends, giving way to a modern system based on county militias, has been unconvincingly argued as indicative of a Tudor military revolution. For instance, Michael Braddick suggested that a steady decline in the military power of the nobility meant county militias were the principal method of recruitment by the Elizabethan period.[2] This reasoning is also supported by Gunn, who argued that the "messy" transition of power resulted in a revolutionised system where contingents' drafts from county militias dominated recruitment.[3] While there was certainly some increase in the use of county militias, as demonstrated by levies of militias from 1558 containing tenants of nobility, this does not equate to a military revolution, and can instead be interpreted as an attempt to standardise recruitment rather than diminish noble military influence. Indeed, methods of recruitment were often used in combination, with nobility recruiting both for their personal retinues and acting as commissioners for county militias under different authorities, such as Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in 1558-9. This makes measuring the extent of change difficult, however even if nobles were increasingly recruiting for militias rather than their own retinues, they were still exercising considerable authority over recruitment.[4] This is supported by C.S.L. Davies, who noted that the lack of a coherent, nationalised system meant responsibility was inevitably placed on noble individuals, whether this meant raising militias or retinues.[5] The equation of a modern system with militias is also suggestive that this method was more effective, and perhaps indicative of the belief that noble retinues were dangerous as they had the potential to be used in rebellion against the crown. While Gunn emphasised the civic pride of soldiers, and the status incentives of militias such as London putting badges of swords on their troops, the reputation of the nobility was also at stake, with successful warfare binding them together under the king, reinforcing their relationship.[6] Nobility's wages were also paid from provincial tax levies, highlighting the national aspects of the retinue system and nobles' vested interests in warfare.[7] This supports the view that the Tudor military was formalised rather than revolutionised, and that by acting as commissioners, nobility reinforced their military authority, exercising power beyond their landed estates.

It has also been argued that the changing structure of armies, increasing in size along with a transfer of power from nobility to lieutenants, amounted to a Tudor military revolution. This

[2] Michael Braddick, *State Formation in early modern England c. 1550-1700,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 180.
[3] Steven Gunn, *The English People at war in the age of Henry VIII,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p.31.
[4] Gunn, *The English People at war,* p.31.
[5] C. S. L. Davies, 'Provisions for Armies 1509-1550: A Study in the Effectiveness of Early Tudor Government', *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 17, No. 2 (1964), p.247.
[6] Gunn, *The English People at war*, p.35.
[7] Gunn, *War, State and Society in England and the Netherlands,* p.174.

transformation was highlighted by Geoffrey Parker, who demonstrated there was an increase in military manpower, with 20,000 men raised in the 1550s compared to 30,000 in the 1590s, although he did not specify their uses.[8] Furthermore, J. J. N. McGurk argued lord lieutenants were recognised as the head of militias by the end of the Tudor period, with Braddick expanding on this view by somewhat unconvincingly arguing the decline of great households meant the social structure of noble leadership was disappearing.[9] While there seems to be a general consensus for the growth and changing structure of armies, this is not necessarily evidence for a revolution, as an increase in size surely indicates an expansion of the established system, not the formation of a new one. The increasing responsibility of lieutenants does suggest there was some military development, however this can hardly be called a revolution, as nobility still filled vital roles, such as Lord Howard of Effingham leading English defences against the Spanish Armada in 1588. Additionally, the growth of armies was far slower than general population growth, for instance London alone rose from 60,000 people in 1520 to 200,000 by 1600, demonstrating a 10,000 soldier increase in 40 years was not particularly significant.[10] This was emphasised by MP John Hales, who commented in 1548 that the king's subjects were "woefully diminished", and England lacked sufficient numbers to defend against its enemies, indicating the military was in fact underdeveloped.[11] These factors seem coherent with the formalisation of the Tudor military, not a complete overhaul of an antiquated system.

As the Tudor period can be characterised by political upheaval and strained relations with foreign powers, it could be argued that there was an increased need for armies, resulting in a military revolution from the experience gained. For instance, the Break with Rome heightened England's threat of invasion, with the Pope annulling alliances between Henry VIII and other monarchs, stressing it was their Christian duty to depose him.[12] However, despite this danger, there was no full long-lasting invasion of Tudor England, meaning any urgency to improve and develop the military system was short lived. The vast majority of warfare in this period occurred on the continent, and the most militarily vulnerable time for the dynasty passed after the early years of Henry VII's reign, meaning war was not an everyday occurrence for England. While it is true Henry VIII embarked on voluntary military campaigns, such as invading France in 1513, influenced by tales of warrior kingship, these were largely

[8] Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500 – 1800,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.206.
[9] J. J. N. McGurk, 'The Clergy and the Militia 1580-1610', *History*, Vol. 60, No. 199, (1975) p.198; Braddick, *State Formation in early modern England*, p.181.
[10] Liza Picard, *Cities in Elizabethan England* (2016) <https://www.bl.uk/shakespeare/articles/cities-in-elizabethan-england> [Accessed 12/04/2020].
[11] John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822), pp.352-3.
[12] Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Ecclesiastical History of the Schism of the Kingdom of England: A Spanish Jesuit's History of the English Reformation*, Spencer J. Weinreich (ed. and trans.), (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p.252.

unsuccessful and did little to develop warfare.[13] This conforms to the argument that there was no major military revolution as there was no real need for one, with the Tudors rarely having a serious ongoing reason to enact military reforms. This is supported by Geoffrey Elton, who despite advocating strongly for a Tudor revolution in government, admitted Henry VII's need for a standing army was far less than other countries as he did not need to create a united state.[14] Short bursts of urgency did occasionally prompt military change, such as the construction of Henry VIII's artillery forts in 1539-40, such as Deal in Kent, which diverged from traditional castles in their purely military function. However, these saw limited action as the threat of invasion from France and the Holy Roman Empire subsided. Furthermore, most internal rebellions were rapidly quelled, for instance the Pilgrimage of Grace, deemed the most serious Tudor rebellion by Claire Cross, only took a matter of months to defeat, and the succession crisis of 1553 did not lead to a civil war.[15] Consequently, there was no significant prolonged period of fighting in England that would have increased military experience, meaning a Tudor revolution of tactics and strategy did not occur.

Additionally, the general prescription of 1522 provided the government with what John Goring described as a much needed insight into military power, which if fully utilised may have led to significant improvements in understanding and technique, and so potentially a revolution.[16] For instance, the proscription revealed there were 128,250 able bodied men in 28 counties, demonstrating the amount of soldiers that could be mustered if necessary, with Hall's chronicle noting citizens were also "sworn of what substaunce… thei were of", improving the government's understanding of the available resources.[17] However, the proscription is generally considered to have been more of an administrative achievement as opposed to driving military progression, with Goring suggesting that while this was the closest Tudor England came to a military revolution, Wolsey was ahead of his time, and a modern system was not achieved.[18] This was partly due to resistance caused by the fiscal aspect of the proscription, and the importance not to push the population into rebellion, meaning the insight gained was not fully applied, thus having little effect on Tudor warfare. The 1549 author of the *Discourse of the Commonweal* summarised this, giving a scathing assessment of England's military understanding and resources, deeming it unable to withstand a prolonged

[13] Neil Murphy, 'Violence, Colonization and Henry VIII's Conquest of France, 1544–1546', *Past & Present*, Vol. 233, No. 1, (2016), p.20.
[14] Geoffrey Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, 3rd edn. (London: Routledge, 1991), p.42.
[15] Claire Cross, 'Participants in the Pilgrimage of Grace Rebellion (act. 1536-1537)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (2009), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/95587> [Accessed 12/04/2020]
[16] John Goring, 'The General Proscription of 1522', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 86, (1971), p.683.
[17] Ibid., p. 694; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, *1519 – 1523,* Vol. 3, J. S. Brewer (ed.), (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1867) p.683.
[18] Goring, *The General Proscription of 1522*, p.705.

onslaught, and demonstrating the limited effect of the proscription.[19] Additionally, town musters were not a new occurrence, as highlighted by the survival of a 1457 muster book from Bridport, demonstrating it was not a Tudor novelty to assess the scope of military power and resources, indicating the lack of a military revolution.[20]

Furthermore, developments in warfare, such as improved weaponry and defensive structures may have amounted to a Tudor military revolution if utilised, however there is a general consensus that England was somewhat behind other European powers in the field of military advancement.[21] For instance, Downing convincingly argued that the new developments in warfare did not reach all countries simultaneously, and that separated from the continent, England remained insular, supporting the view that the English military revolution occurred later than the Tudor period.[22] Raymond also highlighted the contrast by using the dispossession of Calais as a key example of England's relative weakness in warfare.[23] This links back to England's lack of need for urgent military improvement, with Elizabeth I only utilising bastions for the Spanish threat in the late 1500s, for instance at Carisbrooke, when they had been developed almost 150 years previously in Italy. Furthermore, David Eltis argued only 7% of Henry VIII's troops used firearms, despite developments to make guns smaller and easier to use in conjunction with traditional techniques such as longbows, as were popular in France, supporting the view that England had no great need to utilise military progression of this period, suggesting a revolution did not occur.[24]

In contrast, naval warfare seems to have advanced further than other aspects of the Tudor military, and is generally considered to have come closest to a complete revolution. This is supported by Elton, who claimed that the great battle stories of Crécy and Agincourt were being replaced by a new desire for naval warfare, and pinpointed the period of change by reasoning England's naval achievements went back no further than Tudor England.[25] While there were naval advancements, for instance Henry VIII buying 35 ships for the royal navy and building 47 of his own at enormous cost (such as spending £8,000 on *Henry Grace a Dieu*), overall naval expansion and development does not seem enough to amount to a full revolution of the entire military system. This is supported by Davies,

[19] *A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm in England*, ed. M. Dewar (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1969) p.36; John Goring, 'Social change and military decline in Tudor England', *History*, Vol. 60, No. 199, (1975), p.185.
[20] Gunn, *The English People at war*, p.35.
[21] David Cressy, *Saltpeter: The Mother of Gunpowder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.5.
[22] Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change,* pp.65-6.
[23] James Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-century Britain and Europe* (London: Taurus Academic Studies, 2007), p.7.
[24] David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in the Sixteenth Century Europe,* (London: IB Tauris Publishers, 1998), p.43.
[25] Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, p.330.

who recognised that although the introduction of a full-time commissariat from 1550 meant the navy was more highly developed than the rest of the military, a standing army and other advancements were still out of the question at this point.[26] Furthermore, nobles had ongoing influence in naval warfare, for instance Thomas Howard II taking up the position of admiral, meaning lieutenants did not entirely supplant them as leading military figures.

Overall, while there were elements of military development in Tudor England, including the growing size of armies and naval expansion, along with a slow shift from the personal authority of nobles raising troops, to the positions they held being the key factor, there was no complete departure from the old in favour of a modern system, meaning the changes were not enough to amount to a revolution. There was substantial continuity between 1485 and 1603, for instance no standing army had been created by Elizabeth I's death, which can be explained by the lack of urgent need for a developed system.[27] Parker was influential in highlighting how unprepared England was for the Spanish Armada, with a weak command structure compared to Spain, suggesting England was still militarily behind Europe in the 1580s, and had not undergone a radical transformation.[28] This supports the view that military revolution in England occurred in a later epoch, and the Tudor military can instead be characterised as formalised continuity.

[26] Davies, *Provisions for armies 1509-1550,* p.239.
[27] N. Younger, 'If the Armada had Landed: A Reappraisal of England's Defences in 1588', *History*, Vol. 93, No. 311, (2008), p. 329.
[28] Geoffrey Parker, 'If the Armada had Landed', *History*, Vol. 61, No. 203, (1976), p. 358.

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Protestant Paranoia or Reality? The Perceived Threat of Catholic Women at Court in Restoration England

Sem Halil

Abstract

There has been a lack of exploration regarding the scholarship surrounding the socio-political and religious influence of female representation in the Restoration court. However, when Charles II ascended to the English throne in 1660, thus marking the reinstatement of royal authority in England after an eleven-year abolition period, both reputable and unrespectable Catholic women in court became a focal point for English Protestants to falsely claim that England was experiencing a Catholic revival. This article will focus specifically on Lady Castlemaine, the Duchess of Portsmouth, Catherine of Braganza, and Mary of Modena, and I will explore what each of these four women symbolised and represented to a hysteric Protestant nation. Within this narrative, I will analyse each women's religiopolitical activity or lack thereof, along with its profound impact on neglected primary and secondary material. Where appropriate, I will refer to the reign of Charles I and the significance of his wife, Henrietta Maria, to draw parallels between her and the leading women in the Restoration Court, and to demonstrate how anxiety towards Catholicism within the English Court remained heightened and unchanged.

Despite the excitement surrounding the Restoration of the English Monarchy in 1660, the socio-political situation was exceptionally fragile due to religious upheaval between Catholics and Protestants. As Catholicism became increasingly threatening to a Protestant majority, it was clear that the growing informal influence and representation of Catholic women within court was fundamental to this perceived threat. As a result, leading women in court, such as Lady Castlemaine, the Duchess of Portsmouth, Catherine of Braganza, and Mary of Modena, became synonymous with certain Catholic behaviours and schemes that the Protestant majority believed were detrimental to England's domestic and international situation.

The perception that Catholicism was a threat from 1660 to 1685 manifested within the increasingly popular narrative that the explicitness and influence of Lady Castlemaine, Charles II's newly converted Catholic mistress, within court intensified English socio-religious discontent. The Protestant majority implied that the presence of Lady Castlemaine was discomforting as she firstly

symbolised and increased previous anxieties surrounding Catholic influence within the royal household of Charles I, and secondly encouraged what the Domestic State Papers on June 16th, 1667 described as "debauchery and drunkenness at Court," both of which were associated with Catholic behaviour."[1] Charles I's marriage to his French Catholic bride, Henrietta Maria, meant that Catholicism became largely prevalent within the Queen's Court, despite Parliamentary fears that the king would become a Catholic sympathiser. Consequently, Alexandra Kate Tompkins highlights how royal policy in the 1630s to 1640s was largely dictated by members of Henrietta Maria's household, such as Sir Kenelm Digby and Viscount Savage, and that the early Stuart period became one notorious for Catholic exploitation of royal authority in their favour.[2] Religious discontent and the negligence of parliamentary concern became two of many reasons for the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642, which led to the abolition of the English Monarchy through Charles I's execution in 1649. Therefore, Protestant fears of Catholic influence within court during the reign of Charles I transferred to the reign of Charles II. The rise of the power of Charles II's mistresses escalated this previous fear, as not only could the king be influenced formally through his ministers, like that which had been experienced under Charles I, but informally through women, such as Lady Castlemaine, in court. Evidence of this can be found through the populace's reaction to English defeat in the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1667, in which Pepys noted court gossip stating that "the night the Dutch burned [the] ships the King did sup with Lady Castlemayne," and that those in court believed that the King cared more for his mistress "than ever he did [about] sav[ing] his own kingdom."[3] Without mention of Lady Castlemaine's political agenda and her lack of popularity in court, Pepys implied that many viewed her as an unhealthy distraction to the king. Many Protestants blamed this on her Catholic nature, as her influence created an unprofessional environment in the royal household whereby the king's ability to support his country in a time of crisis was severely affected.

