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Letter from the Editors

After the success of this academic year, we are delighted to present the sixth issue of the Aberdeen Historical Review (AHR). Our July 2024 issue, which was published on our website (https://abdnhistory.co.uk/published-issues) has excitedly welcomed more readers than ever! We hope that with each new issue published this engagement with the Review will continue to grow.

The Aberdeen Historical Review began in February 2021 amid the second semester of online teaching when a group of students from the university came together to discuss how they missed the uplifting atmosphere created by being on campus. As a result, the Review was established to celebrate the successes of Aberdeen University's students and continue to inspire academic accomplishments throughout the pandemic and beyond. The AHR is an open-access academic undergraduate journal that publishes first-class scholarship produced by students at the University of Aberdeen. Each paper was written for a History Honours course at the university and thoroughly peer-reviewed by a dedicated board of students. Authors and reviewers partake in an anonymised dialogue, through which authors are challenged to review and develop their papers. In this way, the essays are allowed to reach their greatest potential. Simultaneously, peer reviewers are enabled to take a unique approach to each paper and utilise their creativity, critical thinking, and academic writing skills in advising the author on improvements.

Throughout the 2024/25 academic year, we introduced our project to many Honours students. We were delighted to see students and staff referring to the journal as a continuing source of inspiration and a vital student-led project. Although the AHR is part of a global network of undergraduate publications it is primarily intended as a tool for its community in Aberdeen. We hope that students from across the year groups will use the AHR as a guiding voice as they write their assessments. This volume includes the course number and title for which each essay is produced, allowing students and tutors alike to refer to first-class essays from a specific History course.

Anna Dvořáková opens this issue with an exploration of the late antique cult of relics and its dynamic development. Following this, Sofie Dennis analyses the context of the Norse Settlement in Scotland, specifically The Brough of Deerness. Our third essay by Tess Harvey offers a comparative analysis of different issues of Magna Carta. Vanessa Panfili then engages with woman autonomy during the French Wars of Religion, focusing on Margurite d'Angouleme and Renée of France. Following this, Joseph Bagnall analyses the confusing

nature of the ‘state’ in the medieval and early modern historiography. Anna Lackie then explores the ‘new’ military history in the context of First and Second World Wars. Staying in the military history, Conrad Funk offers an innovative approach to examine disability under Nazism. Closing this issue, Alina Kops analyses the centrality of Black leadership in the gay liberation movement in the late twentieth century United States.

As the new editorial board, we would like to thank everyone who was involved in helping to create the Aberdeen Historical Review. Specifically, we wish to thank our peer reviewers who were crucial in the editing process and all the student authors who submitted their essays to the journal. We were honoured to work with many talented and dedicated undergraduate students who now embark on new paths within academia and beyond. Producing the seventh issue of the AHR has been a rewarding experience but we could not have achieved this without the support of our faculty advisors Dr. Bradford Bow and Dr. Owen Walsh. We also want to thank the History Department for their continuing guidance and support. Finally, thank you to the readers for supporting us, we hope you enjoy reading the journal as much as we enjoyed making it.

Your Editors

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‘Touching Dead Bodies’: How did the cult of relics develop in Late Antiquity?

ANNA DVOŘÁKOVÁ

Anna Dvořáková is a third year History and Theology & Religion student and Layout Editor for AHR and President of the History Society. Her areas of interest revolve around the cult of saints and pilgrimage in the late antique Mediterranean, specifically through the lens of religious and environmental history.[1]

Peter Brown has explored reasons for early saint veneration, arguing that the cult of saints as ‘exemplars’ was to embody Christianity’s ‘central value system’ while continuing the “native” Civilisation of Paideia.[2] This was characterised by a master-pupil relationship, suggesting that the cult of saints was used as a tool for Christianisation within the polytheistic Mediterranean in the first centuries AD.[3] The cult of corporeal relics developed later in the 4th century AD. The intensity and speed of the relics’ popularity are striking, as Gregory of Nyssa’s writing attests, ‘Those who behold [the relic] embrace it as though it were a live and flourishing body, kissing the eyes, the mouth, the ears, and all the senses. Then, shedding tears of devotion and sorrow, they present their requests for [the martyr’s] intercession as if they were presenting them to the whole and visible martyr.’[4] Therefore, this essay will showcase the ways that corporeal relics came to be venerated by the Christian Mediterranean in Late Antiquity by focusing on the cultural attitudes towards dead bodies preceding the cult and the functions that corporeal remains had in facilitating the development of the cult of relics. As such, the healing

[1] This essay was written for HI306G: History of the Body.
[2] Peter Brown, ‘The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity’, *Representations*, (Spring 1983), pp. 1-25 (p. 9).
[3] Brown, ‘The Saint’, p. 10-16.
[4] John Wortley, ‘The Origins of Christian veneration of body-parts’, *Revue de l’historie des religions*, 223:1 (2006), pp. 5-28 (p. 26).

properties of saintly bodies and the dogmatisation of the cult by the Church figures will be discussed.

Firstly, it is crucial to establish definitions of relics and Late Antiquity to specify both the subject of this research and the timeframe. Kydd identifies a relic as 'the body or whatever remains of a holy person after death (first-class relic), as well as objects that had actual contact with the saint's body during his lifetime (second-class).'[5] While this encompasses the relic type explored in this essay, it excludes tertiary relics, which could be personal objects that touched first- or second-class relics. Ultimately, to understand the development of the cult, it is important to note that relics, just as their saintly progenitors, acted as working bridges between the mundane and the divine.[6] Contextually, the Late Antique world, a timeframe between AD 250 and 750,[7] witnessed major political, cultural, and religious shifts across the Mediterranean. It witnessed the legalisation of Christianity and the emergence of the cult of relics in the 4th century alongside other body-focused traditions such as pilgrimage. These pivotal events thus create a unique and formative timeframe to explore the developments in relation to its cultural and historical roots, common practice, and utilisation by the Church leaders.

In order to understand the later development and practices within the cult of relics, it is crucial to explore the cultural context from which it stemmed. The Late Antique Mediterranean was a diverse space, which raises the question of how contemporary attitudes towards the dead body influenced body veneration in early Christianity. To encompass that vast diversity, we will explore the four dominant cultures most likely to have influenced Christianity. Christians

[5] Ronald Kydd, 'Jesus, Saints, and Relics: Approaching the Early Church through Healing', *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, 1:2 (1993), pp. 91-104 (p. 95).
[6] Alexandra Walsham, 'Introduction: Relics and Remains', *Past & Present*, 206:5 (2010), pp. 9–36 (p. 13).
[7] University of Oxford, 'Oxford Centre for Late Antiquity', <https://www.history.ox.ac.uk/oxford-centre-late-antiquity> [accessed 1 December 2024].

following the Jewish attitude would seem most obvious, given the Judo-Christian tradition. However, 'in Jewish law, the cadaver is a source of ritual pollution, a thing to be disposed of as quickly as possible,'[8] suggesting a disgust for the dead body, making veneration impossible. Given the cult of relics emerged from a Graeco-Roman context, it is logical to explore their customs as well. Greeks believed that the absence of burial stopped the next stage of existence from occurring.[9] This makes it unlikely the cult emerged there, despite the existence of hero relics and cults. [10] This being the case as these relics would have been 'always hidden from sight among the Hellenes, never available for touch.'[11] Indeed, this affirms the distant attitude held by the Greeks, reaffirming the Greeks as an unlikely progenitor. Romans followed a similar philosophy to the Greeks, believing in burial strictly outside of the city. This showcases the collective caution of the Jewish and pagan world, which later translated to disgust for Christian relic obsession. Indeed, this is well-elucidated by Eunapius of Sardis, who writes, 'The heads, salted and pickled, of those infamous malefactors, who for the multitude of their crimes have suffered a just and ignominious death (…) such are the martyrs (…) whose tombs are now consecrated as the objects of the veneration of the people.'[12]

Lastly, Egyptian practice shall be explored given that the first saints, Desert Fathers, resided in the Egyptian deserts, and their followers interacted with the locals, creating the perfect breeding ground for rite exchange. Indeed, Egyptians most likely had the largest influence on the cult of relics given its great resemblance to Egyptian rituals.

Specifically, Egyptian mummification and the subsequent preservation of said bodies in the houses of the living ones[13] resemble the later Christian practice of physical closeness with

[8] Wortley, 'The Origins', p. 8.
[9] Ibid, p. 9.
[10] Ibid, p. 9.
[11] Ibid, p. 15.
[12] Ibid, p. 10.
[13] Ibid, p. 20.

saints' relics is striking. As Wortley suggests, a certain cultural exchange in the context of a relationship with the physical remains of their distinguished members was present.[14]

Biblical and early church attitudes towards the body and the dead are also relevant for exploration, as they can reveal potential 'inherent' tendencies towards body veneration. According to Salonia, the Christian conception of the body is a key component behind body veneration,[15] believing that the veneration of relics was simply the 'consequence of a coherent philosophy of the body'.[16] Indeed, as already established by the cult of saints, functioning without mortal remains, the belief that one's 'ability to perform miracles was not interrupted by but rather increased by death'[17] already existed in the early Christian context. However, the early cult of saints functioned without relics, as the example of St Ignatius of Antioch proves, given his popularity and lack of remains.[18] I would argue that the importance of relics arose based on the biblical focus on physicality during thaumathurgic healings. As attested by Wortley, public demand for a constant source of the divine healing power emerged, [19] and saints' mortal remains served as the supply, with their inherent immobility and continuous divine powers.

Based on this evidence, I would disagree with Salonia's fundamentalistic view of the cult as simply a natural development of philosophy based on Christian metaphysical systems. Instead, I argue that the roots of the Christian cult of relics can be understood as a merging of Egyptian practices with the New Testament emphasis on physical closeness during thaumathurgic healing. Whilst Egyptian practices laid the groundwork for veneration in the practical sense, the biblical and theological ideas regarding bodies (both living and dead) served as a

[14] Ibid, p. 18.
[15] Matteo Salonia, 'The Body in Medieval Spirituality', *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*, 14 (2018), pp. 3-20 (p. 11).
[16] Salonia, 'The Body', p. 4.
[17] Ibid, p. 14.
[18] Leszek Misiarczyk, 'The Beginning of the Cult of Relics in Martyrium Polycarpi 17–18', in *Series Byzantina XIV* (Warsaw, 2016), pp.13-23 (p. 20).
[19] Wortley, 'The Origins', p. 20.

subsequent explanation for these newly acquired and contextually controversial beliefs and practices regarding saintly cadavers.

Despite the cultural controversy the cult of relics sparked, it evolved fairly quickly into a popular tradition, owing to the belief that saintly posthumous miracles manifested in their mortal remains. However, the cult, in its beginnings, had a variety of often contradictory practices, creating a diverse, multifunctional veneration of dead bodies. This mirrored the diverse cultures and religious backgrounds of the Late Antique Mediterranean. Therefore, I will focus on the progress of ideas surrounding the presence, partiality, and absence of the saint's remains to showcase its dynamic development.

The healing powers of relics predominantly relied on the belief in holy radiation,[20] substantiating the aforementioned Christological need for physical closeness during healings. Indeed, Brown suggests that the early Christian preference for the wholeness of a body directly relates to the sense of possibility of realisation of the image of God in man, bringing Christ into the present.[21] The dead body was regarded as a healing, living body, implying the need for its wholeness. Furthermore, the predominant belief was that a martyr could not be spiritually effective in more than one place at a time, and dismembering martyrs' remains risked diminishing the effectiveness of their power.[22] Therefore, the early cult of relics functioned similarly to the living cult of saints since they required a whole body in order to manifest its miraculous powers.

[20] Belief that saints' miraculous powers were dependent on one's proximity to the relic.
[21] Brown, 'The Saint', p. 21.
[22] Julia Smith, 'Cursing and Curing, or the Practice of Christianity in Eight-Century Rome', in *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham*, ed. By Ross Balzaretti, Julia Barrow, and Patricia Skinner, (Oxford University Press, 2018).

While the Roman imperial law of 386 AD ruled that nobody should divide or trade a martyr, some remains could be dispersed and venerated thanks to the manner of saints' execution.[23] This allowed for the initial body part veneration, while still being in accordance with the jurisdiction and the requirement for an uncorrupted, healing body. This need for the whole body, however, changed into body part veneration fairly swiftly. Gaining popularity, namely through portable reliquaries that replaced fixed tombs, this progression stressed the role of the relic's presence in the healing process,[24] as opposed to the need for a full saint's presence as mentioned earlier. Now Christians believed that even the tiniest fragment of remains radiated the same miraculous powers as the whole body.[25] Wiśniewski suggests that this phenomenon emerged in the 6th century.[26] Interestingly, despite the changing conviction that a saint cannot be present in more than one place, the holy radiation translated into body part veneration, nonetheless. This ultimately created a new movement that allowed a more mobile and accessible Christian healing.

However, throughout the development of the cult of relics, the physical body was often not even needed. St Thecla's case, with no dead body present, proves helpful in understanding this phenomenon. Following St Thecla being swallowed by the earth, a shrine was built at the supposed place in Seleucia and was known to have performed miracles comparable to those of bodily relics.[27] Therefore, we can acknowledge that the importance of the physical body could be reduced to the memory of where the saint once resided. This, nonetheless, highlights the stable continuity of the belief in holy radiation within the cult of saints and their relics.

[23] Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?: Saints and Worshippers From the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 241.
[24] Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, 'The Posthumous Miracles of St. Eustratios on a Sinai Templon Beam', in *Byzantine Religious Culture: studies in honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, ed. By Denis Sullivan, Elizabeth Fisher, and Stratis Papaioannou (Brill, 2012), pp. 267-287 (p. 278).
[25] Joe Nickell, 'Mystical Readings', in *Looking for a Miracle* (Prometheus Books, 1998), p. 73.
[26] Robert Wiśniewski, *The Beginnings of the Cult of Relics* (Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 215.
[27] Wiśniewski, p. 46.

Exploring these three 'levels' of body relic veneration uncovers the flexibility and adaptability of the movement in Late Antiquity. It retains the core belief in the continuation of a saint's presence in their mortal remains and, in some cases, places where the body (both dead and alive) once laid. The lingering idea of holy radiation changed significantly throughout time and space in practice and remains crucial within the cult of relics. Moreover, it helps us better understand early Christian theology, which discusses how God's actions through intermediates (saints) can be accessed and transferred physically.[28]

Another crucial development in the cults of relics concerns the Church's theological and doctrinal impact, which resulted in the creation of the seemingly singular cult of relics in the Middle Ages. With the sheer diversity of practices and approaches to the cult of relics, it is crucial to ask why the Church figures had welcomed the 'body part' tradition and often preferred it to whole body veneration or absent body veneration.

Notably, these are not necessarily a chronological set of events happening universally across the Mediterranean. It could better be understood as the Church and its highly esteemed figures trying to keep any new practices 'within limits' differently, reacting according to the given context.

Firstly, it is crucial to understand that the aforementioned healing practices provided by saints and their relics served as the operant centre of Christian healing from its beginning in the 4th century, through to the end of Late Antiquity.[29] Putting the Christian religion in the midst of such a crucial need, physical healing and spirituality, whilst ultimately creating a demand for

[28] Wiśniewski, p. 217.
[29] Kydd, 'Jesus', p. 100.

a constant healing body,[30] motivated the Church leaders to expand this movement. Indeed, Christianity became a religion of salvation and healing, according to Harnack.[31]

It is known that healing was also a tool for conversion, either as a 'condition of the cure or was a result of the miracle'.[32] The spread and popularisation of healing relics helped in non-Christian communities, allowing non-believers to overcome their despairs, consequently allowing for a more 'natural' conversion of communities. As Csepregi points out, 'the healed and converted supplicant may return to his co-religionists,'[33] narrate his miraculous experience, which may 'end with the conversion of the entire group'.[34] A practical example is provided through the translation[35] of St Babylas. His remains were translated to a newly built martyr church next to Apollo's temple as part of an 'offensive against the old gods'.[36] This clearly illustrates the Church's use of relics beyond the popular utilisation for healing, that is, as a 'weapon' against pagan religions and ultimately a tool to spread Christianity within the Mediterranean and beyond. St Babylas' example illuminates the general attitude towards relic translation and its evolution, as it clearly demonstrates the Church's need for widespread relic translation to achieve its goals. Moving the dead body was frowned upon at the beginning of the cult, however, it became necessary since translation served as a declaration of sainthood before the papal canonisation degree in AD 993.[37] By making this an indispensable rite to ensure sainthood, the Church figures essentially utilised doctrine to control the practices within the cult.

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[30] Wortley, 'The Origins', p. 20.
[31] Adolph von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, ed. and trans. by James Moffatt (London: William & Norgate, 1908), p. 108.
[32] Ildikó Csepregi, 'Theological Self-Definition in Byzantine Miraculous Healing', in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, and Balázs Nagy (Central European University Press, 2011), p. 19.
[33] Csepregi, p. 20.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Liturgical moving of relics
[36] Bartlett, p. 11.
[37] Harnack, p. 16.

Thus, it seems apparent that the Church possessed incentives to acquire more saints' bodies. Consequently, we see highly renowned Church figures trying to rethink imperial laws in places where the veneration became popular. A clear example of this is Gregory of Nyssa, who divides grave-robbing into pardonable and unpardonable, depending on whether it is 'preferable and more beneficial to the community'.[38] Moreover, the acquisition of relics, even by grave robbing, proved to be crucial in the Late Antique religious competition, as DesRosiers suggests.[39] Thus, not only did it become crucial to allow relic translation generally, but as DesRosiers points out, relics proved pivotal within the religious competition for dominance.

Besides these practices, an essential development of the cult of relics was determined through the Church limiting the powers of dead bodies, creating a more unified way to venerate bodies. For instance, oil, used for healing in Egypt and other parts of the Mediterranean, was consecrated through contact with relics.[40] Indeed the Church used relics to continuously attempt to 'demarcate acceptable Christian consecration from 'magical ones' and prevent the faithful from recurring to the latter'.[41] This example helps us to understand the aims of the Church to unify and ultimately dogmatise Christianity and Christian rites within the Late Antique Mediterranean.