However, the extent of Lady Castlemaine's political influence cannot be understated and the fear of her position in court was by no means misplaced. Pepys noted how the downfall of the mistress's court rival, the Earl of Clarendon, "was definitely designed in…Lady Castlemaine's chamber" after he publicly stated his desire to limit her pension.[4] Lady Castlemaine not only successfully utilised him as a scapegoat for blame regarding English failure in the Second Anglo-Dutch War but did so, as

[1] 'Charles II - volume 205: June 13-16, 1667', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1667,* Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), (London, 1866), pp. 177-198, British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas2/1667/pp177-19> [accessed 25/03/2021].

[2] Alexandra Kate Tompkins, 'Introduction' in *The English Catholic Issue, 1640-1662: Factionalism, Perceptions and Exploitation*, (London: Queen Mary University of London, 2010), pp.25-26.

[3] Samuel Pepys, *The World of Samuel Pepys,* Robert Latham and Linnet Latham (eds.), (London: Harper Collins, 2000), p.150.

[4] Ibid.

Sonya Wynne emphasised, with the king's support.[5] Furthermore, the chaos of the Bawdy House Riots in 1668 became another means by which English Protestants and dissenters utilised the symbol of Lady Castlemaine to further criticise the immorality and the presence of Catholicism in court. For example, within *The Poor Whores Petition* of 1668, Lady Castlemaine was referred to as a prostitute and fellow 'sister' and was subsequently sarcastically asked for her "protection in the exercise of…Venereal pleasures [like their] sisters [did] at Rome and Venice to his holiness the Pope."[6] While this was in reference explicitly to the inaccurate yet popular belief that the Pope received tax payments from brothels in Rome, Tim Harris asserts that the declaration was alluding to 'the number of Catholics at Court."[7] The existence and printing of the petition demonstrates how Lady Castlemaine's Catholic presence contributed to the perceived threat of Catholicism in the period, as many felt unsettled by the potential impact she could have on the religious policies of the king or how the Catholic minority could utilise her as a unifying figure while under the constraints of the Clarendon Code.[8]

The Duchess of Portsmouth's role in the mediation between Louis XIV and Charles II further enabled Catholicism to be seen as a threat. While this political manoeuvre triggered memories of the consequences of Henrietta Maria's association with France during the reign of Charles I, it also facilitated the growing concern about the agenda of France as the leading Catholic European power at the forefront of the Counter-Reformation in the 1670s. Sara J. Wolfson highlights the origins of concern for French Catholicism in the early Stuart Period when stating how Henrietta Maria's household was not only responsible for the introduction of the "Counter-Reformation [of] French Catholicism into England" in the 1620s, but also for the process of evangelisation undertaken by her priests within Charles I's court.[9] The Protestant population believed that Henrietta Maria observed the agenda of Louis XIII and France through her household, and this made many question her allegiance in Anglo-French affairs. During the 1670s this anxiety was redirected towards the Duchess of Portsmouth, who Wynne argued was a largely unpopular mistress due to the belief that she, like

[5] Sonya Wynne, "Palmer [Née Villiers], Barbara, Countess of Castlemaine And Suo Jure Duchess Of Cleveland (Bap. 1640, D. 1709), Royal Mistress", *Oxford Dictionary Of National Biography*, 2008, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28285?rskey=FIcHkX&result=1#odnb-9780198614128-e-28285-div1-d2041204e243> [accessed 25/03/2021].

[6] Catherine MacLeod & Julia Marciari Alexander (eds.), 'the Poor Whores Petition' in *Painted Ladies: Women at the Court of Charles II,* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2001), p. 208.

[7] Tim Harris, 'The Bawdy House Riots Of 1668', *The Historical Journal*, 29:3, (1986), p.541.

[8] I separated this section from the previous paragraph about Lady Castlemaine as a result of feedback given to me by Professor Maria Hayward.

[9] Sara J. Wolfson, Practical Proselytizing: The Impact of Counter-Reformation Catholicism at the Caroline Court, 1625–26 in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy,* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), p. 45.

Henrietta Maria, promoted a French agenda as a Catholic.[10] It is important to note that the informal influence of the Duchess of Portsmouth is not well documented, therefore much of the evidence available derives from anonymous gossip and diarists, such as John Evelyn. As a result, it is important to assess the connection between public opinion of the mediation of the Duchess of Portsmouth and paranoia, along with the role this played in Catholicism being a perceived threat from 1660 to 1685. Firstly, an anonymous pamphlet called the *Articles of High-Treason and Other High-Crimes and Misdemeanours against the Duchess of Portsmouth* (1680) claimed the Duchess was guilty of "maintain[ing]…fatal and destructive correspondencey and alliance between England and France."[11] This was in response to the fact that the Duchess was notorious for utilising her apartments to allow French ambassadors to have informal and private audiences with Charles away from the rest of his court, and this became increasingly useful when the French wanted an Anglo-French alliance against other European powers. For example, in the late 1670s when England was being persuaded to side against France in the upcoming war, a popular stance of the population, the Duchess gave the French ambassador, Barrillon, access to Charles II to prevent this.[12] Another example is put forth by Charles Ralph Boxer, who highlighted the unpopularity of the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672, as not only was it a reminder of England's "alliance with Catholic France [against] Protestant Holland," in the Third Anglo-Dutch War, but the act itself adhered to the agenda of Louis XIV.[13] This Act was passed a year after the Duchess became a mistress and it is likely that her mediation between the two nations would have fuelled the idea that she was facilitating this type of French influence in England. John Evelyn substantiates this notion, stating that the Duchess came to England "on purpose to entice Charles into a union with Louis XIV; a design which unhappily succeeded but too well."[14] Evelyn's disappointed declaration reflected the view of the Protestant population towards France. Louis XIV's reign was synonymous not only with absolutism but, as Andrew Mansfield argued, the persecution of Protestants, namely the Huguenots in France.[15] Therefore, Evelyn reflected how English Protestants feared that the Duchess of Portsmouth's mediation between the kings would enable Louis XIV to force England's conversion to Catholicism indefinitely. In reality, Wynne contends that during informal

[10] Sonya Wynne, "Kéroualle, Louise Renée De Penancoët De, Suo Jure Duchess Of Portsmouth And Suo Jure Duchess Of Aubigny In The French Nobility (1649–1734)", *Oxford Dictionary Of National Biography*, 2008, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15460#odnb-9780198614128-e-15460-div1-d670917e134> [accessed 25/03/2021].

[11] *Articles of High-Treason and Other High-Crimes and Misdemeanours against the Duchess of Portsmouth,* (London, 1680).

[12] Wynne, "Kéroualle, Louise Renée De Penancoët De, Suo Jure Duchess of Portsmouth And Suo Jure Duchess of Aubigny In The French Nobility (1649–1734)".

[13] Charles Ralph Boxer, 'Some Second Thoughts on The Third Anglo-Dutch War, 1672-1674', in *Transactions of The Royal Historical Society*, 19, (1969), p.74.

[14] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn Ed. William Bray,* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons 1920), p.56.

[15] Andrew Mansfield, 'The reign of Louis XIV: absolute monarchy' in *Ideas of Monarchical Reform,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 116.

meetings the Duchess often sided with the opinions of Charles II and did not necessarily promote French interests, but merely facilitated the conversation.[16] Despite the Duchess' influence being limited in theory, her position in court generated anxiety. To the Protestant majority, she symbolised the French Catholic influence across England as she had the potential to shift religious politics in a time of political discontent in Europe.

Catherine of Braganza's household, along with her support of Popery and the reappointment of Catholic Bishops within the English Court, consolidated her position within the fictitious Popish Plot of 1678, thus aiding the perceived Catholic threat from 1660 to 1685. Significantly, Catherine's role as a Catholic Queen was identical to that of her Catholic predecessor and mother-in-law, Henrietta Maria. While Catherine and Henrietta Maria had a good relationship, their marriages and households also shared many similarities. For example, the marriage treaty of Charles I and Henrietta Maria gave Maria access to a Catholic Chapel with Catholic staff despite legislative obstructions.[17] A similar agreement was made in the marriage treaty of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza as, although having slightly less than Maria, her household also housed priests who held mass importance to the Catholic minority.[18] Although Catherine was far less extreme than Henrietta Maria, viewed as a religious radical, the imitation of her court was considered alarming due to what she and her court represented to English Catholics from 1662 to 1685, as well as the fact that it enabled there to be a constant Catholic sympathiser and Catholic representation in royal spaces. Another similarity the two shared was their desire to support Catholics through creating a safe space for them to worship. For example, despite it going against the Clarendon Code of the 1660s, Wynne contends that Catherine allowed English Catholics to attend her chapel and was largely proactive in her desire to reappoint bishops and cardinals in the hope that English Catholics would be unified and supported.[19] In 1671 an ambassador from Venice described Catherine as someone who caused "the free exercise of the Roman Church to glow amid the fog of these heresies."[20] This notion was particularly threatening to

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[16] Wynne, "Kéroualle, Louise Renée De Penancoët De, Suo Jure Duchess of Portsmouth And Suo Jure Duchess Of Aubigny In The French Nobility (1649–1734)".

[17] Caroline M. Hibbard, "Henrietta Maria [Princess Henrietta Maria Of France] (1609–1669), Queen Of England, Scotland, And Ireland, Consort Of Charles I", *Oxford Dictionary Of National Biography,* 2008 <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12947?rskey=fIT4PP&result=3#odnb-9780198614128-e-12947-div1-d155185e559> [accessed 25/03/2021]

[18] Sonya Wynne, "Catherine [Catherine Of Braganza, Catarina Henriqueta De Bragança] (1638–1705), Queen Of England, Scotland, And Ireland, Consort Of Charles II", *Oxford Dictionary Of National Biography,* 2008 <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4894?rskey=gHud6r&result=1>, [accessed 25/03/2021].

[19] Ibid.

[20] 'Venice: June 1671, 1-10', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 37, 1671-1672*, ed. Allen B Hinds (London, 1939), pp. 53-73. *British History Online,* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol37/pp53-73> [accessed 25/03/2021].

English Protestants as it appeared as though their queen was protecting and harbouring Catholics despite attempts to suppress the Catholic minority, firstly through the Clarendon Code of the 1660s and later, the First and Second Test Acts of 1673 and 1678. Moreover, Catherine was eager to re-establish England's relationship with the Pope, and Wynne argues that she did so through sending Richard Bellings, her principal secretary, to deliver letters to the Pope from the early to late 1660s.[21] As a result, Catherine was implicated in the Popish Plot of 1678, whereby she and her household were accused of attempting to assassinate Charles II to reinstate Catholicism and restore the influence of the Pope. This was significant as fear of popery was prevalent throughout the Stuart period, firstly due to the Catholic origins of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, and secondly, due to the rumoured participation of the Pope and his Catholic followers in the orchestration of the Great Fire of London in 1666. This hatred led to Pope-Burning Processions and broadsides, one of the most famous broadsides being from 1679 and labelled *The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, Cardinalls, Jesuits, Fryers*. Along with an image of the Pope being assaulted by a mob, the broadside claimed to be the "just and generous detestation and hatred of the English nation against the tyranny and superstition of the Popish Religion."[22] Sheila Williams substantiates how the Popish Plot and the Pope-Burning Processions reflected the population's disgust regarding the mass number of people accused of scheming with the Pope, one of these being Catherine herself.[23] Consequently, many felt betrayed as their queen had advocated for figures, such as Catholic Priests, who they described as giving "pardons very freely to those who would murder Protestants [such as the king]…proclaiming it Meritorious."[24] While the claims against Catherine were false, the nature of her chapel and advocation of popery aided in the perceived threat of Catholicism, as she was a woman who held a respected position in the royal household and used her influence to protect Catholicism in a period when there was not only mass legislation against it, but also significant resentment towards the Pope.

James II's conversion to Catholicism and his marriage to the Catholic Mary of Modena further consolidated Catholicism as a perceived threat in the 1670s. Both events brought about the Exclusion and Succession Crises of 1679 to 1681, which not only caused political upheaval within parliament but equally aided anxieties surrounding French influence in England. Mary of Modena was disliked among the population, firstly because she was a Catholic, but secondly because her Italian family had a good

[21] Wynne, "Catherine [Catherine Of Braganza, Catarina Henriqueta De Bragança] (1638–1705), Queen of England, Scotland, And Ireland, Consort Of Charles II".
[22] The British Museum, *The Solemn Mock Procession Of The Pope, Cardinalls, Jesuits, Fryers &C. Through the City of London*, November the 17th, 1679, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1849-0315-68> [accessed 25/03/2021].
[23] Sheila Williams, "The Pope-Burning Processions Of 1679, 1680 And 1681", *Journal of The Warburg And Courtauld Institutes*, 21:1/2 (1958), p.104.
[24] *The Solemn Mock Procession Of The Pope, Cardinalls, Jesuits, Fryers &C. Through the City of London*.

relationship with Louis XIV who had publicly approved of her marriage to James. In August 1673, a Venetian ambassador stated how he noticed that the English population was suspicious of the marriage as they viewed it "as of French contriving."[25]

This observation of paranoia was substantiated within the House of Commons in 1973, as the minister, Henry Powle, argued that the marriage of James and Mary would be detrimental, due to Mary's link with Rome and the subsequent potential for France to *"*carry on their practices amongst [them and] penetrate [the king's] most secret councils*."*[26] Moreover, upon the arrival of Mary in 1673 it was reported that a "Pope of 50 [pounds] was burnt in Southwark.*"*[27] Despite having no political influence in England at the time, Mary's arrival alone intensified the perceived threat of Catholicism in the period as she was believed to be a spy of both Louis XIV and Rome. Powle's declaration suggests a fear that, like Catherine of Braganza, the presence of Mary of Modena would unify Catholics and encourage opposition to religious reform, which would prove catastrophic given the religious circumstances in Europe at the time. While much of the speculation about Mary was false, the reaction to her arrival once again demonstrated how paranoia plagued the population who used public displays of protest and rumours to mask their increasing fear with anger. Furthermore, the prospect of a Catholic succession was equally alarming as a result of the political climate in Europe. Due to Catherine of Braganza's infertility, any children birthed by Mary would likely succeed to the throne and Parliament attempted to pass, as William Speck contends, bills from 1679 and 1681 that would exclude both James and his offspring from ascending to the English throne.[28] Moreover, Mary and James were further considered unsuitable successors due to being implicated in the Popish Plot of 1678. Mark Goldie argued that they were condemned due to the "incriminating correspondence" between Edward Coleman and Père La Chaise, both correspondents of Mary and Louis XIV at the peak of religious tensions between England and France.[29] However, Andrew Barclay highlights the

[25] 'Venice: August 1673', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 38, 1673-1675*, ed. Allen B Hinds (London, 1947), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol38/pp81-99> [accessed 25/03/2021].

[26] 'Debates in 1673: October', in *Grey's Debates of the House of Commons: Volume 2*, Anchitell Grey (ed.) (London, 1769), *British History Online,*<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/greys-debates/vol2/pp182-215> [accessed 25/03/2021].

[27] 'Charles II: December 1673', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1673-5,* ed. F H Blackburne Daniell (London, 1904), *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas2/1673-5/pp40-80> [accessed 25/03/2021].