The reasons why the Church chose to popularise the cult of relics despite the conflicting cultural context reflect Christianity's Late Antique goals. The Church's aims to spread Christianity and assert doctrine and dominance manifested in the Late Antique cult of relics through contesting juridical policies, amending translation 'policies' to fit the Church goals and become 'the medicine of soul and body',[42] making Christianity indispensable. Lastly, the

[38] Sean Lafferty, 'Ad Sanctitatem Mortuorum: Tomb Raiders, Body Snatchers and Relic Hunters in Late Antiquity', *Early medieval Europe* 22.3 (2014), pp. 249–279.
[39] Nathaniel P. DesRosiers and Lily C. Vuong, *Religious Competition in the Greco-Roman World* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2016), p. 199.
[40] Ágnes T. Mihálykó, 'Healing in Christian Liturgy in Late Antique Egypt: Sources and Perspectives', *Trends in classics*, 13:1 (2021), pp. 154–194 (p. 170).
[41] Mihálykó, 'Healing', p. 170.
[42] Harnack, p. 108.

practices themselves were controlled by Church figures, creating a system of conversion and later indoctrination to assert the Christian beliefs in the individual and their whole community. Still, this could have been done with full bodies as well as absent bodies.

Why, then, was the body part veneration adopted and popularised by the Church more than that of a whole body? In short, body parts were easier to transport than whole bodies, creating a web of easily utilised and mobile objects accessible to a wide range of people. Yet, when compared to absent bodies, body parts represented a tangible proof of miraculous powers for non-believers and created a sense of prestige. They also required believers to travel to and physically attend the church, keeping them actively engaged with the Church and reaffirming their beliefs through the holy radiation, even on the tiniest fragment.

To summarise, this essay shows that the role of the dead body changed significantly throughout the first few centuries of the cult of relics, influencing Christianity's reach, ways of prayer, and power significantly. Firstly, outlining the roots of this movement helped us to understand the low probability of such a tradition gaining much popularity once juxtaposed with the surrounding cultures' attitudes towards 'touching,' let alone venerating, dead bodies. Despite this unfavourable context, the mixture of the Egyptian pagan dead body veneration with the Christological stress on the physical contact during thaumathurgical healing flourished in the 4th century as a posthumous continuation of one's physical relationship with a cult of a saint. Furthermore, I have found a certain development of the beliefs concerning the state of the body (ie., whole, partial, absent) and its fluidity depending on the time-space context. Therefore, I argue that the cult of relics developed as a popular movement with local influences on the treatment of the dead body, whilst keeping the broadness of the saint's powers in miracle-working. Lastly, the role of the Church in this development was thoroughly discussed due to the inherent importance of the theologians' and Church's attitudes because of the

influence it had had on the doctrination and spread of the said movement. Indeed, the research revealed that the Church often opposed what seems to be the intuitive approach and changed the policies and traditions to use body part veneration to assert its place in society as ‘medicine of soul and body’. Ultimately, it spread Christianity thanks to the inherent larger practicality of body parts translation as compared to whole body translation.

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The Character of Norse Settlement in Scotland: The Brough of Deerness in Context

SOFIE DENNIS

Sofie Dennis is a third-year joint honours student in Celtic & Anglo-Saxon Studies and History. Her research interests include the Crovan dynasty and their rulership over the Kingdom of Mann and the Isles and Druidry in the pre-Christian Insular World. As she progresses into fourth year this autumn, she hopes to take on one of these areas as a dissertation topic, with a focus on the intersection between history and archaeology.[1]

This paper will examine the Brough of Deerness and its broader scholarly context to explore the nature of Norse settlement in Viking Age Scotland. The Brough of Deerness, a site dating from the 10th-12th centuries, is one of the most important archaeological finds for Norse Scotland for two key reasons. It underscores the transition from Paganism to Christianity through its religious finds. Additionally, it sheds light on the everyday lives of its settlers through analysis of important structures and industries. More broadly, James Barrett identifies several key themes that delineate the shift from kin groups to polities. The three most relevant themes are the transition from Pagan to Christian ideologies, the centralisation of government, and changes to subsistence strategies. These themes will be analysed to illuminate aspects of both Norse settlements in Scotland and the broader scholarly discourse. However, before these topics can be properly explored, a few key terms need to be defined. Firstly, Viking and Norse will be used interchangeably, as this paper deals exclusively with the Norse peoples who travelled away from their Scandinavian homelands. This means this paper will refer to the

[1] This essay was written for AY3009: Scottish Archaeology.

Norse people still residing in Scandinavia (specifically Norway) as Norwegians. Secondly, it is important to define what is meant by the 'Viking Age' or the 'Viking Period.' While this is a matter that is hotly contested in scholarship, for this essay, it will be defined as the 9th to the 12th centuries, as this is the breadth of the evidence discussed here. This paper argues that the Brough of Deerness exemplifies the complex interaction between Viking settlers and the local population, as well as the broader shifts in culture, religion, and governance during the Viking Age.

The Brough of Deerness Site and its Context

The Brough of Deerness is an archaeological dig site on the eastern mainland of Orkney, dating from approximately the 10th-12th centuries.[2] Working off earlier aerial photographs taken in the 1970s,[3] James Barrett and his team expanded on the project by employing methods such as stratigraphy and chronology to unearth further Viking dwellings (like Structure 25), sediment sampling to be used for geochemical analysis,[4] and topographic survey to "[give] an approximation of the form of the base of the surrounding cliff."[5] Additionally, they established a fruitful excavation site at the Brough of Deerness, which uncovered Viking dwellings, a coin bearing the face of Eadgar (r. 959-975 CE),[6] and animal bone samples. Furthermore, the remnants of a stone church were discovered superimposed over the remains of an earlier timber church. The stone church is most likely of Viking or Norse origin, based on its architectural resemblance to other Norse constructions;[7] however, the

[2] James Gerrard and James Barrett, *The Brough of Deerness Excavations 2009: Annual Data Structure Report* (McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, 2009), 1.
[3]Gerrard and Barrett, *Brough of Deerness Excavations 2009*, 4.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Gerrard and Barrett, *Brough of Deerness Excavations 2009*, 14.
[6] J. Barrett, R. Beukens, and D. Brothwell, "Radiocarbon Dating and Marine Reservoir Correction of Viking Age Christian Burials from Orkney," *Antiquity* 74, 285 (2000): 538.
[7] Barrett 2003 elucidates one of these architectural characteristics to be rectangular-shaped longhouses.

timber church below is a matter of some debate. That is to say, Barrett, Beukens, and Brothwell attest that "the timber phase could be pre-Viking but is more likely to belong to a Norse milieu based on architectural characteristics."[8] This argument is reinforced by Canmore, which clarifies that some circular indentations interpreted as Pictish structures, thereby leading to the inference that the timber church could have been Pictish, were actually the result of shelling in WWI. They assert the "remainder of the buildings, including the church, are probably of Norse and later medieval date."[9]

From these finds, in addition to others, several inferences can be made about the Viking settlement at the Brough of Deerness. The most salient of the finds is the discovery of the churches. Barrett et al. use the coin of Eadgar as evidence of the stone church phase having been built no earlier than 959 CE – the beginning of Eadgar's reign. They argue, "This date is entirely consistent with the AD 995 conversion tradition or with mid-11th century developments under Earl Thorfinn. The same cannot be said, however, for the earlier wooden chapel stratigraphically below the Eadgar coin… The crucial point is that it probably precedes Olaf Tryggvason's alleged mission of 995."[10] If it is indeed true that the wooden church predates the traditionally accepted date for the conversion of Norse Scotland, this situates the Brough of Deerness as a pivotal site for understanding Viking settlement in Scotland. It would hold key evidence for potentially challenging the currently accepted scholarship and written sources such as the *Life of Findan* and the *Orkneyinga Saga.*[11] However, this is not the only important implication of the finds at Brough of Deerness. It also contributes to a deeper understanding of the subsistence strategies used by the Norse settlers in Orkney.

[8] Ibid.
[9] "Brough of Deerness," *Canmore*, Historic Environment Scotland, accessed December 2, 2024, https://canmore.org.uk/site/2927/brough-of-deerness.
[10] J. Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age and When Did It Happen? A View from Orkney," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 33, 1 (2000): 13-14.
[11] Barrett, Beukens, and Brothwell, "Radiocarbon Dating," 540.

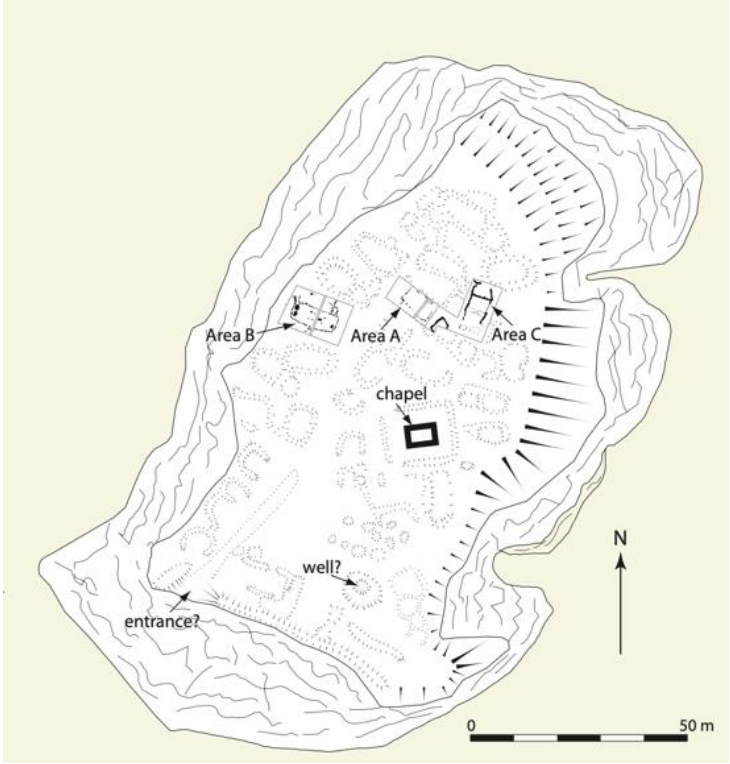

Fig. 1 – Map from Gerrard and Barrett 2009 depicting the layout of the Brough of Deerness site.

As shown in Fig. 1 above, the site is more than simply a structure or two. It is a complex network comprising both domestic and non-domestic structures, as well as the aforementioned churches. This demonstrates the extent of the settlement. The layout represents "a substantial nucleated settlement"[12] with structures "characteristic of a Scandinavian milieu."[13] Both Structure 20 (in Area B) and Structure 25 (in Area C) were domestic spheres converted into non-domestic spaces over time,[14] which suggests the gradual introduction of industry. One such industry was metalworking, implied by the appearance of a copper alloy boss and lead weight.[15] The presence of animal bone also reveals information about subsistence strategies. Samples of animal bone have been dated to the Pictish period,[16] indicating pre-Viking, potentially Pictish,

[12] Gerrard and Barrett, *Brough of Deerness Excavations 2009*, 3.
[13] Ibid, 2.
[14] Gerrard and Barrett, *Brough of Deerness Excavations 2009*, passim.
[15] Ibid, 2.
[16] James H. Barrett and Adam Slater, "New Excavations at the Brough of Deerness: Power and Religion in Viking Age Scotland," *Journal of the North Atlantic* 2 (2009): 87, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26688132.

use of the site. This, coupled with Barrett's recurring proposition that the site was used by the Norse over a long period, suggests the Brough of Deerness was an attractive location for settlement. Its proximity to the coast made marine subsistence strategies easily accessible,[17] and the sandy soil is optimal for growing crops such as barley and oats.[18] Thus, this site offers critical insights that shine a light on both the religious landscape and subsistence strategies of Viking Scotland.

The Brough of Deerness can be understood more comprehensively through comparison with similar archaeological sites. For example, the site at Westness (7th to 9th centuries) comprises Christian Pictish burials underneath Pagan Norse ones, illustrating a shift in religious practices over time.[19] The stone chapel at Deerness has been dated to the mid-10th century, with an earlier timber phase predating it. While both sites exist within overlapping periods, Westness reflects a Pagan Norse identity, whereas Deerness is predominantly Christian. Isotopic analysis conducted at Westness suggests that not all the people buried there originated from the same place.[20] This suggests movement throughout the Viking diaspora in Scotland, and subsequently cultural contact and exchange between individual groups, which could account for conflicting religious practices. Another relevant site is Newark Bay, located near Deerness.[21] The lack of grave goods in churchyard graves has been interpreted as an indication of Christian burial. Using this metric, the majority of the burials at Newark Bay have been interpreted as

[17] Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age?" 25; Janet Montgomery et al., "Finding Vikings with Isotope Analysis: The View from Wet and Windy Islands," *Journal of the North Atlantic,* 2014, 56, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26671845; Michael P. Richards, Benjamin T. Fuller, and T. I. Molleson, "Stable Isotope Palaeodietary Study of Humans and Fauna from the Multi-Period (Iron Age, Viking and Late Medieval) Site of Newark Bay, Orkney," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33, no. 1 (2006): 123; Harrison, "Settlement Landscapes in the North Atlantic," 129.
[18] Harrison, "Settlement Landscapes in the North Atlantic," 129.
[19] Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age?" 12-13.
[20] Janet Montgomery et al., "Finding Vikings with Isotope Analysis: The View from Wet and Windy Islands," *Journal of the North Atlantic,* 2014, 64, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26671845.
[21] See Fig. 2.

Christian.[22] However, there have been some burials at Newark that included grave goods,[23] implying a cultural and religious mixture. This exists in opposition to Deerness, where Christian practices are in firm use. Thus, in comparing Newark, Westness, and Deerness, a diverse religious picture of Orkney emerges, which would not be perceivable if examining Deerness in isolation.

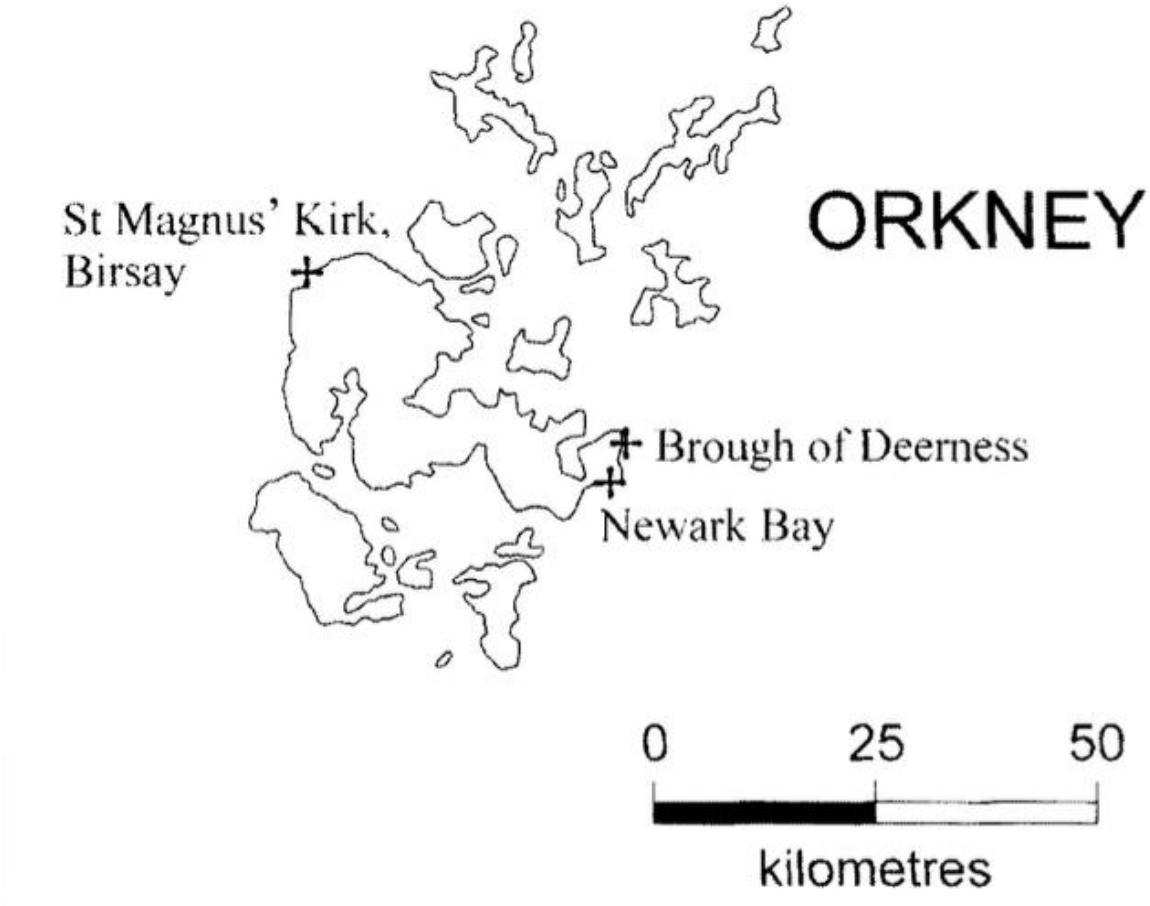

Fig. 2 – Map from Barrett, Beukens, and Brothwell 2000 depicting the proximity of Newark Bay and the Brough of Deerness.

[22] Barrett and Slater, "New Excavations at the Brough of Deerness," 92; Michael P. Richards, Benjamin T. Fuller, and T. I. Molleson, "Stable Isotope Palaeodietary Study of Humans and Fauna from the Multi-Period (Iron Age, Viking and Late Medieval) Site of Newark Bay, Orkney," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33, 1 (2006): 123.
[23] Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age?" 12.

Broader Implications and the Character of Viking Settlement in Scotland

Moving now to the broader implications of sites like the Brough of Deerness, inferences can be made about the character of Norse settlement in Scotland. One such inference concerns the transitions between Paganism to Christianity. As discussed earlier, the traditional conversion date of Viking Scotland has been accepted by current scholarship as 995 CE, the date of the forced conversion of Sigurd Hlodvisson by Olaf Tryggvason.[24] However, the finds at the Brough of Deerness challenge this date. This is significant because, while Christianity appeared in Norway in the 10th century, it was not fully established until the 11th.[25] This suggests that Norse Scotland was likely converted before the rest of Norway. This is likely a result of the contact between Pagan Norse settlers and the Christian Picts, who had inhabited Orkney since at least the 7th century, as evidenced by the Christian burials at the Westness site. Evidence of contact between these two cultures is reflected in the coexisting burials – with earlier Christian underneath later Pagan. Sites like Newark Bay shed light on cultural intermixing, evident in the combination of Pagan and Christian burial traditions. Furthermore, Harrison argues that Norse Orkney had diverged from Norway in the 10th century, operating as a "semi-independent magnate" whose allegiances to Norway and Scotland varied throughout the period.[26] Thus, the semi-independence of Norse Orkney, combined with cultural contact between Pagans and Christians, provided ample opportunity for the Norse to begin converting to Christianity as early as the mid-10th century – a stark contrast to the Norwegians, whose widespread conversion occurred roughly a century later.