[28] William Speck, "James II And VII (1633–1701), King Of England, Scotland, And Ireland", *Oxford Dictionary Of National Biography,* 2009, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14593?rskey=3HDNKS&result=1#odnb-9780198614128-e-14593-div1-d31292e1715> [accessed 25/03/2021].

[29] Mark Goldie, 'Politics and Religion in the Era of the Entring Book' in *Roger Morrice and The Puritan Whigs,* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 5.

implications of this accusation, stating that it was unlikely that Mary had any knowledge of the correspondence and that her trip to the Netherlands to visit Princess Mary around a similar time of the plot was an unlucky coincidence as opposed to an incriminating political move.[30] Around a similar time, Mary was accused of being the "Pope's eldest daughter."[31] This implied the willingness of English Protestants, particularly those in politics or court, to condemn and create lies about women in respectable positions, partially because it was an easy way of incriminating the men they associated with, in this context, James, but also because there was an unspoken understanding that the informal influence of women could be fundamental in a time of political turmoil. Therefore, Mary's support of Louis XIV would have increased the idea of Catholicism as a threat to England because of her position as the Duchess of York. Ultimately, Protestants penalised Mary as a unifying tactic, as she was an easy figure to capitalise on because of her religion and her lack of any real political significance in England.

In conclusion, the explicitness, symbolism, and politics of Catholic women within the English Court intensified the idea of Catholicism as a perceived threat from 1660 to 1685. Protestants viewed the threat of the mistresses as different from that of Catherine and Mary, as the mistresses embodied immoral Catholic principles that negatively impacted and exploited England's domestic and international situation, while Mary and Catherine were unifying figures for the Catholic minority in England. However, the commonality between them was the populace's heightened hysteria as this, accompanied by the mistresses' informal influence, as well as the roles of Catherine and Mary in the Popish Plot and Succession, turned them into symbols of significant Catholic power that threatened English Protestantism and the Royal Family. More often than not, anxiety about the agenda of Louis XIV and the Counter-Reformation facilitated the perception of these women as encouraging the threat of Catholicism, with rumour and speculation consolidating this. Be that as it may, the resemblance of these women to Henrietta Maria, her household, and her ministers, was equally accountable for their image as Charles I's reign had been a fragile social, political, and religious period, and any similarities between his court and Charles II's would have contributed to the hysteria. Therefore, not only did Protestants project their hysteria onto these women, thus marking them as representatives of Catholic dominance, but they used their actions and varying positions of influence to consolidate what they believed to be a Catholic revival in England.

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[30] Andrew Barclay, "Mary [Mary Of Modena] (1658–1718), Queen Of England, Scotland, And Ireland, Consort Of James II And VII", *Oxford Dictionary Of National Biography*, 2008, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18247?rskey=BLev8e&result=2#odnb-9780198614128-e-18247-div1-d408203e413> [accessed 25/03/2021].

[31] 'Preface', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1673-5,* F H Blackburne Daniell (ed.) (London, 1904), *British History Online,* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas2/1673-5/v-lvi> [accessed 25/03/2021].

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A Feminist Critique of Early Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism

Joshua McDonogh-Small

Abstract

The rise of early Indian nationalism in the 19th Century has often been viewed positively. Leading reformers under British imperial rule were Rammohun Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, who have been depicted in positive terms, due to their impact aiding Indian women's rights. But they can be criticised for working within the confines of British imperial rule, and Indian orthodox traditions, instead of challenging the patriarchal power structures under which they lived. The effects of early nationalists, and British imperialist approaches to challenging sexism in India were often detrimental to Indian women, who were caught between the competing interests of Indian and British authorities. This article will judge the extent to which Roy and Vidyasagar, as well as British imperial authorities, were able to truly combat sexism within these institutions, and behave in a manner that could be considered feminist. In other words, this will be a discussion of whether these competing patriarchal authorities were truly emancipatory for Indian women.

The nature of British imperial reform policy, as well as the efforts of early Indian nationalists, had both positive and negative consequences for Indian women's rights. Partha Chatterjee's article, *Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India,* elucidated the means by which enforced changes to controversial Indian traditions were used as a means to control women, even when men who changed the law on these issues were trying to aid women's rights. Early nationalists, such as Rammohun Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, campaigned voraciously for changes to imperial law on the issues of sati (Hindu widow immolation), and widow remarriage respectively. By pressuring the colonial government to change the laws on sati and widow remarriage, these early nationalists were able to bring Indian tradition into modernity, and help Indian women gain more rights. But early Indian nationalists brought Indian traditions into modernity by placing Indian women at the centre of religious tradition, whilst still rendering these women powerless to Indian male oversight. By doing this, the early nationalists were merely shifting patriarchal[1] power from British imperialism to Indian nationalism.

Imperialists used debates on sati and widow remarriage to present Indian tradition as being in need of 'civilising' by western liberalism. In this way, imperialists aided women by giving them more rights,

[1] By 'patriarchy', I mean male-dominated institutions and power structures.

but they kept these issues within the confines of the British imperial system, which was inherently white, male dominated. The nature of infanticides will also be explored too, as women who committed these crimes, or were the victims, were trapped between imperial laws and orthodox Indian religious traditions. The discussion of infanticides will serve as an overarching example of why changes to the laws on gender did not go far enough, as the patriarchal frameworks of imperial policy and Indian religious tradition still exerted a dominating authority over women. As such, Indian nationalism and British imperialism invented new ways to control the Indian female population through patriarchy, despite paradoxically also giving Indian women more rights.

The discourse will be structured chronologically for sati, and then there will be a separate chronology for widow remarriage. In this way, each debate will be explored separately, with nationalism as the starting point of each debate, and imperialist policies as the consequences, and infanticide as the overarching example of the two patriarchal systems co-existing at the expense of women's rights. But before any discussions of imperialism and nationalism's impact on women begins, there must first be a definitive measure of what can be considered 'feminist.'

Karen Offen provided the starting point for a definition of feminism with three criteria: recognizing the validity of women's own interpretations of their lived experiences in assessing their status in society relative to men, exhibiting consciousness of institutionalized injustice toward women as a group in a given society, and advocating the elimination of that injustice by challenging the coercive authority that upholds male prerogatives in that particular culture.[2] This provided a broad framework for what could be seen as feminist from an objective, modern lens. Of course, there has always been an inherent bias in judging past events by modern standards, as the modes of thought and condition of women's rights were in their infancy in the nineteenth century. But the definition can still be an effective measurement of whether modern feminism was prevalent in nineteenth century India, or at least whether there were feminist aspects to imperial and nationalist behaviour, even if they fell short of institutional change.

Offen's definition certainly needed refinement though. 'Feminism' was a historically euro-centric word, which was attributed to Charles Fourier's use of the word 'feminisme' in the 1830s.[3] It was a notoriously Euro-American phrase that was based on the oppression western women faced. The type of cultural oppression women in Europe and America faced was different to what Indian women faced.[4] Women's rights organisations in India rejected the word feminism for that reason when it was exported,

[2] Karen Offen, 'Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach', *Signs,* Vol. 14, No. 1 (1988), p.152.
[3] Ibid, p.126.
[4] Mrinalini Sinha, 'A Global Perspective on Gender: What's South Asia Got to Do with It?', in *South Asian Feminisms*, Ania Loomba & Ritty A. Lukose (eds.) (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), p.357.

as it did not fit their specific needs for emancipation.[5] Maitrayee Chaudhuri explained that this was not necessarily a disavowal of feminist visions, but rather,

> "a search for a different language in which the cultural specificities of Indian feminist desires could be articulated at a time when the discourse of 'difference' [between western feminism and South Asian feminism] was both absent and illegitimate in the dominant public sphere."[6]

It was a search for a more authentic feminism that Indian women could relate to. Therefore, the definition will judge whether imperial reforms and nationalist efforts were feminist, but also whether they were specifically helpful with rectifying the unique mixture of oppression Indian women of the nineteenth century faced. In other words, being an Indian feminist in the nineteenth century meant specifically erasing colonial patriarchal oppression, as well as sexism in Indian communities.

Rammohun Roy campaigned for the British government to abolish sati. To a degree, he was just working within the confines of the colonial system by asking for the British to abolish sati. Indeed, as Lata Mani showed, the British did not merely outlaw sati because it was a 'barbarous' tradition. They actively shaped Indian tradition through their orientalist readings of Hindu scriptures, so that the end result was a perspective that made sati seem like a problem that afflicted most Indians. In actual fact, this was far from the truth.[7] Roy's importance emerged here, as he was not merely fighting against the practice of sati itself. He was challenging the British liberalist, hegemonic assumption that most Indians were immoral and incapable of making decisions for themselves.[8] When viewed in this light, Roy could be seen as an Indian feminist.

Roy was willing to work with the British to push Hindu tradition into modernity by outlawing sati, but he was not a man resigned to the confines of British imperialism. He was an early nationalist who sought to reimagine what Indian modernity could look like by incorporating aspects of western and Indian socio-economic ideas, which would help Indian men and women.[9] In this way, he can be viewed as a man who specifically helped Indian women fight imperial oppression, as well as western, liberal patriarchy. But

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[5] Joanna Liddle & Rama Joshi, 'Gender and Imperialism in British India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 20, no. 43, (October 1985), p.WS72.

[6] Maitrayee Chaudhuri, 'Feminism', in *Key Concepts in Modern Indian Studies*, Gita Dharampal-Frick et al. (eds.) (New York: New York University Press, 2015), p.84.

[7] Lata Mani, 'Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India', in *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History*, Kumkum Sangari & Sudesh Vaid (eds.) (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), p.90.

[8] 'Lord William Bentinck on the Suppression of Sati*',* 8 November 1829, in *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy: 1750-1921,* Arthur B. Keith (ed.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), vol. 1, pp.208-226, in *Fordham University Modern History Sourcebook*, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1829bentinck.asp> [Accessed 18/02/2021].

[9] Johannes Voigt, 'The Growth of Nationalism In 19th Century India', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 24 (1961), pp.244-245.

his methods were not without fault. His work during the Bengal Renaissance was a precursor to Indian nationalism, which, as Chatterjee showed, was responsible for putting women at the centre of an emerging Indian modernity. This was done in a restrictive way, where the 'new woman' was given greater rights, but only at the behest of a male-dominated Hindu system that dictated what they could and could not do.[10] It was perhaps not Roy's fault that Indian nationalism emerged like this, but he was nevertheless an early proponent of that system. As such, he can be viewed as liberal for his time, but not a complete Indian feminist.

One of the first discussions of social reform to women's rights by British imperialists was on sati. Lord Bentinck described it as "a foul stain upon British rule," and he outlawed the practice as Governor-General of India.[11] This policy has often been seen positively in terms of women's rights, as outlawing sati prevented the death of thousands of widows.[12] Nevertheless, Lata Mani showed that imperial debates around sati were part of a larger cultural constraint being placed upon women as the basis of an attempt to reformulate Indian tradition by imperialists. Within this, women were seen as the basis, or centre, of tradition in India.[13] This created a constraint upon Indian women as British imperialists sought to shape Indian traditions as barbarous or degenerate. This meant showing that sati was afflicting all Indian women, as it became a representation of the whole of Indian tradition from the perspective of imperialists.[14] One needs only look at Bentinck's speech which depicted "the consignment year after year of hundreds of innocent victims to a cruel and untimely end," to prove that the British created this narrative.[15] What he does not mention of course was that the rate of sati was relatively low and, although horrifying, it was a tradition only practised by higher castes in certain regions of India.

From Bentinck's rhetoric it seemed that British colonialists were challenging the male institutional authority of Hindu culture. But they were merely replacing it (by imposing western, liberalist laws) with a new kind of patriarchy based on the view that western liberalism was 'superior' to Indian traditions.[16] As such, there should be scepticism cast on any claims that British imperialist policy on sati was purely feminist, because it was just a substitution from Hindu to colonial male-dominated power systems.

[10] Partha Chatterjee, 'Colonialism Nationalism and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 16, no. 4 (November 1989), p.627.
[11] 'Lord William Bentinck on the Suppression of Sati', <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1829bentinck.asp> [Accessed 18/02/2021].
[12] Mani, p.89.
[13] Chatterjee, pp.625-627.
[14] Mani, pp.90-92.
[15] 'Lord William Bentinck on the Suppression of Sati', <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1829bentinck.asp> [Accessed 18/02/2021].
[16] Chatterjee, pp.622-623.

Therefore, reforms to the law of sati were beneficial to women's rights, which constituted part of feminism, but they were not completely feminist as women still remained under patriarchal influence.

Another issue that was shared between British imperialists and early Indian nationalists was widow remarriage. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was a staunch advocate of allowing widows to remarry. Much like Roy, he worked within the confines of the imperial system to persuade British officials to pass the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act.[17] This was certainly a challenge to Hindu patriarchal orthodoxy, but his concern was not just to challenge pre-existing Hindu traditions. Rather, his aims were specifically geared towards helping women. He said as such in *Hindu Widow Marriage* when he criticised scholars for trying to win small victories over each other in debates, rather than focusing on the finer points of the challenges Indian women faced.[18] Indeed, in this regard he certainly was a feminist, as he focused on winning widows the basic right to exist 'normally' after their husband's death.

Vidyasagar's writing has some hypocritical elements though. His campaign, although successful in terms of imperial recognition, was rather ineffective at actually helping Hindu widows. Indeed, the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act was mostly unsuccessful at giving widows more rights, as not many of them used the act. He also always operated within the imperial system, and he did not appear to ever challenge the actual patriarchal institution of imperialism.[19] It seems that Vidyasagar had good intentions for Hindu widows, and he certainly helped some women, but he was unable to challenge the institutionalised sexism that pervaded in imperial culture. Therefore, he can be viewed as partially feminist for his attempts at reform, but his inability to actively help with widow remarriage in any practical manner made him less feminist than Roy, and only as feminist as the imperial system he co-existed under.

Despite Vidyasagar's failings, he did manage to persuade imperial officials to pass the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, and there were limited successes in the application of this statute. Lucy Carroll noted that the Allahabad High Court's decisions on widow remarriage were not only humane, but also practical to the specific customs and traditions of each Hindu woman's needs.[20] Indeed, in the case of *Har Saran das v. Nandi,* the Allahabad High Court found in favour of a sweeper's widow whose property rights were challenged by her late husband's brothers upon her remarriage. The court stated that the intention

[17] Manmay Zafar, 'Social Reform in Colonial Bengal: Revisiting Vidyasagar', *Philosophy and Progress*, vol. 55, No, 1-2 (2016), p.110.
[18] Ishvarchandra Vidyasagar, *Hindu Widow Marriage*, Brian A. Hatcher (trans.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p.57.
[19] Zafar, pp.110-119.
[20] Lucy Carroll, 'Law Custom and Statutory Social Reform: The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856', in *Women and Social Reform in Modern India: A Reader*, Sumit Sarkar & Tanika Sarkar (eds.), (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), p.93.

of the widows' remarriage act was not to place widows who had been good to their husbands at any disadvantage.[21] This can be backed up by looking at the act itself, which said that:

> 'a widow shall not, by reason of her re-marriage, forfeit any property or any right to which she would otherwise be entitled; and every widow who has re-married shall have the same rights of inheritance as she would have had, had such marriage been her first marriage.'[22]

These rulings can be considered feminist, because they gave women more rights to property, and they challenged Hindu patriarchal authority.