This divergence from Norway and its status as semi-independent allowed Orkney and Norse Scotland as a whole, to explore a more variable and individualistic form of governance.

[24] Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age?" 25.
[25] Harrison, "Settlement Landscapes in the North Atlantic," 129.
[26] Ibid.

By the beginning of conversion, Norse Scotland was likely divided into multiple chieftaincies.[27] The *Orkneyinga Saga* places the beginning of the centralisation of government in the mid-10th century with the reign of Harald Fine-Hair;[28] however, the archaeological evidence disagrees. Montgomery et al. discovered that not only was one of the interred female skeletons at Westness of smaller stature than the others, but her strontium isotopic signature differed from the interred males, implying she had a different origin.[29] This suggests that during the period of Westness's occupation, which Canmore places at "late Viking – early Medieval,"[30] there was at least some movement between distinctive groups. Additionally, there have been many notable Viking hoards discovered in the archaeological investigation of Norse Scotland, which Barrett et al. attest "indicates the existence of many chiefs." The disappearance of said hoards, also discussed by Barrett et al., implies the disappearance of said chiefs. [31] This is likely an indication of the process of centralising government. The centralisation of government was occurring in the mid-11th century, as evidenced by the considerable power attained by Harald Sigurdson[32] and the establishment of the Crovan dynasty.[33] Therefore, it is far more likely that the process of centralising the individual Norse settlements in Scotland began in the mid-11th century, not the mid-10th, as outlined by the *Orkneyinga Saga*.

Along with religious and political changes, changes in subsistence strategies were also occurring in Viking Scotland, which provides further evidence for the migration of Norse settlers.[34] At Newark Bay, a distinct change in the diet was noted by Richards et al., who

[27] Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age?".
[28] Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age?" 4.
[29] Montgomery et al., "Finding Vikings with Isotope Analysis," 64.
[30] "Rousay, Westness," *Canmore*, Historic Environment Scotland, accessed December 2, 2024, https://canmore.org.uk/site/2167/rousay-westness#645071.
[31] Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age?" 4.
[32] Ibid.
[33] *The Manx Chronicle*, ed. and trans. J. G. Cumming, *Manx Society Publications*, 22 (Douglas, Isle of Man: Manx Society, 1879), http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/manxsoc/msvol22/p044.htm [accessed 15 November 2024].
[34] James Barrett, "Culture Contact in Viking Age Scotland," *Studies in Early Medieval Europe*, 2003, https://doi.org/10.1484/M.SEM-EB.3.3832, 88.

observed the transition from earlier terrestrial-based diets to diets consisting of more marine protein.[35] This change coexists with "economic changes associated with the beginning of the Viking Age, such as increases in the importance of fishing and dairying,"[36] identified by Barrett et al. There is significant evidence to support this shift in diet, including the appearance of fish middens dating from the 11th-12th centuries.[37] Barrett argues that this was due to the need for "more food to support an immigrant population."[38] He substantiates this claim through pollen analysis, which suggests a period of cooccurring deforestation[39] – perhaps to support an expanding population needing housing. The second theory is that the "increase in production may have been intended for export."[40] This suggestion would tie into the centralising of government discussed in the previous paragraph, as a more unified state may have intended to distribute its resources among its political dependents. Both theories are plausible and not mutually exclusive. The centralisation of government likely contributed to increased mobility throughout the Scottish Isles, and thus that more food and housing were required. Furthermore, it is also important to note that this level of marine protein was unusual in the UK,[41] furthering the theory that this maritime evidence was the result of Norse settlers.

The nature of Norse settlement in Viking Scotland was marked by continuous change, driven by transitions in religion, politics, and economics. It transitioned from Pagan to Christian, individual kin groups to centralised states, and from terrestrial to marine-based economies. The Brough of Deerness is central to understanding these transitions. The remains of the timber and stone churches challenge the previously accepted conversion date of 995 CE, suggesting a more gradual and complex Christianisation process. The evidence of

[35] Richards, Fuller, and Molleson, "Stable Isotope Palaeodietary Study," 123.
[36] Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age?" 25.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Barrett, "Culture Contact in Viking Age Scotland," 88.
[39] Barrett, "Culture Contact in Viking Age Scotland," 90.
[40] Barrett et al., "What Was the Viking Age?" 25.
[41] Richards, Fuller, and Molleson, "Stable Isotope Palaeodietary Study," 129.

metalworking and farming provides insights into exemplary economic and subsistence practices occurring in Orkney during the time. This archaeological evidence, coupled with that coming from other sites like Westness and Newark Bay, challenges written records, in particular the *Orkneyinga Saga*. Without these archaeological finds, such literary evidence would not be questioned, and our understanding of Norse settlement would be skewed in favour of literary sources of questionable historical credibility. Thus, the Brough of Deerness contributes to a wider discussion about the importance of archaeology in not only corroborating but also questioning literary-based evidence, creating a more expansive and well-rounded comprehension of Viking Scotland. Furthermore, from the evidence provided by these sites, a complex and intricate picture of Norse settlement in Scotland emerges. In sum, this was a period, a place, and a group of peoples that were defined by significant change and adaptation, making it a critical area of study for both archaeology and history.

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A Comparative Analysis of the Re-issues of Magna Carta

TESS HARVEY

Tess Harvey is a 4th year single honours History student. Her main interests include medieval studies with focus on gender and patriarchy's effects on society. This essay demonstrates her interest in medieval politics. She is currently finalising her dissertation on the effects of popular and court culture on the perception of female monarchs in the 16th century.

The original document referred to as 'Magna Carta' was released in 1215. It was nullified in 1216 by Pope Innocent III and followed by a re-issue after King John's death in 1216. A third issue was released in 1217 by the Royal Council acting on behalf of the nine-year-old King, Henry III. This issue was used until the young King Henry assumed active role of King and was replaced by the final and most acknowledged version in 1225. The first issue of Magna Carta in 1215 was a desperate and unrealistic attempt by a group of English barons to gain increased control. They sought to lessen the power of King John while gaining more for themselves. After the nullification of the original, the terms within the re-issues were gradually made more reasonable and just. By 1225 the terms within the Great Charter seemed just and fair for both rulers and subjects. The 1225 version of Magna Carta is still regarded today as an important building block in European law and court systems. This essay will detail and compare the content of each issue of Magna Carta. It will also use historiography and academic opinion to evaluate the success and failure of each version and conclude the impact of each document on the Church, monarchy, nobility and society at the time.

The political and financial climate during John's reign in the early 13th century became fragile. The ongoing war in France and John's unwavering refusal of surrender placed England in crisis. The king's persistence in the war saw an increased strain on the English economy, forcing him to break the law to continue fighting. This resulted in tax and scutage increases, larger fines and bribes. John's drastic financial actions, alongside his troubles with the church - including his excommunication in 1209 - began arousing doubt among the nobility. This doubt grew and eventually culminated in a large rebellion of the barons.[1] After a period of civil unrest, Archbishop Langton brought together the King and barons at Runnymede to discuss terms of peace. The outcome of the meeting was a charter containing sixty clauses that limited the power of the monarch and provided the English nobility with more freedoms and power. The charter also provided greater rights to subjects of the king by claiming to guarantee freedom and fairness to all free men. The first of the sixty clauses guaranteed freedom of the church. The importance of this clause is demonstrated by its inclusion at the beginning of the document. After the turbulent relations between John and the papacy prior to the composition of the charter, a clear layout of the relationship between crown and church became necessary. Clause thirty-nine and forty of the 1215 charter, which dealt with criminal justice, could be considered some of the most influential and advanced ideas of the time. Clause thirty-nine states that no free man shall be imprisoned or arrested without proper, lawful trail by peers and law, this became the basis for the structure of future courts and the introduction of a jury. The clause allowed those accused of crimes a chance at fair judgement and trial. This idea, the first of its kind, was arguably advanced for its time. Clause forty stated that the king shall 'not sell, or deny, or delay right or justice to anyone.'[2] This was important in outcasting the idea of

[1] Ralph V. Turner, *King John*, Longman Group UK Limited (1994), p.g. 99-100
[2] The National Archives, The Magna Carta 1215, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/magna-carta/british-library-magna-carta-1215-runnymede/ >, [accessed 3 December 2023]

bribery and coercion within the legal system. Again, due to the pervasiveness of the issue, this idea was modern for its time. There were also many other important issues within England that were represented in the original document, including clauses twelve and thirteen which sought to protect the rights of the City of London.

It is clear that there was no single author of the original charter, however, educated guesses on those who had input can be taken based on the contents, which are focussed on the church, monarchy and nobility. Sophie T. Ambler implies that parts of the charter were influenced by Archbishop Langston. She implies that the thirty-ninth clause (mentioned earlier) was influenced by the archbishop. However, David Carpenter rejects this theory and states that instead, the first clause is instead influenced by him as it ensures the freedom of the church that he represents.[3] Although the charter could be considered a revolutionary and positive change in terms of introducing newer legal ideas, many of the ideas taken for the charter were drawn from other European monarchies such as Spain and Hungary. Though the charter was arguably the most radical restriction of a monarchy in Europe at the time.[4]

The Charter was not however, positive for all. There were many negatives that came from the charter also. David Carpenter suggests that the original charter was written by the elite to serve the elite. He states that it is far from equal and does not guarantee equality for all King's subjects.[5] The charter was written as an attack or offensive against the King by his enemies so can easily be assumed to be strong in its demands to limit the monarch's power. It was forced upon him by those who had the power to disinherit him. It is more than likely that the barons used this advantage to scare the King into agreeing to whatever they asked of him, and what

[3] Sophie T. Ambler, *The Church and Magna Carta in the Thirteenth Century*, (London: The London University Press, 2018), p.g. 44
[4] David Carpenter *Magna Carta 1215: It's Social and Political Context,* (L. Goldman, 2018), p.g. 19
[5] Carpenter, p.g. 20

they were asking was unjust and disproportionate. They could not stray too far from the law; however, they were able to adapt new laws to their advantage and abuse the power they had over the King after the rebellion.

The 1215 charter was extremely short lived. Within less than three months, Pope Innocent III had declared it null and void. During the few months after the charter was signed, King John had done everything in his power to ensure he didn't have to honour his agreement. He quickly sought assistance of the Pope in nullifying the charter and on 24th August of that same year the Pope had absolved John of his oath.[6] The question as to why he did this has no specific answer and can be widely left to interpretation. J.C Holt speculates this and refers to the charter of 1215 as a 'failure'. He states that the charter promoted disagreement and contention.[7] This view is backed by Richard H. Helmholz who is of the opinion that the document allowed the barons to act as they please. He also states that the charter completely contradicts the oath taken by John during his coronation.[8] Helmholz further gives the view that the Pope may have nulled the agreement as he saw himself as the protector of the kingdom due to John's surrender in 1213. The Pope may have also viewed the decision as unlawful as it was done without his permission. As the Pope was considered overlord of the King at this time, this would make it unlawful and invalid.[9] However, these reasonably rational conclusions drawn by Holt and Helmholz are countered by Christopher Cheney. He claims that the Pope had no legal principle in mind and the agreement was nulled purely because the Pope had almighty power from God.[10] Holt and Helmholz produce powerful arguments against Cheney's understanding. They

[6] Richard H. Helmholz, *Pope Innocent III and the Annulment of Magna Carta,* (Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 69.1, 2018), p.g. 2
[7] J. C. Holt *Magna Carta: Second Edition,* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.g. 1
[8] Helmholz, p.g. 3
[9] Helmholz, p.g. 3-5
[10] C. R. Cheney *Pope Innocent III and England,* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1976), p.g. 382

attribute Innocent III's action to strong legal principles rather than personal vanity and lust for power. Therefore, the conclusions drawn by Holt and Helmholz seem more plausible. The failure of the first version of Magna Carta did not see the end of the chartered limitation of the monarchy.

King John's death in October of 1216 left behind his nine-year-old son Henry as King. A minority government served on his behalf until he came of age. In the few months after John's death French King Louis had gained control of almost half of England. This meant that the barons serving on behalf of the young King Henry would have to act fast to ensure their freedom and liberties. They did this by re-issuing a version of the Magna Carta. This newer document differed from the first as it was written by allies of King John instead of his enemies. The newer document was written as a quick attempt to protect England's land and rights as well as to put an end to a civil war caused by the death of the King. It was also written to serve as a demonstration of the way the young King intended to rule.[11] The 1216 issue of the document was issued by Pope Honourius III and was signed under papal legate. This gave the charter, unlike the 1215 version, legitimacy by the church and allowed it to be followed as law. Pope Honourius had even gone so far as to threaten excommunication to anyone who decided to break the rules of this charter. This charter had recognised the positive changes introduced by the first charter. It therefore kept many of its original clauses. However, it also removed many clauses too. The 1216 version of the document contained only forty-two clauses, compared to the original which contained sixty. One of the clauses the re-issued version kept was the clause that allowed all free men a right to a trial by peers before being imprisoned. This is important as it continued to ensure a fair judicial system. It did though, omit certain aspects of the first. For example, due to the civil war, it left out the demand of the release of the Kings'

[11] Ralph V. Turner, Magna Carta: Through the Ages, (Pearson Education Limited 2003), p.g. 81

hostages.[12] The sixth clause of the original was shortened to state that there shall be no disparagement.[13]The barons had also included a clause stating that certain miscellaneous matters shall not be discussed until the new King had come of age. Holt states that the new charter was "an interim assertion of policy made in the middle of civil war… it was more than a hasty political stratagem."[14] However, Ralph Turner suggests that the charter had failed to encourage the rebels into negotiations.[15] Although it may have failed in its purpose to ensure peace and end civil war, the charter had greater assurances for the Pope and church. The 1216 charter also allowed a sense of security to the barons and council serving on behalf of the young King Henry, which would be continued in the newer charter, released the following year.

By 1217 the civil war had been won by the royalists. This prompted another re-issue of the Magna Carta. Like the issue prior, the 1217 issue of the Magna Carta had also been sealed by the papal legate. Again, this ensured its legal status and support by the papacy. This re-issue was also similar to the previous as it had also been written by those who had supported John. Its purpose was not to impose restrictions on the monarchy, but to ensure the maintenance of the benefits written into the 1216 version. It was also written to ensure that control was maintained by the monarchy whilst Henry was still young. Marxist historian, Peter Linebaugh, however, takes a more legal view on the 1217 re-issue as he states that "In contrast to its treaty-like function during the baronial wars, the reissue of the charter in time of peace established it as a basis of government."[16] He views the new charter as being used to establish a new way of ruling. This statement is easy to agree with as the end of a civil war usually results in a change of governing style. However, it is still important to consider that many of the clauses in this

[12] Turner, Magna Carta: Through the Ages, p.g. 81
[13] Holt, p.g. 381
[14] Holt, p.g. 381
[15] Turner, Magna Carta: Through the Ages, p.g. 82
[16]Peter Linebaugh The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All, (University of California Press, 2009), p.g. 37

1217 charter were still sampled from the original 1215 version. For example, the abandoned fixed rate of scutage clause was reinstated in this version of the document.[17] This demonstrates that although the governing bodies had opted to exclude many of the ideas from the first two versions of the charter, it still drew inspiration from past clauses and was cautious to stray to far from the previous traditions and laws. Again, like the previous charters, it maintained chapters on the right to fair trial by jury as well as the maintenance of the freedom of the church. The 1217 version of the charter was overall rather successful in serving as the law for roughly eight years before King Henry assumed an active role as King.

After Henry III assumed the active role as King of England, he was advised to re-issue a new version of the charter. This 1225 version was the first of the four to be named Magna Carta, or the Great Charter. The 1225 document contained ideas from the previous charters and combined them with new policies. It contained thirty-seven clauses in total.[18] Arguably the most influential clause of the original charter, clause thirty-nine which referred to fair trial, was kept and became twenty-nine. However other chapters were cut or combined to reduce the number of chapters compared to the first, almost in half. This version also retained certain cuts made by earlier revisions. For example, the removal of baronial committee and removing the right to wage war on the monarch. This could be considered one of the most important decisions made by Henry as it allowed him security in his position as King and prevented him from facing the same fate as his father. Ralph Turner confirms that without this chapter, Henry would face no consequence of violating his oath. Though he had promised that any acts made by him or any future heirs that may contradict the contents of the charter, would be considered invalid.[19] This promise is important as it continues to limit the power of the monarchy and

[17] Holt, p.g. 319
[18] Turner, Magna Carta, p.g. 87
[19] Turner, Magna Carta, p.g. 87

provides assurance to its subjects that the King was not greatly above the law. The new charter saw support from both the papacy and Legate Guala in their search for peace after a period of political and financial stability in England. And again, like the charters of 1216 and 1217, subjects of the king were threatened with excommunication if they were to violate the charter. It is likely that if the King's subjects had been threatened with the ecclesiastical punishment of excommunication, they would have been more likely to follow the rules which would in turn contribute to the charter's success. Holt suggests that the reason for the final issue of the Magna Carta becoming such important and lived by law was not because it re-stated existing law, but because Henry III's enforcement had made it law. This reinforces the opinion that the first versions of the Magna Carta had not made a heavy impact on society at the time, and that the final issue had been the one to change law and government. He also states that this final charter was superior to any other English enactment, such as its predecessors, because its memory had the most serving impact on politics and law.[20] The importance of the 1225 Magna Carta is not to be overlooked. Pollock and Maitland, both legal historians, describe Magna Carta as "a sacred text; the nearest approach to a fundamental statute that England has even had".[21] This highlights the importance of the final document, not just historically but legally. It's publishing had an immediate impact on the English legal system which continued throughout history. This view is backed by scholar Max Radin in the Harvard Law Review where he states that the Magna Carta "was thought of as something more more than the most venerable of the statutes, that it was taken as something fundamental, something that went into the form of the social order and was not to be disturbed."[22] This statement further demonstrates the vitality of the 1225 charter in medieval politics.