In contrast to Allahabad's interpretation, the Calcutta High Court and the Bombay High Court mostly used the ancient Brahmanical texts as a means to make decisions quickly, due to their high case load. These decisions were often to the detriment of widows, as in the case of *Parekh Ranochor v. Bai Vakhat*, where it was decided that a Hindu widow should lose her late husband's property once she decided to remarry.[23] Rulings of this nature cannot be considered feminist, because they deprived women of property rights, and arguably went against the intention of the Hindu Widows Remarriage Act.[24] Indeed, the majority of decisions found in favour of Hindu orthodox positions, and as such, imperial policies on widow remarriage were mostly anti-feminist, despite some positive outcomes.[25]

Infanticides committed by Indian women showed a different side to the nature of women's rights in nineteenth century India. The Female Infanticide Prevention Act was implemented in 1870 after British missionaries and social reformers' outcries at the commonality of the crime in colonial India, especially in the north-west. In this sense it was similar to sati and widow remarriage, as British liberalism was being imposed to 'civilise' Indians once again. But there were marked differences in this social issue because it came after the 1857 Sepoy Uprising. This revolt saw the British government take complete control of India, and more importantly, it caused a complete change of policy in favour of non-intervention in Indian socio-religious matters.[26]

The alteration of imperial policy towards non-interventionism led to differing treatments of Indian women in comparison to widow remarriage and sati (both of which were pre-1857). Women who killed their children, or were victims of infanticide killings themselves, were not placed at the centre of tradition

[21] Carroll, p.81.
[22] 'The Hindu Widows Remarriage Act 1856', PDF file, <http://displacementsolutions.org/wp-content/uploads/THE-HINDU-WIDOWS%3F-REMARRIAGE-ACT-1856.pdf> [Accessed 18/02/2021].
[23] Carroll, p.84.
[24] The Hindu Widows Remarriage Act 1856.
[25] Carroll, p.93.
[26] 'Proclamation by the Queen in Council to the Princes Chiefs and People of India', 1 November 1858, in *British Library*, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/proclamation-by-the-queen-in-council-to-the-princes-chiefs-and-people-of-india> [Accessed 18/02/2021].

and modernity. Instead, they were presented as the outcasts of society, or as a failure in Indian families that needed to be hidden. These women were controlled by a patriarchal, colonial system that exerted its authority powerfully through the law. This was done through the Female Infanticide Prevention Act. Kamala Visweswaran showed that when this act was used to intervene in Indian matters, the female defendants were either presented as victims incapable of protecting themselves, or, when the government did not intervene, they were treated as criminals by their communities. The colonial government would often not intervene, because they were fearful of angering the Indian princes, who were defensive of their rights and privileges after the rebellion of 1857. But if there was no intervention, the communities these women came from would often treat them as criminals, because the family would be held responsible for any misdeeds.

The treatment of women involved in infanticides showed how colonial needs to prevent uprisings, and Indian needs to prevent shame coming upon their families, were put above the needs of women who were forced outside the social constraints of colonial and Indian society. As Visweswaran put it, "women were therefore identified with their communities in order to be protected from them, or prosecuted for deviating from them."[27] And thus, a paradox ensued in which Indian women could neither escape their predicament with legal remedy, nor could they seek protection from their communities. In this sense, the colonial change of policy was even less feminist than its predecessors, as women were not afforded any 'new' rights like the ones liberalism had afforded them under the sati or widow remarriage laws, and they were left with no one in their communities to protect them. There was no validity given to these women's often traumatic experiences, and no consciousness of the institutional injustices they faced. As such, colonial policies on infanticides had very little, if any, feminist aspects to it, and it served as evidence that gender laws got worse.

Changes to women's rights were gradual, and these changes happened within the two patriarchal power structures of Indian nationalism and British imperialism. Indeed, imperialists and nationalists had positive intent to aid women's rights, but they failed to overcome the broader structural problems towards women's rights that they were complicit in. Rammohun Roy was perhaps the most feminist of the early nationalists, as he helped to have sati abolished, and he provided some measure of critique to the British, male-dominated hegemony. However, he was unable to completely separate himself from colonial oversight. British policies in response to his critiques were somewhat effective, but they were laced with hypocrisy, just as Roy's work was. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar had a similar story, but he was unable to even question British patriarchal structures, as he preferred to campaign within them. His success in

[27] Visweswaran, Kamala, '"My Words Were Not Cared for": Customary Law Criminality and the "Woman Question" in Late Colonial India', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (June 2018), pp.163-164.

legalising widow remarriage was also somewhat ineffective, as hardly any widows used the act, and it was often just used as a means to uphold Hindu orthodoxy under British law. The British policy on infanticide seemed to merge the worst parts of these attempts at reform into a consistently brutal policy. It not only failed to help women's rights, but it was actually used as a means to uphold British and Indian patriarchal structures. Viewed in this way, Chatterjee was correct to infer that nationalist and colonialist reforms were merely a means to change the way women were controlled, rather than truly emancipating them. Lata Mani's article also provided important insight into how British institutions moulded the narrative on Indian 'barbarity' by using ancient Brahmanical texts that were not relevant to the traditions of nineteenth century India. The problem these issues have shown could be seen as a reflection of modern patriarchal domination. Clearly, attempts to reform institutions that have inherently been geared towards the male domination of women cannot provide long-term solutions to sexism.

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Remembering the Prince Consort: How the Collective Memory of Prince Albert was Constructed after his Death

Maisy Rampton

Abstract

After his sudden passing in 1861, the people of Great Britain rushed to mourn Prince Albert with a number of schemes intended to build memorials for him in cities up and down the country. Despite this clear enthusiasm from the British public, Queen Victoria remained concerned that her husband may not have been dutifully remembered by all as she had wished. By utilising Albert's involvement in the defining moment of the 19th century, The Great Exhibition, the Queen and her peers began to manufacture a posthumous identity for the Prince Consort to secure his place in the collective memory of Britons. This article seeks to understand the ways in which Queen Victoria attempted to pedal a particular image of her husband after his passing and asks, was it really necessary?

Following his marriage to Queen Victoria in 1840, Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha became a well-known figure of Victorian society, though his abrupt ascension to British royalty did not immediately award him the public's affection. Initially, Prince Albert was mistrusted because of his foreign background and behaviours, and due to his precarious position as husband to the reigning monarch, the public failed to warm to him.[1] Throughout his twenty-one years as a British royal, Albert had gained the favour and respect of the public and his peers, having established a sturdy image of himself as a warm and loving father, a dedicated philanthropist and an industrious patron of the arts and sciences - his most significant achievement being The Great Exhibition.

Despite his life of service to the nation in a variety of areas, Albert's crucial role in The Great Exhibition and the development of Victorian art and science are the features of his persona most commonly celebrated. This essay will explore the ways in which The Great Exhibition impacted the collective memory of Prince Albert and to what extent this memory was purposefully constructed after his death. This Essay will make use of the concept of collective memory through Nicholas Russell's definition as a memory attributed to more than one person and thus susceptible to manipulation, as well as Pierre Nora's work on *Les Lieux de Memoires* or 'memory sites' to suggest how an intended

[1] Elisabeth Darby and Nicola Smith, *The cult of the Prince Consort* (London, Yale University Press, 1983), p.1.

memory of a person or event maybe appropriated and engineered.[2] It will explore how a specific *Les Lieux de Memoire,* The Albert Memorial in Kensington Gardens, was used by Queen Victoria to ensure the immortalisation of Albert through his involvement with The Great Exhibition.

Though there is a good amount of scholarly debate on the extent to which Prince Albert was involved in the organisation of The Great Exhibition, there can be no doubt that his was a pioneering intelligence in the formation of the event. Roger Fulford has argued that without the support and influence of the Prince, The Great Exhibition could never have been properly executed.[3] The title of the exhibition itself was chiefly devised by Albert to include 'all nations', a name that reflected the Prince's ambitious wish for an international exhibition.[4] The degree to which Albert was involved in the minute details of the whole exhibition varies across all historians and their arguments. What is unanimously agreed amongst the majority however, is that the aims of the exhibition grew significantly thanks to Prince Albert's influence and that the themes of the exhibition reflect the Prince's own personal characteristics.[5] Perhaps the difficulty in identifying how much credit is due to the Prince for The Great Exhibition is derived from his own unwillingness to grant himself any credit; primary sources regularly comment on Albert's self-effacing manner. The royal biographer, Theodore Martin, expresses in the Prince's own biography: 'great as his triumph, he never says a word about it',[6] here we can understand that Albert's own modesty may act as a barrier when attempting to discern his role in the organisation of The Great Exhibition.

What can be under no doubt, however, is the popular success of The Great Exhibition. Following years of preparation and opposition, the exhibition opened to a crowd of over 25,000 people and a triumphant opening ceremony on 1st May 1851.[7] Throughout its 6 months open to the public, the exhibition attracted six million visitors, and made a surplus profit of £180,000.[8] Even long-time critics of the Prince and his exhibition came forward in support of the undeniable success of the exhibition.[9] After just 11 years as a British royal and by the age of 32, Albert had engineered the most defining cultural moment of the 19th century and the most acclaimed spectacle in the history of the

[2] Nicholas Russell, 'Collective memory before and after Halbwachs', *The French Review*, 79 (2006), pp. 792-804 (pp. 792-793). And Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History*: Les Lieux de Mémoire' in Representations,* 26 (1989) Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory (1989), pp.7-24 (p.8).
[3] Roger Fulford, *The Prince Consort*, (London: Macmillan, 1966), p.217.
[4] Robert Rhodes James*, Albert, Prince Consort: a biography* (London, Hamish Hamilton Ltd, 1983), p.195.
[5] K.W Luckhurst, 'The Great Exhibition of 1851', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts,* 99 (1951), pp 413-456 (p.421). And Rhodes James, p.207.
[6] Theodore Martin, *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. Volume 1* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.362**.**
[7] Fulford, p.222.
[8] Hermione Hobhouse, 'The legacy of the Great Exhibition', *RSA Journal,* 143, (1995), pp. 48-52 (p.49).
[9] Geoffrey Cantor, 'Reporting the Great Exhibition', *in Journalism and the periodical press in nineteenth century Britain,* ed by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp.182-200 (p.192).

modern royal family.[10] Perhaps the most successful feature of the exhibition, or rather the element that made it such a resounding success, was the way it displayed to the British public, in physical terms, the extent of their own empire.[11] For many lower-class individuals, the exhibition represented to them the wealth and success of an empire that until that point, had only been an abstract concept delivered to them in the print of the newspapers.[12] The display of a successful and far-flung empire is undoubtedly a contributing factor in the exhibition's immense success, by showcasing the prosperity of the British Empire, the exhibition established itself as a triumphant by-product of an empire worthy of the Briton's praise and pride.

The next task for the Victorian establishment was to ensure that Prince Albert also formed part of this collective memory of the exhibition, and as a result, immense efforts were made to inaugurate the Prince as the domineering force behind the irrefutable success of The Great Exhibition. The wish to link Albert's memory to The Great Exhibition is unsurprising. Following the triumph of the exhibition, his popularity among the public rose to unprecedented heights.[13] What is so important to understand about this sudden burst of popularity is of course the fact that prior to his 'greatest moment', Albert was generally mistrusted as a foreigner and represented simply as the Queen's husband.[14] Finally, through The Great Exhibition and his work as a committed patron of the arts, Albert had achieved recognition for his success in his life's passions.[15]Throughout the 1850s, Albert fostered a well-respected position as a championing voice of British culture, and this reputation supplanted the incongruous persona of Albert as a chivalrous, war-minded man that had been pedalled in the first few years of his royal life.[16] Now that Albert had finally found a distinct place for himself within the minds of the public, it would have been foolish to let that slip away, and so began a concerted effort by Victoria and her peers to reinforce Albert as the architect of The Great Exhibition. Writing in her own correspondence, the Queen began to establish Albert and the exhibition as synonymous with one another. She explained, 'Alberts dearest name is immortalised with this great conception.'[17] This effort was furthered by the royal biographer Theodore Martin, who wrote of the Prince's life and work, 'all owing to this great exhibition and to Albert – all to him.'[18] No quote can be clearer than these, by Victoria herself and then substantiated by the official biography of the Prince, in illustrating the

[10] Rhodes James, p.201.
[11] Fulford, p.224.
[12] Ibid, p.224.
[13] Rhodes James, p.207.
[14] Jocelyn Hunt*, Britain 1846-1919* (London, Routledge, 2003), p.12.And Darby, p.1.
[15] Debra N. Mancoff, '"Albert the Good": Public Image and Private Iconography', *Biography,* 15, (1992) pp. 140-164 (p.149).
[16] Ibid, p.150-151.
[17] Letters, ii, 318, cited in Fulford, p.217.
[18] Martin, pp.361-362.

contemporary importance of connecting Albert's image and reputation directly to The Great Exhibition. These attempts to solidify the collective memory of Albert as one directly related to the success of the exhibition continued not just after the exhibition itself but after the death of Albert in 1861, and there is no doubt that the public fondly remembered the Prince Consort's efforts towards The Great Exhibition. What *is* unclear here is the extent to which the collective memory of the British public conformed to the representation of Albert primarily through his work on the exhibition, rather than his other personal characteristics which were also well known to the nation.

Aside from The Great Exhibition, it is important to make note of Albert's other key characteristics. Although less featured on the memorials made after his passing, these warm traits of Alberts were not as absent from public thought as the established collective memory would suggest. The first of these qualities was the Prince's philanthropy. The Great Exhibition has been argued to represent a culmination in both the Prince's interests in art and science, as well as his long-standing interest in improving the livelihoods of the working class.[19] This is interesting, given how little the Prince's devotion to the welfare of the lower classes appears as a feature of the collective memory of Prince Albert or in any of his *Les Lieux de Memoires*. Outside the specifics of The Great Exhibition, the Prince was of the vehement belief that the art galleries and cultural spaces should be made much more widely accessible to the British public.[20] Albert often found an application for his philanthropic attitudes through the promotion of British arts and industry; The Great Exhibition and its aims to educate the working classes would be an obvious example of this.[21] Primary descriptions of the Prince do make an occasional comment on his commitment to equality and the prosperity of all people, suggesting that nothing could ever hamper his 'yearning for the good of humanity.'[22] What is most interesting about Albert's philanthropic side is how much of these attitudes inspired his dedication to The Great Exhibition and several of the projects he presided over, and yet, this benevolent side to the Prince is often omitted from *Les Lieux de Memoires* that were dedicated to honouring his life and work.