[20] Holt, p.g. 1
[21] William D. Guthrie, Magna Carta, American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 15 (1929), pp 39-42, p.g. 39
[22] Max Radin, *The Myth of Magna Carta*, Harvard Law Review, Vol. 60 (1947), pp 1060-1091, p.g. 1065

To conclude the contents of this essay, Magna Carta became one of the most influential documents in European legal history. The original 1215 charter started as an unlawful attempt by dishonourable nobility to gain greater power and control over King John and the monarchy. Whilst its contents influenced some policies within future versions, it contained many ideas that were unreasonable. The original charter was soon nullified by Pope Innocent III as it was made without his consultation. In 1216 a re-issue was released. It contained similar ideas to the first but had removed the unreasonable demands by the barons that allowed them to disinherit the King. After Johns death in 1216, the council serving on behalf of his son released a third version which allowed them to maintain the benefits gained from the original documents, whilst helping them form a new style of government. This 1217 version served until it was replaced in 1225 by Henry's officially named 'Magna Carta' document, which better reflected the political and legal environment of the time. This version lay the path for a new judicial system and government and ensured its success by achieving a balance between the desires of the church, royalty and nobility that was acceptable to each group, as well as ensuring compliance by threat of excommunication for any subject not complying. Achieving this, meant that this most successful version would live on for centuries. It is the similar opinion of many scholars and historians that allows the conclusion that the 1225 Magna Carta was in fact the most influential legal documents in Europe during the Middle Ages.

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The New Autonomy of Royal Women in the French Wars of Religion: Agency of Margurite d'Angouleme and Renée of France

VANESSA PANFILI

Vanessa is a 3rd year student. She has a strong interest in medieval, renaissances and early modern studies and hopes to continue to learn and write about these periods in all aspects and the people who lived in them. She hopes to be able to exemplify the work of amazing women throughout the medieval and early modern periods, those who have made contributions to their societies, and deserve recognition. She hopes to continue my studies in a post-grad course.

The history of women in positions of power, authority, or royalty has been scarcely recorded in the middle ages to early modern France, as the primary leaders were expected to be men. Beginning in the mid-fourteenth century, women and their children were completely barred from succession to the French throne, the only western European monarchy to do this, but were otherwise accepted as regnant in other powerful positions, such as holding a Dutchy. This law, called Salic law[1], became not only ingrained in a legal sense, but in a cultural and traditional sense in pushing French women out of the realm of politics due to their gender, and only accepted in rare cases due to lack of male heirs or men of convenience, like uncles. Some noble and royal women stand out when it comes to their influence, agency, wisdom and autonomy. Beginning with the regency of Anne of France and her 'court-school', women were educated by the 'master of politics' herself, Anne.[2] and became great reformers in a cultural and religious sense. Renee of France, a protector of the commonfolk and victims of violence,

[1] John Milton Potter, *The Development and Significance of the Salic Law of the French. (*The English Historical Review, vol. 52, no. 206, 1937) pp. 235–53.
[2] Tracy Adams, *Rivals or Friends?: Anne de Bourbon and Anne de Bretagne*, (Women in French Studies, Special Issue, 2010) pp 49

and Margurite d' Angouleme, an author and Queen who used her close relationship with her brother to keep her protestant faith and help the Huguenot movement, who exercised control over her own life, a new autonomy.

Noblewomen's autonomy and personal influence in religious matters had to either be earned by status or has been altered in historiography by intervening writings or propagandas. As women, noble or not, only had a few instances of agency. But these forms of agency seem to increase in tumultuous times, namely in the history of the Wars of Religion. Historian S. Annette Finley-Croswhite in their paper about women in Dijon during the League takeover in 1558 to 1559 states that there are three distinct forms of agency women had access to. Safeguarding the house, to act as agents, informants and conspirators, and lastly the influence and persuasion they held, their sex making them less suspicious.[3] In his paper, *Besieged Women, Agency and Subjectivity in the French Wars of Religion*, Brian Sanderson discusses Finley-Croswhite's statements as exclusive and "ultimately limits our view to the spheres of activity that were usually associated with early modern elite women's [4]." OBJ While only associating women as a group only had access to these forms of agency, it limits our perceptions and does not give women the credit they deserve for other actions preformed during their lives. If women were to have autonomy outside of these instances, she would be seen as an anomaly rather than a woman of her time. These two opinions, one categorical and one who thinks of inclusivity, on women's agency are important to keep in mind while discussing all forms of female agency, but when discussing high-status individuals, i.e. members of the royal family, the freedoms allotted to them were much broader, and they were in many instances allowed to defy the social norms placed on them and given freedom of expression that other women were not.

[3] Annette S. Finley-Croswhite, *Engendering the Wars of Religion: Female Agency during the Catholic League in Dijon,* (French Historical Studies, vol. 20, no. 2, 1997) pp. 127–54. JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/286886.
[4] Brian Sandberg*, Generous Amazons Came to the Breach'': Besieged Women, Agency and Subjectivity during the French Wars of Religion,* (Gender & History, Vol.16 No.3 November 2004) pp. 654–688.

Predating the Wars of Religion, was the French Reform, sometimes called the early reform took hold in France in the 1520's. The rise of Lutheranism, Calvinism and Protestantism around Europe, including France, influenced the politicians and noblemen, though no action was taken in government. The three phases of the reformation in France were as follows: evangelical (Christian humanism) in the 1520's, the leadership of the Huguenot party from the 1550's to 1572, Women in noble families in regions of Huguenot strength in the later civil wars.[5]

A figure of the early reform, or evangelical period, was Margurite d' Angouleme, most often called de Navarre through her second marriage to the King of Navarre. She grew up under the tutelage of powerful women, Anne of Bretagne (Brittany), and her mother, Louise of Savoy. Anne of France, the sister-in-law of Anne of Brittany, had, through her time as regent of France, created an environment that encouraged the schooling of young noblewomen through what is now known as her 'court-school'. [6] Tracy Adams writes of the relationship of noblewomen in this period, namely Anne of France and Anne of Bretagne. She discusses their differences in personality, and eventually their aligned goals. She mentions their 'mastery of self-representation," or the notion of a 'public' and 'private' persona, a quote of which perfectly describes their lasting impact for the next century on ruling French women. [7] Ruling women like Margurite's daughter, Jeanne D'Albret, Queen regnant of Navarre, and most famously Catherine de Medici, Queen of France and the regent for three of her sons.

Nancy L. Roelker points out this new phenomenon of cultivation of noblewomen from the early 1500's to become leaders and influences on the Protestant movement. By the time of Margurite and Renée, they would be the third-generation of women being educated in the art

[5] Nancy L. *Roelker, The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century*, (The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, vol. 2, no. 4, 1972) pp. 391–418. JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/202311. Pp 398
[6] Nancy L. Roelker, *The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century*, (The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, vol. 2, no. 4, 1972) pp. 391–418. JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/202311. Pp 393
[7] Tracy Adams, *Rivals or Friends?: Anne de Bourbon and Anne de Bretagne*, (Women in French Studies, Special Issue, 2010) pp. 46-61

of politics in the French court. “the cultivation of piety...when combined with the new humanist learning, gave rise to a new phenomenon, the feminine humanist-reformer.” [8] In simpler terms, if a women made herself to be the sign of virtue, this combined with a good education, could create a new type of leading woman. The feminist humanist reformer is the perfect name for these powerful women because of humanisms association with education and its goal to revive and spread the classic worldview.[9] One could stretch that Anne of France, Anne of Bretagne, Louise of Savoy, and many others like them would be the subject of a rise of feminine culture and powerful female rulers. Unfortunately, this period of women would only last for the duration of the Valois dynasty and through the Wars of Religion. This is most likely due to the rise of the early modern period, and the rise of absolute and paternalistic monarchy under the Bourbon kings, Henri IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV, where there was no place for women in politics, this is an entirely other topic, but nevertheless relevant. [10]

Margurite d’ Angouleme grew up in these conditions and this type of education contributed to her strong beliefs in a reformed faith and as a person of power. Her position as the only sister to the King of France, Francois I, their close relationship gave her every opportunity to express her faith and her support of the movement. At her time in the French court, she clashed with a leader of the conservative French Catholic party, Anne de Montmorency, the Constable of France. Margurite would supposedly retort, “that he was only the king's servant, while *she* was his sister.” [11] This display is a summarization of Margurite and her status as the most important woman, behind the Queen in France. She was the only sibling of the King, and this gave her great power. Francois had a very close relationship with

[8] Nancy L. Roelker, *The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century*, (The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, vol. 2, no. 4, 1972) pp. 391–418. JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/202311
[9] Mark Cartwright, *Renaissance Humanism*, (World History Encyclopedia, 2020) https://www.worldhistory.org/Renaissance_Humanism/.
[10] Paul W. Fox, *Louis XIV and the Theories of Absolutism and Divine Right*, (The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue canadienne d'Economique et de Science politique, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1960), pp. 128-142
[11] Patricia Francis Cholakian, and Rouben Cholakian. *Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549): Mother of the Renaissance*, (Columbia University Press, 2005) pp 173

both his mother, who he named as regent on several occasions, and his sister, whom he protected fiercely from harm against the rising violence against protestants.[12] After this clash with Montmorency, Margurite would become a target for conservative Catholics, and by this she had placed her brother in a stressful position. Greater European politics were at stake for Francois, and he had to make himself 'the most Christian King' due to the 'scandalous' alliance he had made with the Turks against the Holy Roman Empire.[13] He threw a banquet after a procession to Notre Dame. At the banquet, he professed, "that offences against the church would not be tolerated, commanding that all 'heretics' be turned in, even by their friends and relatives." Margurite was not present at this mass and subsequently the banquet, most likely due to her faith and protections by her brother. [14]