Albert's devotion to fatherhood, and the private virtues that accompanied these commitments were also qualities of his that were well known, and well-liked by the public. In fact, Monica Rico has argued that during his lifetime, Prince Albert was more respected for his private

[19] Frank Eyck, *The Prince Consort: a political biography* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1959), p. 161.
[20] Fulford, p.214.
[21] Monica Rico, 'The limits of memory: Private and public in the remembrance'*, The Communication Review,* 2 (1997), pp. 19-41. (p.21).
[22] Arthur Helps, *The Principal Speeches and Addresses of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort: With an Introduction, Giving Some Outlines of his Character, 1862* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 37-38.

virtues as a family man than for his public service to the nation.[23] This links to the work of John Tosh, who suggests that fatherhood was central to Victorian masculinity as it contributed to a man's social standing. Using Rico's argument, Albert's role as a family man helped him to establish his place during the early years of his royalty.[24] Albert's domestic image was a double-edged sword: in one respect, his reputation as the archetypal Victorian father improved the popularity of the monarchy as a young, loving family; conversely, his commitment to a woman more powerful than himself served to emasculate him.[25] This factor of Albert's personality played a crucial part in his representation during the first years of his marriage, partially due to the fact that he had not yet found his feet as a patron of the arts and sciences. Early depictions of Albert focus on his attachment with the royal nursery, which serve to further feminise representations of the Prince Consort in the 1840s.[26] It is certainly worth noting here, that despite clear representations of Albert associated with the private sphere in his first years as a royal, there is some degree of contention amongst historians as to how long this image of the Prince Consort remained in the minds of the public. Monica Rico has argued that despite all his efforts in the public sphere, Prince Albert was never able to avoid being subordinate to his wife.[27] Robert Rhodes James however, argued that through The Great Exhibition, Albert had overseen the greatest occasion in the history of modern British royalty and as such, had achieved immense success in the public sphere.[28] It is worth noting here however, that as well as a historian, Rhodes James was a serving Conservative member of parliament at the time of writing and thus a likely defender of any royal endeavour. Though there is obvious disagreement here, it speaks to the fact that Albert was in fact able to shift public perceptions of him through his own work and able to introduce varying sides to his personality through his engagement in various areas of both private and public life. By engaging in art and science and involving himself in hugely successful projects like The Great Exhibition, he could take public perceptions of him as a feminised, family man and curate them to include a philanthropic, industrious man of culture and intelligence, thanks to his efforts in the public domain. As the contemporary image of Prince Albert was so multi-faceted, it does appear as though the posthumous construction of Albert's image as one entirely associated with his contributions to The Great Exhibition in fact minimises other factors of his personality that were admired by the British public at the time of his passing. The desperation to secure his memory suggests that the British public's opinions and feelings towards the Prince were in fact wildly underestimated

[23] Rico, p.20.
[24] John Tosh, *Manliness and masculinities in nineteenth-century Britain: essays on gender, family, and empire (*London, Routledge, 2016), pp. 131-132.
[25] Ibid, p.20.
[26]Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837 -1876* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998), p.17.
[27] Rico, p.24.
[28] Rhodes James, p.201.

by Victoria and her peers, and as we will see, public reactions to The Albert Memorial corroborate this view.

Finally, we must begin to address the way in which Albert was memorialised following his death in 1861. There can be no doubt here of the fervour for commemoration that swept the nation after the Prince Consort's passing. Within weeks of Albert's death, towns and cities across Great Britain began to organise their own schemes of commemoration, more affordable monuments like stain glass windows and busts of the Prince appeared in cities like Bath, Nottingham and Banbury.[29] Prior to the death of Albert, no one individual had provoked such a national outpouring of grief and honouring.[30] It is difficult to discern exactly what prompted such a display of loss for Prince Albert. Elisabeth Darby has argued that a lot of the emotional response was encouraged by feelings of sympathy on behalf of Victoria, as well as the widespread commemoration for her husband being a show of loyalty towards the bereaved monarch.[31] There is once again a disagreement as to the reason for such an outpouring, Debra Mancoff has argued this nationwide period of grief was in fact a nation mourning for Albert himself, by a public who regarded his life as the perfect example of dedicated service to the nation.[32] Given that there was such enthusiasm to commemorate the Prince, it is no surprise that the Queen and others in Victorian high office put a great deal of thought into memorialising Albert in the specific way they thought he should have been remembered.

Memorials, or *Les Lieux de memoire*, intended to celebrate Prince Albert's life and work were often designed with the aim to immortalise Albert's memory alongside what his peers believed to be his greatest success – The Great Exhibition. In terms of specific memory sites, The Albert Memorial provides a clear example of how a *Les Lieux de Memoire* can work to construct a specific collective memory. The Albert Memorial is located in Kensington Gardens, not far from the museums of South Kensington or 'Albertopolis', built with the profits of The Great Exhibition and as such, the perfect area to display Albert as an industrious patron of the arts and sciences.[33] On the memorial itself, the golden figure of the Prince holds in his left hand a catalogue of The Great Exhibition, which is a clear demonstration of the way in which Prince Albert was intended to be remembered.[34] Pierre Nora has argued that *Les Lieux de Memoires* are the sites where memory is crystallised[35]. Using Nora's definition, The Albert Memorial is a *Les Lieux de Memoire* that most certainly seeks to crystallise the

[29] Darby, pp.63-64.
[30] Ibid, p.58.
[31] Ibid, p.58.
[32] Mancoff, p.151.
[33] Hunt, p.12.
[34] Darby, p.52.
[35] Nora, p.7.

memory of Prince Albert for his work on The Great Exhibition, and little else. Arguably, the reason for the Queen's desperation to consolidate the memory of Prince Albert as the constructor of The Great Exhibition is reflective of her wish to ensure that her beloved husband was remembered. In her fervour for Albert's commemoration, the Queen had underestimated how enthusiastic the British public were to honour him of their own volition.

Unsurprisingly, it was Queen Victoria who finally chose G.G. Scott's design for The Albert Memorial, hence why there is so much allusion to the Prince's involvement in The Great Exhibition.[36] When the monument was unveiled however, there were concerns as to whether the design successfully commemorated Albert's life and work.[37] Observers to the memorial criticised the piece for evoking more of The Great Exhibition than of Albert himself.[38] Here it was clear that Queen Victoria and her peers had grossly underestimated public affection and respect for Albert. In their desperation to have him remembered favourably by associating him only to The Great Exhibition, they had ignored the warm, philanthropic nature of the Prince that was much beloved by his public. *The Times* criticised the statues design, suggesting that people had wished to commemorate the Prince not simply because of his work on The Great Exhibition, nor because of his patronage of the arts, but because 'the nation had lost a Prince who was in his time a rare and invaluable example of life'.[39] Through *The Times'* reaction to the statue, it is clear that although attempts to construct a collective memory of Prince Albert have, since his death, centred upon The Great Exhibition, the contemporary feeling of the British public was far more interested in other qualities and achievements of the Prince than was understood at the time.

There can be no doubt that the success of The Great Exhibition had a huge impact on the collective memory of Prince Albert, from The Albert Memorial, to the way the Prince has been discussed in both primary work and scholarship since his passing, The Great Exhibition forms a fundamental part of his legacy. The question remains, to what extent the collective memory of the Prince Consort was manipulated by Queen Victoria's wishes to ensure the Prince was fondly remembered by focussing on his role in The Great Exhibition. It is certainly true that Prince Albert had initially found public acceptance through his work in the cultural realm, but what was underestimated by those who attempted to immortalise Albert exclusively through his work on The Great Exhibition was that Albert continued to earn public recognition as a kind, philanthropic soul for the ten years

[36] Darby, p.47.
[37] Ibid, p. 56.
[38] Rico, pp.30-31.
[39] "The Albert Memorial." The *Times*, 14 Nov. 1873, p. 3. *The Times Digital Archive*, <https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=GDCS&u=unisoton&id=GALE|CS51556718&v=2.1&it=r&sid=GDCS&asid=ddbc5266> [accessed 17/03/2021].

following the exhibition. In his work on collective memory, Nicholas Russell suggests that individuals earn their place in collective memory by being exemplary figures, who serve as ethical models of behaviour for future generations.[40] By this definition then, and through the numerous press articles and diary entries that described Prince Albert as a kind, industrious and intelligent man, Albert was already deserving of a place in the collective memory of Britain. He deserved commemoration not simply for The Great Exhibition, nor for simply being Queen Victoria's husband, but for a culmination of many admirable traits, all of which were far more regarded by the Victorian public than he was originally credited for.

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[40] Russell, p.793.

Hidden Voices: The Experiences of Jewish Immigrant Women in Britain During the Age of Mass Migration

Jaya Shukla

Abstract

The Age of Mass Migration in the late nineteenth century left Jewish immigrant women within Britain in a precarious position. Viewed as undesirable by the Anglo-Jewry, and most often facing harsh socio-economic conditions, their experiences were shaped by their class, gender, and religion. As the Anglo-Jewry embarked on a campaign to anglicise the Eastern European immigrants, the divide between the two Jewish communities became increasingly apparent. A previously silent voice in history, the recognition of the experiences of Jewish immigrant women reveals the true impact that their migration to Britain had on their lives, and the reality of their relationship with the Anglo-Jewry.

When looking at immigrant women, we can see how their Jewish religion, their working-class status, and their position as the 'inferior' sex all interlinked to shape their experiences in Britain during the Age of Mass Migration. These experiences include an involvement in prostitution, their relationship with Anglo-Jewish women and the charitable organisations created for their aid, and how their relationship with men changed once they settled in Britain. Gender, religion, and class all significantly contributed to these experiences, especially because the Jewish immigrant woman was a minority in each factor. Class and gender in particular had a large contribution in shaping the experiences of the women, considering their influence in their relationship with the Anglo-Jewry.

When studying a minority group such as Jewish immigrant women, there is always a limitation faced in the lack of a voice in history:

> 'Until the 1980s, attention to Jewish women remained relatively limited in the discipline; now however, we have a substantive and growing body of literature that shed light on Jewish women's lives in an impressive range of times and places'.[1]

By analysing the experiences of Jewish immigrant women, and the influences of gender, religion, and class, there is much to be found out about the experiences of the Jewish community as a whole. With modern scholars such as Lara Marks, Rickie Burman and Susan Tananbaum looking at the perspective

[1] Susan L. Tananbaum, 'Jewish Women, Philanthropy, and Modernization: The Changing Roles of Jewish Women in Modern Europe, 1850-1939', in *Dutch Jewry in a Cultural Maelstrom: 1880-1940*, Judith Frishman and Hetty Berg (eds.), (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), p. 139.

of the Jewish women, and with oral histories conducted with the children and grandchildren of immigrants, a wealth of information about the Jewish community is being discovered that history had previously tended to look over. The role of the Jewish immigrant woman is significant: there is a great insight to be found in terms of religion by looking at their relationship with men as their husbands and fathers, and there are insights about class and class divisions within the Jewish community.

After 250 years of settlement, the established middle-class Anglo-Jewish community had 'achieved a hard-won reputation for respectability, charitable self-sufficiency and exemplary civic pride', and the mass migration of eastern European Jews from the 1880s served to disrupt this carefully curated balance.[2] The ethnic divisions between the Sephardic Jew and the Ashkenazi Jew shaped the experiences of the immigrants, especially in how they were received by the Anglo-Jewish community, and how they were perceived by the wider British public. The 'myth of Sephardic racial supremacy, widely disseminated in Europe by the end of the eighteenth century' resurfaced with the new wave of migration, and these prejudices are evident in how the Anglo-Jewish community felt as though their reputation was becoming tainted by the immigrants.[3] Looking more widely at the perception of immigration, we can see that the eastern European Jews were considered 'alien' and different to their Sephardic counterparts, and the 'question of the assimilability of 'the Jew' returned to haunt their middle-class, Anglicised co-religionists too'.[4] These differences did not do much to help the Jewish immigrants integrate into British society; more often than not the established Jewish community did everything they could to limit immigration, or at the very least prevent the immigrants from affecting the reputation of the Jew in Britain. Mass migration was also surrounded by a strong political rhetoric that the immigrants represented 'a threat to the labour market, housing conditions and public health of the ailing imperial metropolis'.[5] The immigrants were not welcomed in Britain, and antisemitic anti-alien opinions compounded against the eastern European Jews. The Anglo-Jewry's concerns over their reputation with the British influenced the treatment of these immigrants, whose experiences were thus shaped by attempts of anglicisation, and also indifference from the established Jewish community.

[2] Rickie Burman, 'Middle-Class Anglo-Jewish Lady Philanthropists and Eastern European Jewish Women: the first conference of Jewish Women, 1902', in *Women, Migration and Empire*, Joan Grant (ed.), (Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 1996), p. 124.
[3] Nadia Valman, *The Jewess in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 189.
[4] Valman, *The Jewess,* p. 173.
[5] Ibid.

The involvement of Jewish immigrants in prostitution exemplifies the impact of gender, religion, and class on the experiences of Jewish women. Edward Bristow gives a succinct explanation of the factors that drew women to prostitution:

> 'socially, to disorientation and rootlessness following migrations from countryside to city; economically, to working-class poverty and low wages; psychologically, to the effects of family disruption'.[6]

Prostitution was often a result of the women's working-class status, and Jewish immigrants were particularly susceptible due to economic and social dislocation following their migration to Britain. Economically, prostitution was a more viable trade for immigrant women; unemployment, compounded by the 'handicap of anti-Semitism in the labour market', meant that there were not many alternatives to maintain financial stability.[7] While many Jewish prostitutes were comfortable in their trade, it was highly stigmatised in the Jewish community: 'The proportion of Jews arrested for prostitution was higher than any other group', and there were fears among the Anglo-Jewish elite that the Jewish community would become a more obvious target for antisemitism as a result.[8] There was also the religious aspect opposing prostitution. Orthodox Judaism emphasises sexual purity, and prostitution challenged Jewish ethics on female sexuality. Prostitutes were viewed as unclean and impure - a stark opposition to the Jewish values of 'restraint, moderation, and family integrity'.[9] Of course, while prostitution stigmatised women across religions and races, there was a stronger emphasis on Jewish prostitution in society. This concerned the Anglo-Jewish community, especially as the Jewish man was used as a scapegoat for the white slave trade, and the focus of prostitution in the Jewish community began to have a negative impact on their reputation. In response to the growing problem of Jewish immigrants in prostitution the Anglo-Jewish women took it upon themselves to provide charitable aid to the women they saw as in need. However, this often served to bring more attention to the problem, especially as they failed to understand the needs of the immigrant women. The involvement of Jewish immigrant women in prostitution shows how gender, religion and class all contributed to their experiences – all three components worked together to place Jewish working-class women at the bottom of the social hierarchy, even within the Jewish community. Class in particular meant that immigrant women found it difficult to find employment, especially in the East

[6] Edward Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: the Jewish fight against white slavery, 1880-1939,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 24.
[7] Lara Marks, 'Race, Class and Gender: the experience of Jewish prostitutes and other Jewish women in the East End of London at the turn of the century', in *Women, Migration and Empire*, Joan Grant (ed.), (Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 1996), p. 43.
[8] Marks, 'Race, Class and Gender', p. 38.
[9] Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice,* p. 11.

End, which was 'seen as a den for all the social vices of theft, prostitution and alcoholism. It was a district of great poverty, overcrowding and slums'.[10]

An important aspect of the experiences of Jewish immigrant women in Britain was their relationship with the middle-class women of the long-established Anglo-Jewry – and specifically the philanthropic role of these women towards the new immigrants. This relationship has many nuances to be explored, and not all negative. Immigrant women were an 'important target for the socialising influence of the Anglo-Jewish lady philanthropists', who sought to provide aid to those in poverty and in situations such as prostitution.[11] When looking at the motivations for these philanthropic endeavours, it is evident that the middle-class women were seeking to emulate their English counterparts. During this period, 'such work was compatible with the more traditional image and role of women in Judaism, which pictured women as the domestic homemaker', and this type of thinking extended to all women in Britain.[12] By following the guidance of English women, there was an undercurrent of anglicisation in the programmes looking to better the working-class immigrants. For example, the Jewish Day Nursery was set up in 1896 to help Jewish immigrant mothers in need, and for the Anglo-Jewish women 'regular contact with East End mothers allowed nursery workers to reinforce ties within the Jewish community and encourage immigrants to adopt habits of which anglicized Jews approved'.[13] Another notable organisation was the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women (JAPGAW), which was set up by Lady Battersea in 1885 to support Jewish immigrants. On this organisation, Susan Tananbaum synthesises that 'to an extent they sought to anglicise, but they also wanted to highlight Jewish efforts to stem Jewish involvement and the white slave trade'.[14] This provides an understanding that the Anglo-Jewish women used these philanthropic organisations as an attempt to anglicise the immigrant women – which would improve their image and standing among a wider British society – however, this does not remove from the fact that the middle-class women were motivated by a sense of altruism and responsibility towards the immigrant women, who they saw as less fortunate and in need of aid. In *The Jews of Britain: 1656 to 2000*, Todd Endelman describes this multi-faceted approach:

> 'humanitarian and religious sentiments, rooted in centuries-old habits of communal self-help, became entangled with immediate, self-serving concerns about eliminating problems that attracted unwanted attention'.[15]

[10] Marks, 'Race, Class and Gender', p. 37.
[11] Burman, 'Middle-Class Anglo-Jewish Lady Philanthropists', p. 130.
[12] Marks, 'Race, Class and Gender', p. 41.
[13] Tananbaum, 'Jewish Women', p. 147.
[14] Tananbaum, 'Jewish Women', p. 150.
[15] Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain: 1656 to 2000,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 174.

This explanation provides a deeper understanding into how religion and class were intertwined in shaping the experiences of Jewish immigrant women – the charity organisations set up by the Anglo-Jewry exemplify the humanitarian aspect of Judaism, but also emphasise the class divide between established Jews and the immigrants. Looking at the Anglo-Jewish woman's place in the community in comparison to the immigrant woman, we can see that that philanthropic work of the middle-class women was on behalf of the Anglo-Jewish community to help eradicate the Jewish immigrant's dependence on charity, which they saw as a main cause of heightened antisemitism. However, 'while the Anglo-Jewish lady philanthropists saw themselves as providing a model for the immigrant women and their daughters, in practice a near impenetrable class gulf separated the women of the two communities'.[16] Unfortunately, the class divide meant that the two groups led different lifestyles, and had different expectations of societal image. The Anglo-Jewish women - whether out of subconscious ignorance or a need to achieve a sense of self-significance – failed to understand the experiences and perspectives of the Jewish immigrant women, and failed to understand why they were willing to sell their own bodies when the middle-class feminists were working so hard to fight for their autonomy. By looking at the relationship between the Jewish women in Britain, it is evident that class divide had an impact on the experiences of Jewish immigrant women and how they were treated by the Anglo-Jewish community.

Gender and gender roles also shaped the experiences of immigrant women in Britain, especially in the Jewish community. Looking at gender through the lens of the philanthropic ladies, Rickie Burman notes the paradoxical irony of the relationship between these two groups of Jewish women: 'while perhaps inadvertently undermining the authority of Jewish women within the immigrant community, the Anglo-Jewish ladies were simultaneously extending their own scope for independent action, through their involvement in charitable work'.[17] Although the men of the community 'saw philanthropy as the natural extension of women's inherent maternalism', the organisational management and administration proved the small steps that the middle-class women were taking towards equality. However, these achievements served to undermine the position of the working-class immigrant women, who were forced to become anglicised as a result of their philanthropic aid, which often alienated them from the Anglo-Jewish women. Lara Marks pointedly notes that 'at times anglicisation could result in a strengthening of gender stereotypes', and that 'in Eastern Europe, a Jewish woman's worth was measured in particular by her ability to support her husband financially and domestically while he pursued his religious studies'.[18] This way of thinking was

[16] Burman, 'Middle-Class Anglo-Jewish Lady Philanthropists', p. 145.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Marks, 'Race, Class and Gender', pp. 40-42.

only strengthened further when the immigrants settled in Britain. Immigration from Eastern Europe also 'marked the reappearance of Jewish women in the working population'.[19] This was another factor in the concerns held by the Anglo-British Jewry over mass immigration, who saw this as a regression of all they had achieved to become integrated into British society. Yet again, class and gender were two forces acting against the position of these women in Britain.

The social and economic dislocation as an effect of emigration left Jewish immigrants in a difficult position, especially in terms of family stability. Looking at *The Jew in London, A Study of Racial Character and Present-day Conditions*, it is acknowledged that "Jewish women are seldom allowed by their husband to go out to work, although, if the family has a shop, much of its management devolves on the wife, and interferes very little with the performance of ordinary home duties".[20] The source also looks at the issue of wife-desertion, which was common during migration as men would usually leave their home country first, and rather than reconnecting with their wife and children, they would try to "escape their responsibilities by flight. The excuse which he sometimes makes is that he cannot bear to see his wife and children starving".[21] This left many single mothers making their way to places such as Britain alone, and then having to rely on relief from organisations such as the Jewish Board of Guardians. Immigrant women would also work in the labour forces alongside men, in sweated industries and areas of commerce; 'for all of these women, work was a necessity, either because the chief breadwinner in the family earned to little, or because, as widows or abandoned wives, they had to support themselves and possibly young children as well'.[22] Here, the pressure of class is demonstrated as working-class immigrant mothers would have to work to support their family; the impact of gender is shown as many men would leave their wives to fend for themselves, or the women would have to step up to maintain financial stability. Religion underpins both of these factors because it dictates the role of the woman in a Jewish household, which is to not only maintain domestic duties and childcare, but to provide an income while their husband pursued religious studies.

Judith R. Baskin describes the complex role that religion had in the Jewish immigrant woman's experience: 'Jewish tradition had also consciously denigrated women's inherent qualities and displaced women's aspirations in its support of female activities that support male primacy and enable

[19] Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, p. 132.
[20] C. Russell and H.S Lewis, *The Jew in London, A Study of Racial Character and Present-day Conditions* (1900), in *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain 1840-1920*, David Englander (ed.), (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994), pp. 102-03.
[21] C. Russell and H.S Lewis, *The Jew in London*, pp. 102-03.
[22] Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, p. 133.

male devotion to worship and study'.[23] As illustrated previously, Jewish women occupied both a domestic and a financial role in the household, and often put aside their own personal needs in favour of their husbands pursuing roles in the public realms of life. In *Generations of Memories: Voices of Jewish Women*, the Jewish Women in London Group have collated a series of interviews from a wider project undertaken in the 1980s. One interview that highlights the role of Jewish immigrant women is from Ruth Adler, a Jewish girl born in London in 1912. She had spent her early years in Warsaw with her mother, living an Orthodox life and only speaking Yiddish, but her family moved back to the East End after the First World War. In her interview, she talks a lot about her mother and her family's experience living in Britain in the 1920s; she explains how like many other immigrants, her parents suffered from a harsh sense of displacement, even while living in a predominantly Jewish environment. Interestingly, Adler explains that as adults, her mother and father left behind their religion, but says "they were cultured by that tradition and religion". Looking at the responsibility of Jewish mothers, Adler says "my mother's life was frantic. She was cooking with one hand and serving in the shop with another", and this exemplifies the role that immigrant women had to undertake as both the caretaker and the provider. Adler muses about her mother's limited life: "I regret that she didn't have time to develop herself. I feel that all her intelligence (and she had very good intelligence) went into the cooking and the shop"; "her dreams, nurtured form many years, of future education and culture, were hopelessly frustrated".[24] Ruth Adler's story about her mother provides an anecdotal insight into how life was like for Jewish immigrant women. Values from traditional Jewish culture dictated how the women would live their life, often having to work and provide for their families rather than following their own dreams. Education was limited, and Jewish women were not afforded the same opportunities to pursue religion as their husbands were.

It is evident that gender, religion, and class all impacted the experiences of Jewish immigrant women in Britain. Class was important in shaping these experiences, especially as immigrant women were mostly predominant in the working-class. This affected their relationship with the established Anglo-Jewish community, who found it difficult to connect with their different cultures and habits. This is especially seen in the relationship with Anglo-Jewish women, whose middle-class status meant that despite their best efforts to provide charitable support to the immigrants, they failed to understand the needs of the immigrant women. Class also impacted the employment status of the immigrants, who often turned to more viable trades such as prostitution, which ostracised them even

[23] Judith R. Baskin, 'Jewish Private Life: Gender, Marriage, and the Lives of Women', in *Jewish History, Religion, and Culture*, Judith R. Baskin and Kenneth Seeskin (eds.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.378.
[24] Jewish Women in London Group, *Generations of Memories: Voices of Jewish Women,* (London: The Women's Press, 1989), pp. 25-47.

further from the established Jewish community. Gender and religion are both very interlinked in determining the role of immigrant women in Britain, where they adopted the traditional Jewish position of both the housewife and the provider. With little progression of feminism and equality at that time, Jewish women remained subservient to the needs and expectations of men – so much so that even middle-class Anglo-Jewish women unintentionally pushed the immigrant women further into this role through attempts of anglicisation. Overall, although religion and gender were very present in shaping the experiences of the Jewish immigrant women in Britain, it is undeniable that the factor of class worked to further estrange this group from their Jewish peers, as well as in the wider British society.

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Making an Icon: The evolution of Nelson Mandela's International Image from Militant to Unifier

Megan Sheridan

Abstract

Prior to his trial and conviction, Nelson Mandela was internationally known for his co-founding and leadership of a militant branch of a South African anti-apartheid organization that committed sabotage against the apartheid government. He held a small role in a broader movement. Yet he was freed from twenty-seven years of incarceration, during which he was largely unable to communicate with the outside world, as the undisputed leader of the anti-apartheid movement; a stately, unifying icon. This article seeks to reconcile the shift in the international public image of Mandela from militant to unifier by examining the evolving narrative set forth by the international anti-apartheid movement in promotional and declaratory materials and the corresponding evaluation of Mandela in international media.

Throughout the course of his arrest, conviction, and nearly three decade-long incarceration, Nelson Mandela's international image changed in popular opinion from a militant rebel who resisted and evaded the white minority government to the stately future leader of post-apartheid South Africa. This was largely due to the international anti-apartheid movement's campaign to make Nelson Mandela the face of opposition to apartheid. This campaign's roots lay in the Rivonia trial, where the AAM (Anti-Apartheid Movement) told the personal stories of the accused ANC (African National Congress) to argue against their incarceration. After the group's convictions, Mandela was singled out by the campaign as the face of the broader anti-apartheid movement. Over time, Mandela's freedom became synonymous with the end of apartheid in South Africa. Mandela used this popularity to open negotiations with the South African government, eventually securing his freedom and, indeed, the end of apartheid. Mandela's incarceration and suppression by the white minority state did not prevent him from being seen as the leader who would guide South Africa from apartheid. Conversely, his forced silence allowed others to speak on his behalf and to mold his public image into a figure who was all but assumed to hold the mantle.

Prior to and near the beginning of Mandela's incarceration, the anti-apartheid campaign presented him as largely indistinguishable from the rest of his ANC compatriots. A pertinent glimpse at international public opinion of Mandela is seen in the British anti-apartheid movement. Though

people in many countries resisted apartheid, the British anti-apartheid movement was one of the most significant outside of South Africa due to its sheer size and popular support. A large number of South African exiles had sought refuge in the UK since the 1940s, and popular boycotts of South African products had proved successful, spurred on by organisations like the Boycott Movement Committee. After the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, British sympathy for the anti-apartheid movement soared and the Boycott Movement Committee rebranded itself as the British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and continued to organise for the cause, influenced heavily by exiled ANC members.[1] During the 1963 Rivonia trial of Mandela and his compatriots, the AAM began a campaign titled the 'World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners', in order to argue against their incarceration. In one publication circulated by the campaign, short biographies noted the backgrounds, accomplishments, and details of incarceration of those on trial. Mandela's biography is listed fourth, and he is described as part of a group of "17 men and women, Africans, Indians, and whites."[2] The biography highlights Mandela's "evasion of police over a period of months" and describes Mandela as "one of [the ANC's] most militant and capable leaders."[3]

Though it did seek the total release of those charged in the Rivonia trial, the campaign's immediate and more realistic aim was to prevent the death penalty from being imposed upon the political prisoners. One slogan of this campaign, printed and circulated on posters and stickers, read "Save These Lives" next to pictures of Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela.[4] These two were described that year in a *New York Times* article as "leaders of the prohibited African Nationalist Congress party."[5] After a description of sabotage committed by Umkhonto we Sizwe, this article gave short biographies of Sisulu and then Mandela, citing Mandela's reputation within South Africa as the '"Black Pimpernel" because of his ability to elude the police.'[6] Kenneth S. Broun argues that the survival of Mandela and his comrades provided a rallying point for anti-apartheid activists even as the apartheid movement was forced to operate internationally or underground domestically.[7] The roots of this connection

[1] Christabel Gurney, '"A Great Cause": The Origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, June 1959-March 1960', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26, (2000), pp. 142-143.
[2] World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, 'Declaration calling for the release of South African political prisoners', in *AAM Archives*, <https://www.aamarchives.org/archive/campaigns/political-prisoners/pri01-declaration-calling-for-the-release-of-south-african-political-prisoners.html> [accessed 12/01/2021], p. 4.
[3] Ibid, p. 3.
[4] '"Save These Lives" Poster', in *AAM Archives*, <https://africanactivist.msu.edu/image.php?objectid=210-809-1197> [accessed 12/01/2021].
[5] Robert Conley, '11 Accused in South Africa of Planning Revolt; 221 Acts of Sabotage Charged - Defendants Face Death Trial Without Jury to Start Oct. 29 - Delay Refused', *New York Times*, 10 October 1963, p. 8.
[6] Conley, p. 8.
[7] Kenneth S. Broun, *Saving Nelson Mandela: The Rivonia Trial and the Fate of South Africa*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 164.

came during the Rivonia trial, where the plights of the former members of the ANC on trial were highlighted and used to show the atrocities of apartheid. In these early days, Mandela was not yet seen as the sole icon whose fate was equated with that of South Africa's. He was a visible but not uniquely well-known figure, as he was prior to his arrest as a member of the ANC. Sources acknowledged him but grouped him within the larger group of incarcerated ANC members. When mentioned, depictions focused on his notoriety for his actions evading the state and leading the militant ANC.

After the trial ended and the group was imprisoned, the plight of South African political prisoners largely disappeared from international attention for the next decade.[8] However, when attention returned following the tenth anniversary of the Rivonia arrests, a different depiction of the politically incarcerated emerged. Nelson Mandela became the undisputed face of the movement throughout his time incarcerated, reaching an almost mythic quality. The first major initiative centred around Mandela was for his sixtieth birthday celebration. The AAM and ANC held a protest outside the South African embassy in London. One sign at the protest read 'RELEASE NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA.'[9] Included in the ranks of this protest were high-profile British Labour politicians, one of whom held a sign reading, 'WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF MANDELA AND ALL SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS.'[10] Speaking in support of the celebration, Oliver Tambo described Mandela as "in the front ranks of the authentic leadership of the people of South Africa and a respected world statesman."[11] His birthday warranted an article in the *New York Times*, the same publication that had fifteen years earlier listed Mandela's biography after Walter Sisulu's. This article reflects the difference in popular recognition of Mandela. Instead of noting him as one of many ANC members, it describes Mandela as "the man who would most probably head a black government in South Africa" and a "Leader Without an Equal." Additionally, it depicted him as a long-time leader whose political ideology remained measured and logical, and included a quote describing him as "upright and proud."[12]

Smaller initiatives, too, used Mandela's name and image to represent the greater anti-apartheid symbol. One such initiative was the 'Cycle for Mandela', a 1986 London bicycle ride. One

[8] Genevieve Klein, 'The British Anti-Apartheid Movement and Political Prisoner Campaigns, 1973-1980', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35 (2009), p. 460.
[9] Karl Weiss, 'Mandela's 60th birthday', 1978, photograph, in *AAM Archives*, <https://www.aamarchives.org/archive/history/1970s/pic7807-mandelas-60th-birthday.html?highlight=WyI2MHRoIiwiYmlydGhkYXkiLCI2MHRoIGJpcnRoZGF5Il0=> [accessed 12/01/2021].
[10] 'Mandela's 60th birthday', in *AAM Archives*, <https://www.aamarchives.org/archive/campaigns/free-mandela/pic7609-mandelas-60th-birthday.html?highlight=WyJiaXJ0aGRheSJd> [accessed 12/01/2021].
[11] Klein, p. 469.
[12] John F. Burns, 'Key Black Leader Turns 60 On South Africa Prison Isle', *New York Times*, 19 July 1978, section A, p. 2.

pamphlet raising support for the movement refers to Mandela as "perhaps the most vital symbol of liberation from the tyranny of apartheid", urging readers to ride in support of the release of "Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia."[13] The AAM sought to unite people from different backgrounds under a broad anti-apartheid platform. Genevieve Klein argues that the AAM drew support by focusing the ideals of the ANC through Mandela's image. Orienting the argument against apartheid around Mandela gave a human voice to the issue.[14] In doing so, they downplayed Mandela's connection to violence, making him out to be moderate and stately. This analysis, however, puts too much credit on the ANC as a uniting force. Though the movement certainly espoused the ideology of the ANC, in much of its propaganda it did not differentiate between the ANC and other groups. Instead, it highlighted Nelson Mandela as symbolic of all political prisoners in South Africa. This simple, oft-repeated designation made no distinction between ANC and PAC or other groups. Indeed, this simplification actually disconnected Mandela from the ANC by portraying him as the undisputed leader of the wider anti-apartheid movement.

Now cemented as the face of the anti-apartheid movement, Mandela became seemingly fated to carry South Africa through its victory over apartheid. The AAM organised another birthday celebration in 1988 for Mandela's seventieth. A fundraising pamphlet for the campaign listed the defendants convicted in the Rivonia trial. It includes four paragraphs of information on Mandela's background, along with a biography of his wife Winnie. In comparison, Walter Sisulu's biography is two sentences long. Additionally, the pamphlet states that "The freeing of Nelson Mandela is the key to freedom in South Africa."[15] The campaign included a massive concert held by Artists Against Apartheid and a rally at Hyde Park in London. It was the largest initiative in the AAM's history, and, according to an advertising pamphlet, included a joint call for "the release of Mandela and for freedom in South Africa."[16] A 1988 newspaper article declared that "Mandela's release has become a symbol

[13] Anti-Apartheid Movement, '"Cycle for Mandela", 1986', in *AAM Archives*, <https://www.aamarchives.org/archive/campaigns/free-mandela/mda11-cycle-for-mandela.html?highlight=WyJjeWNsZSIsIidjeWNsZSJd> [accessed 12 /01/2021].
[14] Klein, p.469.
[15] '"Free Nelson Mandela" leaflet', in *AAM Archives*, <https://www.aamarchives.org/archive/campaigns/free-mandela/mda43-free-nelson-mandelaleaflet.html?highlight=WyJmcmVlIiwiJ2ZyZWUiLCJmcmVlJyIsImZyZWUnLCIsImZyZWUnLiIsIm5lbHNvbiIsIiduZWxzb24iLCJtYW5kZWxhIiwibWFuZGVsYSciLCJtYW5kZWxhJ3MiLCJtYW5kZWxhJywiLCInbWFuZGVsYSIsIm1hbmRlbGEnLiIsIidtYW5kZWxhJyIsIidtYW5kZWxhJywiLCJsZWFmbGV0IiwiZnJlZSBuZWxzb24iLCJmcmVlIG5lbHNvbiBtYW5kZWxhIiwibmVsc29uIG1hbmRlbGEiLCJuZWxzb24gbWFuZGVsYSBsZWFmbGV0IiwibWFuZGVsYSBsZWFmbGV0Ii0=> [accessed 12/01/2021], p.4.
[16] Anti-Apartheid Movement, '"Freedom at 70" campaign brochure', in *AAM Archives*, <https://www.aamarchives.org/archive/history/1980s/mda23-freedom-at-70-campaign-brochure.html> [accessed 12/01/2021], p.5.

of progress toward ending the apartheid system."[17] Mandela was seen as not only the leader of the anti-apartheid movement, but of a post-apartheid South Africa which was quickly becoming inevitable. Anti-apartheid forces within South Africa had been increasingly active, prompting the government to impose a State of Emergency.[18] A different 1988 article described Mandela as "widely regarded as the one black leader who could unite the divided black opposition."[19]

Even the South African government seemed to be in agreement. A 1981 report on Mandela from the South African government had described Mandela as holding '"all the qualities to be the Number One black leader in South Africa."'[20] Eventually, the government began negotiations with Mandela concerning his freedom and the progress of South Africa. Mandela accepted this mantle by contacting the South African government, doing so without alerting his fellow ANC members as he knew they would disapprove. In his memoir, Mandela explained this decision by stating that "there are times when a leader must move out ahead of the flock."[21] He refused an early offer by President Botha to be freed in exchange for condemning violence committed by the ANC. Mandela feared that this would blame the violence on the ANC instead of the white minority government's policies of oppression. He waited to make concessions until South Africa had a new president, Frederik Willem de Klerk, who Mandela described as "a pragmatist, a man who saw change as necessary and inevitable."[22] De Klerk released Mandela from incarceration, and their partnership continued as they transitioned the country away from apartheid. Tom Lodge argues that Mandela's willingness to communicate with the white minority government allowed him to "profoundly affect the political destiny of his compatriots" in the anti-apartheid movement.[23] Broun expands on this, arguing that de Klerk was essentially forced to negotiate with Mandela, as he risked total alienation from Western powers.[24] The increasing strength of the anti-apartheid movement within South Africa was also a strong motivator of de Klerk's acceptance of a need for change. Mandela came to be the point of contact with the South African government, partly through the actions of others. Prior to his negotiations with government officials, Mandela had very little control over or even communication with the Anti-Apartheid Movement due to his incarceration. His resume as indisputable leader was built not by actions he took while incarcerated, but by an international campaign to spread his story.

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[17] John D. Battersby, 'Pretoria Seen Easing Mandela's Confinement', *New York Times*, 2 September 1988, section A, p.4.
[18] Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom,* (London: Abacus, 1995), p.319.
[19] John D. Battersby, 'Mandela, 70, Captivates Even Those Who Jail Him', *New York Times*, 18 July 1988, section A, p.4.
[20] Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) p.50.
[21] Mandela, p.317.
[22] Mandela, p.335.
[23] Lodge, p.166.
[24] Broun, p.166.

He took advantage of this fame by breaking from his ANC colleagues and taking direct action by opening negotiations with the South African government.

Describing the fight against apartheid, Nelson Mandela wrote that "The ANC had decided to personalize the quest for our release by centering the campaign on a single figure."[25] This figure was Mandela himself. Prior to Mandela's arrest and through his trial he was seen by most as a part of a whole. His fame was matched or exceeded by his fellow accused, especially Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Walter Sisulu. As co-founder and organiser of the militant ANC branch Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mandela was prominent in large part due to his evasion of the state government. Imprisoned under the oppressive white minority government, Mandela had very limited means of communication with the outside world. He was unable to dictate much of the ANC's aims. The movement was stymied by the apartheid government, which banned the organisation, and it was forced to go underground within South Africa.[26] Despite the near silencing of Mandela, however, his profile grew throughout his incarceration until he was recognized as the leader of the apartheid movement. His emergence was largely facilitated by an international campaign against apartheid which used his image to make the argument against the policies of the white minority government. The campaign downplayed his connections to Umkhonto we Sizwe and presented the more stately and moderate image of Mandela, which burnished his reputation as a public figure. In addition to leading the global anti-apartheid movement, Mandela became widely regarded as the only person capable of uniting South Africa and leading it away from minority rule. Mandela himself cemented this assumption after he acted against the wishes of fellow ANC members to negotiate with the apartheid government.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Chris Prior and Professor Christer Petley for their advice and feedback throughout this module. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to Ruthie Clay for all of her help and support on this article.

[25] Mandela, p.302.
[26] Stephen Ellis, 'The ANC in Exile', *African Affairs*, 90 (1991), p.443.

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Populism: An Undermining Power to the Liberal Democracy in Today's Age of Politics

Dominika Szarek

Abstract

Populism is a very much contested phenomenon. The recent six years have raised popularity of the concept of populism and its implications upon democracy. However, despite that many scholars argue populism is not actually a modern invention. In fact, there are some scholars such as Ernest Laclau who argue that populism is an inseparable part of political process and others, such as Simon Tormey who argue that populism as a political approach has a potential to regenerate democracy. However, such an approach needs to be reassessed in the contemporary period. Today's cases of populism present that such phenomenon is undermining the basic cornerstones of liberal democracy, such as protection of human rights and pluralism. This is achieved under the proclamation that such measures are done for the benefit of the homogenous masses of 'the people' who were wronged in the past, or that they are essential to achieve the utopian vision of the nation.

To answer the question of whether populism is a force that undermines democracy, it is important to define what democracy is. Scholars do not agree on the definition of democracy, but there are some general characteristics.[1] According to Norman Abjorensen, democracy simply implies to 'rule by the people'.[2] In today's age, democracy is a political system of governance based on the right to choose and replace the government through free and fair elections.[3] In this article, 'liberal democracy' will be examined due to its widespread application in many countries and the fact that it is considered by many (for instance, Francis Fukuyama) as the 'essence of democracy'.[4] Liberal democracy is the ability of citizens to directly participate in the government or through representatives chosen by universal suffrage. It is a system which provides human rights and liberties, such as: freedom of speech, ability to form variety political groups and political opinions (pluralism), institutional checks on the government through the constitution, rule of law, and the separation of

[1] Norman Abjorensen, *Historical Dictionary of Democracy*, (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019) p.3.
[2] Ibid, p.3.
[3] Ibid, p.3.
[4] Holger Ross Lauritsen, 'Democracy and the Separation of Powers: Ranciérean Approach', *Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory*, 11:1 (2011), p.6.

powers.[5] Populism, similar to democracy, does not have a universal definition. Cas Mudde makes an ideational approach, claiming that its core idea is that it appeals to 'the people' and their 'general will' through the division of society; meaning, 'pure people' and the 'elite'.[6] There is a contemporary discourse on whether populism undermines democracy, or in fact aims at the complete eradication of liberal democracy. Some scholars argue against this view. For example, Ernesto Laclau sees populism as an inseparable part of democratic politics and as a force for positive change. Nonetheless, in this article I will argue that populism does undermine liberal democracy, particularly in the contemporary period, and will use populist movements in India, China, Poland, Italy, and France as case studies to demonstrate this theorem.

Some argue that the term populism has an unfair, overwhelming, and negative reputation. Laclau is a prominent scholar who holds a positive viewpoint on populism, arguing that populism is not an ideology but a rhetoric of expressing the demands of ostracised groups from the political sphere of influence.[7] For Laclau, populism is a 'social logic'.[8] Populism is part of a political discourse and part of democracy.[9] A similar sympathetic view on populism is held by Simon Tormey, who argues that the dominating theme of populism being a threat to democracy has been embellished.[10] Tormey agrees with Laclau that populism is democratic politics since all political parties 'appeal to the 'people' to win elections (also a feature of liberal democracy).[11] Tormey also highlights that, increasingly, pluralism and debate gradually diminished to the point of almost not existing at all. [12] These are considered fundamental characteristics of liberal democracy. In fact, Tormey puts forward an argument which states that populism can be 'Pharmakon' (a potential to kill), but also could cure weakening liberal democracy.[13] He states:

> "… populism as analogous to the Pharmakon: that is a product of democracy, but one which also acts upon democracy in ways that may be negative or positive."[14]

Although he does not dismiss the idea that populism can bring risks to politics, Tormey does not see these risks as a product of populism but external factors such as political and societal circumstances

[5] Kenneth Bollen, 'Validity and Method Factors in Cross-National Measures', *American Journal of Political Science*, 37:4, (November 1993), pp.1208-1209.
[6] Cas Mudde, *Populism: An Ideational Approach*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.5-6.
[7] James Hodgson, *On Populist Reason by Ernesto Laclau reviewed by James Hodgson* (January 2019) <https://marxandphilosophy.org.uk/reviews/16457_on-populist-reason-by-ernesto-laclau-reviewed-by-james-hodgson/> [Accessed 5/12/2020].
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason,* (London: Verso, 2005), p.232.
[10] Simon Tormey, 'Populism: democracy's Pharmakon?', *Policy Studies*, 39:3, (May 2018), pp.264-265.
[11] Ibid, pp.264-265.
[12] Ibid, pp.264-265.
[13] Ibid, p.261.
[14] Ibid, p.266.

of the state, such as an economic crisis or terrorism.[15] Tormey concludes that populism can 'revitalise' liberal democracy by engaging the public in political participation through the formation of more parties, pressure groups and other forms of activism.[16]

Some academics indicate that the activism of Gandhi in colonial India is an example of where populism acted as a catalyst for positive change. Contextually, the British were 'elites' whose governance in India had enforced policies of discrimination which a long-term negative impacts upon the life of the common people.[17] Colonial administration classified Indians based on their 'religion, language, caste, ethnic and skin colour' which led to communal divisions.[18] The legislative power of the local councils was concentrated within the hands of elites, with sole accountability to the British rather than to the 'masses'.[19] The voting franchise was limited; only 1 in 250 Indians possessed the right to cast a vote in the local councils.[20] Gandhi's political ideas had been formulated in *Hind Swaraj*. In this book, he stated India needed to remove British rule, since they had exploited India, and pursue complete national independence.[21] Therefore, 'swaraj' meant self-rule that could be achieved through *satyagraha* (active nonviolent resistance to injustice).[22] Gandhi achieved *satyagraha* through 'boycotts' and 'Swadeshi'.[23] The first included not purchasing British goods and the second involved the encouragement of buying only Indian-produced goods.[24]

Thus, Gandhi could be termed a populist. He campaigned against the elitist British, whose policies had a negative effect upon the 'common people' or 'masses' of India. Nonetheless, his actions cannot be defined as something that undermined democracy; rather, he made it possible for India to establish a democracy where all people had access to power and benefits, not just the elite. Moreover, despite criticisms of British colonial rule, he had no intension of expelling the British from India, nor did he promote hatred towards them. Accordingly, Gandhi argues that there are no enemies in *satyagraha*.[25] Gandhi argues that if British people want to embrace his preached teaching, they are welcome to stay in India as a part of the united sovereign nation.[26] This further proves that populism

[15] Ibid, p.269.
[16] Ibid, p.269.
[17] Shashi Tharoor, 'But what about the railways…? The myth of Britain's gits to India', *The Guardian*, (March, 8 2017) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/08/india-britain-empire-railways-myths-gifts> [Accessed 5/12/2020].
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] David Hardiman, *Gandhi in his time and ours; The Global legacy of his ideas,* (London: C. Hurst & Co, 2003), p.69.
[22] Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi,* p.14.
[23] Mazhar Kibriya, *Gandhi and Indian Struggle,* (New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 1999), p.173.
[24] Ibid, p.173.
[25] Hardiman, *Gandhi in his time*, p.52.
[26] Ibid, p.71.

does not automatically translate into tyranny or violation of human rights. In Gandhi's case, he did not promote any form of a 'us' versus 'them' mentality.

Similar patterns of populism aiding democracy can be identified in the modern period, such as the Five Star Movement (M5S) in Italy. The effects of the global financial crisis led to the party's formation in 2009, which became even more exacerbated by the oligarchical nature of the Italian government.[27] M5S labels itself as a 'citizen movement', and in 2013 became the most voted political party in Italy.[28] The movement uses the Internet to connect to citizens to discuss political policies.[29] This shows that the party widely uses public engagement in its decision-making processes, indicating again that populism is not diminishing democracy. This argument is boosted by the fact that the aims of this movement was to bring more direct democracy measures, including the ability of citizens to vote directly on national policies.[30] This was implemented through their 'manifesto being decided by polling registered party members online' or publicly choosing their candidates in an online election.[31] The party even introduced a two-term limit on representatives, which shows that they want to tackle the monopoly on political power.[32] Therefore, Gandhi and the MS5 movement are examples which prominently prove the argument made by Tormey and Laclau that populism is not only an inseparable component of politics, but a factor that may positively rejuvenate democracy rather than undermine it.

Nonetheless, it would be misleading to claim that populism does not contribute to the destabilisation of liberal democracies. Eiríkur Bergmann highlights how right-wing populists spread conspiracy and misinformation as a form manipulation of voters to generate their appeal, which ultimately is a threat to democracy itself.[33] He highlights an example of a conspiracy, called the 'Great Replacement'. This is the theory propagated by right-wing populists that immigrants, in particular Muslims, are taking over Western Europe, destroying its civilisations, and its values.[34] Bergmann uses the example of Marine Le Pen, who was the French candidate in the presidential run in 2017. For instance, Le Pen stated in one speech that French people feel 'displaced' by Muslim immigration,

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[27] The Week, *Italian Elections: what is the Five Star Movement,* (March 5, 2018) <https://www.theweek.co.uk/italian-elections/92081/italian-elections-what-is-the-five-star-movement> [Accessed 6/12/2020].
[28] Christophe Bouillaud, 'A long-term view on current Italian populism: Beppe Grillo's M5S (FiveStars Movement) as the third wave of Italian populist upheaval', *2nd International Populism Conference in Prague: "Current Populism: Impact on the Political Landscape"*, (May 2016), p.1.
[29] Ibid, p.3.
[30] The Week, *Italian Elections: what is the Five Star Movement?*
[31] Alan Johnston, *Italy's Five Star protest makes waves,* (December 7, 2012) <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-20643620> [Accessed 6/12/2020].
[32] The Week, *Italian Elections: what is the Five Star Movement?*
[33] Eiríkur Bergmann, 'Populism and Politics of misinformation', *Safundi,* 21:3, (July 2020) p.225.
[34] Ibid, pp.254-255.

calling it the 'enemy of France'.[35] Her use of Islamophobic language was centred around displacement in an attempt to appeal to French citizens.[36] This adds to the thesis of Ruth Wodak who states that right wing populism is simply a 'politics of fear' and 'arrogance of ignorance' because the movement rejects reason and intellectual discourse in order to promote fear through providing scapegoats as strategies to gain power.[37]

Misinformation and fear can lead to the implementation of policies which hinder basic human rights especially for minority groups who are the most vulnerable. This is also a challenge for democracy, especially liberal democracies, whose aim is to safeguard minority rights. Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser argue that 'populism exploits the tensions that are inherent to liberal democracy', which tries to find a 'harmony between majority and minority rights'.[38] This is because their commitment is vested in 'general will', and often minorities are seen as receiving special treatment and benefits from the elite at the cost of 'the people'.[39] Duncan McDonnell and Luis Carbera also add the point that populism, in particular right-wing populism, claims that 'the people' are not only oppressed by the 'elite' but also 'others' who fall outside the values of their statehood identity.[40]

One example of this would-be Narendra Modi's populism, the leader of the ruling party BJP in India. The BJP is a Hindu nationalist party, which incorporates right-wing rhetoric.[41] Modi and the party itself holds very anti-Muslim sentiments as Muslims fall outside of their perception of what an Indian citizen should be.[42] Accordingly, to be a citizen of India you have to be Hindu.[43] Therefore, those who do not conform are labelled disloyal and an enemy that needs to be eradicated.[44] The rights of Muslim citizens in India are endangered due to the BJP's belief that Muslims are 'security threat' and over-privileged group by the 'elite' Indian congress.[45] This can be exemplified by Modi's decision to pass a *Citizen Amendment Bill* (2019), which uses religion as a factor in granting citizenship, aiming at

[35] Chloe Farand, *Marine Le Pen launches presidential campaign with hardline speech,* (February, 5 2017) <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/marine-le-pen-front-national-speech-campaign-launch-islamic-fundamentalism-french-elections-a7564051.html> [Accessed 7/12/2020].
[36] Bergmann, *Populism and Politics*, p.225.
[37] Ruth Wodak, *The politics of fear: What right-wing populist discourses mean?* (London: Sage Publications Ltd,2015) p.2.
[38] Cas Mudde, *Populism: a very short introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017) p.82.
[39] Ibid, p.90.
[40] Duncan McDonnell and Luis Carbrera, 'The right wing populism of India's Bharatiya Janata Party (and why comparativists should care)', *Democratization,* 26:3 (2019) p.487.
[41] Ibid, p.488.
[42] Ibid. p.488-89.
[43] Ibid p.488-89.
[44] Ibid p.488-491.
[45] Ibid, p.491.

identifying 'illegal migrants'.[46] This resulted in creating fear amongst the Muslims living in India that the law would remove their citizenship.[47] This discriminatory law resulted in massive protests in India, that turned violent due to the intervention of state police and mobs.[48] One BJP member, Kabil Mishra, called the protestors 'traitors' that need to be 'shot'.[49] This links back to BJP's populist narrative of homogenous identity with non-conformers being a state enemy. This demonstrates that populism is an undermining force for democracy through the construction of extreme measures to preserve power, including the encroachment on human rights.

Populism undermines democracy through constraining pluralism and the judiciary. Mudd and Kaltwasser reiterate the argument that populism asserts that 'nothing that should constrain "the will of the people"', demonstrating that naturally populists reject any concept of pluralism and independent institutions.[50] Additionally, Nadia Urbinati, Norman Gidron, Bart Bonikowski and Takis Pappas argue populism is incompatible with liberal democracies since its aim is to make the interests of masses take precedent over liberal democracies' principles of constitutional limitations.[51] This can be exemplified by activities of right-wing Law and Justice Party (PIS) in Poland. The party formed a government with an overwhelming majority through propagating antagonism and the promise of economic benefits.[52] In 2015, right after coming to power, PIS passed a law concerning judiciary. The law allowed for Low Chamber members to choose members of the judiciary and permitted setting up special disciplinary committees to have the power in firing judges if they engaged in 'political activity'.[53] This was all done with justification from the government that the judiciary was dominated by corrupted elites.[54] This measure violates the independence of judiciary and consequently

[46] Human Rights Watch, '*Shoot the traitors'; Discrimination Against Muslim under India's New Citizenship Policy* (April 9, 2020) <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/04/09/shoot-traitors/discrimination-against-muslims-under-indias-new-citizenship-policy> [Accessed 8/12/2020].
[47] Ibid.
[48] Rana Ayyub*, Narendra Modi Looks the Other Way as New Delhi burns* (February 28, 2020) <https://time.com/5791759/narendra-modi-india-delhi-riots-violence-muslim/> [Accessed December 7, 2020].
[49] Human Rights Watch, '*Shoot the traitors'.*
[50] Mudde, *Populism,* p.81.
[51] Norman Gidron & Bart Bonikowski, 'Varieties of Populism: Literature Review and Research Agenda', *Working Paper Series,* 13-0004, (June 28, 2014), pp.18-20.
[52] Slawomir Sierakowski, *Why Poland's Populists keep winning,* <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/10/09/polands-populism-winning-welfare-state/> (October 9, 2020) [Accessed 6/12/2020].
[53] Alistair Walsh, *What are Poland's controversial judicial reforms?* (November 5,2019) <https://www.dw.com/en/what-are-polands-controversial-judicial-reforms/a-51121696> [Accessed 9/12/2020].
[54] Aleks Szczerbiak*, How will the latest judicial reform controversy affect Poland's presidential election,* (January 27, 2020) <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2020/01/27/how-will-the-latest-judicial-reform-controversy-affect-polands-presidential-election/> [Accessed 7/12/2020].

diminishes the concept of 'separation of powers' and 'rule of law', which are the cornerstones of liberal democracy.

Recently, PIS undermined another cornerstone of liberal democracy – the freedom of the press. Accordingly, a state-run company purchased the largest private media company, called *Polska Press*, which essentially led to complete seizure of independent media.[55] This measure has a long-term consequence; it means that the key media distributor in Poland is only allowed to operate within the governmental approved narrative. In India, the BJP also suppresses the activities of independent organisations, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and English-language media (which the BJP classifies as the elite), whose activities aim at defaming the image of the BJP.[56] The BJP blocked international funding to at least twenty-five Indian NGOs by eliminating their licences.[57] NGOs such as Amnesty International lost their right in operating in India since they report critical views on India's governmental policies regarding human rights and other pressing issues.[58] This demonstrates that populism, especially from right-wing groups, is incompatible with liberal democracy; in fact, populist groups actively pursue measures which undermine democracy. This is because they cannot cope with pluralism as the presence of different opinions incites criticism towards their authority.

A parallel case study of Xi Jinping further indicates my argument that populism undermines liberal democracy due to its intrusion on pluralism and constitutionalism. Jinping's power has been culminated into a political ideology sustained by the excessive cult of personality, known as a "Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristic for a New Era".[59] The 'Xi Jinping thought' has become a guiding ideology for the conduct the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and have been enshrined into China's state constitution in 2017.[60] His ideology is however incompatible with liberal democracy. In fact, his ideology is a design for his consolidation of power, with the unreasonable justification that an unelected one party-leader, is a better alternative to liberal democracy, as it leads to corruption.[61] In the 'Little Yellow Book' which contains Jinping's ideology, he states: "Who on Earth

[55] Vanessa Gera, *Polish state oil refinery buying key private media company,* (December 7, 2020) <http://www.wboc.com/story/43016738/polish-state-oil-refiner-buying-key-private-media-company> [Accessed 9/12/2020].
[56] McDonnell, Carbrera, *The right-wing populism,* p.490.
[57] Vidhi Doshi, *India accused of muzzling NGOs by blocking foreign funding* (November 24, 2016) <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/nov/24/india-modi-government-accused-muzzling-ngos-by-blocking-foreign-funding> [Accessed 9/12/2020].
[58] Murali Krishnan, *Why is India cracking down on human right groups?* (January 10, 2020) <https://www.dw.com/en/why-is-india-cracking-down-on-human-rights-groups/a-55105954> [Accessed 9/12/2020].
[59] Chris Buckley, *Xi Jinping Thought explained: A New Ideology for a New Era,* (February 26, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/26/world/asia/xi-jinping-thought-explained-a-new-ideology-for-a-new-era.html> [Accessed 10/12/2020].
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

doesn't love a good leader?" and "Only Socialism can save China".[62] These statements indicate how Jinping and his rule are very much against pluralism and power being invested in the people through different means (governmental and non-governmental activities). This can be highlighted through his passed legislations such as termination of presidential term limits in 2018, and setting himself as head of various Party committees and administrative functions, thus ultimately making China's state affairs being run by one man.[63] Treatment of the autonomous Hong Kong, also present that populist Jinping violates principles of liberal democracy. Hong Kong had been a British colony until 1997 when it was given back to China under special status that allowed Hong Kong to maintain high level autonomy, including continuation of their democratic governance.[64] However, Hong-Kong's democracy has been under attack from the CCP. This is illustrated by the CCP's implementation of policy in 2014, which would allow them to appoint Hong Kong's chief executive (top official); a position which is filled through democratic election.[65] This triggered democratic movements, such as the Umbrella revolution.[66] The CCP also passed security law in 2020 that allows persecuting anyone who is under the suspicion of foreign influence that endangers China's state security.[67] This means that even activities of civil societies can classify under 'foreign threat' only because their agenda does not fit Jinping's communist narrative.[68]

In this article, it is very clearly portrayed that populism possesses a clear danger to undermine democracy. This may be especially true by populists of right-wing parties, particularly in the contemporary period, although the case of Jinping presents that populism can be also applied in left-wing ideology. Nevertheless, this unique case also comes from the fact that Jinping inherited an autocratic system of governance whose legitimacy is based upon the usage of surveillance and encroachment on people's liberties. In general, however once populism and its leaders gain electoral power, they are not capable of sustaining themselves under the presence of pluralism and constitutionalism, whose purpose is to keep state authority accountable to all its citizens. This is

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[62] Xi Jiping*, Quotations from Chairman Xi Dada*, Julie O'Yang and Fernando Eloy (eds.), (Macau: maisOriente Ltd, 2019), pp.11-17.
[63] Michael Holtz, *Xi for life? China turns its back on collective leadership* <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2018/0228/Xi-for-life-China-turns-its-back-on-collective-leadership> (February 28,2018) [Accessed 10/12/2020].
[64] Gordon G, Chang, The Hong Kong Moment: Trouble on China's periphery, *World Affairs,* 177:5, (January/February 2015), p.10.
[65] Ibid, p.9-11.
[66] Ibid, p.9.
[67] Jen Kirby, '*"It is an official death sentences for Hong Kong": China moves to pass national security law'* <https://www.vox.com/2020/5/21/21266419/hong-kong-china-national-security-law-protests> (May 21, 2020) [Accessed 10/12/2020].
[68] Amnesty International*, Hong Kong's national security law:10 things you need to know*, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/07/hong-kong-national-security-law-10-things-you-need-to-know/> (July 17,2020) [Accessed 10/12/2020].

because populism is prioritising the homogenous 'masses' over anything else. Populist leaders possess according to their viewpoint morally unquestionable ground that permits them to do anything including curbing liberal democratic values under the banner of the interest of 'the people' and the blind faith that such measures will elevate their nations to their utopian vision of progress.

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