This all took place in the mid-1530's and another figure of the French Reform that still lived far from her homeland, Renée of France, Duchess of Ferrara, was the second daughter of Louis XII of France, and Anne of Bretagne. Her more well known elder sister Claude was Francois I's first wife, mother of the future Henri II, as daughter of one king, sister-in-law to another, and aunt to one more, this gave her deep royal connections that would be useful later in her life. Renée had been raised in a similar setting to Margurite, the two of them being good friends due to their aligned religious beliefs. Married in 1528 to the Duke of Ferrara, Renée would meet Jean Calvin and convert to the reformed faith, though this was done in private. During the reign of Henri II, Dr. Mathieu Ory, Inquisiteur Général de France was sent to Ferrara to interrogate Renee on her faith, and to encourage her 'confession and conversion'. [15] She would continue her correspondence with Jean Calvin, and in 1560, after being widowed, she

[12] Patricia Francis Cholakian, and Rouben Cholakian, ;*Politics and Religion' in 'Margurite de Navarre (1492-1549): Mother of the Rennaissance',* (Columbia University Press, 2005) pp 175
[13] De Lamar Jensen, *The Ottoman Turks in Sixteenth Century French Diplomacy,* (The Sixteenth Century Journal, Vol. 16, No. 4, 1985), pp. 451-470
[14] Patricia Francis Cholakian, and Rouben Cholakian, *Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549) : Mother of the Renaissance,* (Columbia University Press, 2005) pp. 174
[15] Kelly Digby Peebles, *Renée de France as Dowager Duchess and Epistolary Diplomat' in Representing the Life and Legacy of Renée de France,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021) pp 347

would return to the French court. Her firstborn, Anne D'Este, had married Henri, Duc de Guise, and had, by association, become a leader of the Catholic party, and Renée, through her daughter's marriage connection to the Guise faction and the Catholic party became an issue and embarrassment to the Protestant leaders. [16]

After Renée's return to France, she was honored as a French Princess should be, given status and sway within politics and innerworkings of court. The contrast between herself, a protestant, and her son-in-law is written about by Renée herself and Jean Calvin, and her never openly stating her faith was a point of contention between the two and their personal relationship. Jean wanted Renée to use her influence to gain more support for Calvinism and the Reform, yet Renée never did such. [17] "correspondence between Jean Calvin and Renée reveals a marked tension between her image as a "mere nourriciere des povres fdelles" (mothering caregiver of downtrodden believers) and that of her son-in-law as the figure who "avoit allume le feu," (had lit the fame) of the Wars of Religion."[18] Renée had built herself through her actions as a sympathizer to the Huguenot and provided sanctuary not only for them from violence and persecution around France, but for all victims of both sides of the conflict in her court at Montargis, emphasizing herself as a leading figure, in her own right, in the conflict.

The personal autonomies of these women compared to that of the rest of women in France is extraordinary. Their proximity to the crown allotted them special privileges that they used to their complete advantage to make change in a fashion they saw fit. The contrast of their personal actions defies the preset of autonomy set by S. Annette Finley-Croswhite in her study

[16] Kelly Digby Peebles, *Renée de France as Dowager Duchess and Epistolary Diplomat' in Representing the Life and Legacy of Renée de France,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021) pp 334
[17] Charmarie Jenkins Blaisdell, *Calvin's Letters to Women: The Courting of Ladies in High Places,* (The Sixteenth Century Journal, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1982), pp. 82
[18] Kelly Digby Peebles, *Renée de France as Dowager Duchess and Epistolary Diplomat' in Representing the Life and Legacy of Renée de France,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021) pp 334-5

of women in Dijon, though they had to be careful.[19] Renée made sure to press her loyalty to the crown of France to keep her position safe, and Margurite had her brother's loyalty to her, despite his position as a Catholic King. This is relevant, while these women exercised control over their own lives, they were not the people who got the final say in everything and were still dependent on men.

Although they had extensive privileges and influence, they still had to conform as noblewomen should and were partially privileged because of the traditional status: widowhood. Widows were afforded the most freedom of all the phases of life for medieval to early modern women. Daughter, wife, and mother placed women as inferior to a man, father, husband, and son. When a woman was widowed, she was not longer held to the duties of being a wife, and privileges were therefore afforded. Alexander Cowen writes about widowhood, "Above all, the loss of a wife rarely altered a man's status, while the loss of a husband invariably and irrevocably brought about a change in a woman's life." [20] Through religious reform, especially Calvinism, women were brought greater rights outside of widowhood. Rights to initiate divorce proceedings, equal parenthood, i.e.. equal status in her own family. [21] Margurite was the dowager Duchess of Alencon, and Renée the dowager Duchess of Ferrara. Royal women of the time had a duty to marriage and producing heirs, but if widowed were not expected to marry again, unless widowed young. Margurite had chosen to marry for a second time to the King of Navarre, Henri d'Albret, while Renee was 50 and could assumedly no longer have children and was not obliged to marry again.

Two extraordinary women who used their privileges and new forms of agency helped elevate the protestant movement and the French Reform by bringing their royal connections

[19] Finley-Croswhite, S. Annett, *Engendering the Wars of Religion: Female Agency during the Catholic League in Dijon* (French Historical Studies, vol. 20, no. 2, 1997) p. 127
[20] Alexander Cowan, *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Harlow, Longman, 2000)
[21] Nancy L. Roelker, *The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century,* (The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, vol. 2, no. 4, 1972) p. 391

and protection. The idea they grew up with, the feminine humanist-reformer, the notion of creating a public image but also having a private life, with the examples of relatives who were powerful and autonomous women who came a generation before them, Louise of Savoy, Louis de Montmorency, Anne de Pisseleu, and many others. Lay (non-trained members of a religious order) women and non-royal women did not have this level of autonomy and unfortunately records surrounding many of their great deeds and actions do not exist, but we can imagine the many contemporary women who may have used their own autonomy during the French Reformation to aid Margurite and Renée in their lives and their connections to the Wars of Religion.

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Examine how the idea of the 'state' has led to confusion among medieval and early modern historians.

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The word 'state' is used with relative ease in modern day parlance, with most people equating it to the country or nation, some seeing them as interlinked and calling the resulting body the nation-state. This concept, however, is a modern invention, born in the wake of the nineteenth-century revolutions. This has led some historians to wonder how applicable the idea of the state is to earlier eras, specifically the early modern and medieval periods. Amongst historians of the early modern, it is a debate about when and how the state emerged, while for medieval historians it is a debate about if the state is even an applicable term for their area of study. This essay will look at the details of these arguments within these historiographies, beginning with the early modern then moving to the medieval, in order to determine the place that the idea of the state has within historiography.

Historians of the early modern period often take the state for granted as coming to exist during their period, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, with the main contention being exactly when and how. There is evidence that by the end of the early modern period in the mid and late 1700s people in Europe had begun to conceive of themselves as part of the state. An explicit illustration of this can viewed in Frederick II – sometimes called the Great - of Prussia's

Political Testament, composed in 1752, where he states "The sovereign is the first servant of the State".[1] This demonstrates that by the point that Frederick II is writing, there exists something which contemporaries recognise as a 'State' and, as is evident in Frederick's writing, the state is seen as having a sovereignty which supersedes that of the monarch, making them subordinate. The state of Frederick II would also fit into framework of the modern state as defined by Max Weber, an often cited sociologist by those looking at the state, who defines the state as a body with legal rights which are upheld through its monopoly of lethal force.[2]

The focus for early modern historians is identifying when the state emerged and how ubiquitous it was. One idea proposed by Marc Raeff in the 1970s was that the first step of state building was the Reformation as it granted princes spiritual power which required control over their subjects' personal lives.[3] This argument implies that there could not have been states in the medieval period due to the interference of the Church and that a prince could only begin to turn their domain into a state was by gaining ecclesiastical as well as temporal power. This idea of Raeff's, however, that princes, specifically Protestant ones, were able to form the state through their possession of spiritual power, is opposed by more recent research such as that of Paul Monod. Monod's conception of state formation is that monarchs in fact become less sacred over the period, pointing to the upheavals of the seventeenth century as evidence of revolutionaries seeking to overthrow sacred monarchy to make the state, though it led to chaos.[4] Each of these perspectives sees the Reformation and ideas of Protestantism as key to the emergence of the state, an notion shared by other historians like Wayne te Brake and Paula

[1] Frederick Hohenzollern, *Political Testament of Frederick II ("the Great") (1752)*, p. 3 accessed through https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=3771, date accessed 01.03.2024
[2] Max Weber, 'Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Society' in *Readings in Economic Sociology*, edited by Nicole Woolsey Biggart, (John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2002), pp. 24-37, p.25
[3] Marc Raeff, 'The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach' in The American Historical Review, Vol. 80, No. 5 (Dec., 1975), pp. 1221-1243, pp. 1223-1224
[4] Philip S. Gorski, 'Review: Beyond Marx and Hintze? Third-Wave Theories of Early Modern State Formation' in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Oct., 2001), pp. 851-861, p. 854

Miller.[5] The impact they view it as having however, is very different, with Monod seeing the Reformation as making people want a more direct relationship with Christ, disposing of the monarch and replacing it with the state, while Raeff saw the Reformation as granting princes the power to form the state.

Despite Raeff's ideas of the state being older, some were taken up by later historians, though not necessarily agreeing with his opinions on the Reformation. Specifically, Raeff discusses how princes became increasingly absolutist in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through subordinating existing political institutions through greater oversight until those institutions act only as officials of the royal centre.[6] Or in other words, until all political institutions were part of the state. A case study of this can be seen in the article 'Civilizing Northumberland' by Steven G. Ellis, who looks at how the Tudor state attempted to bring the Northern reaches of their domain into line with the rest of it. Ellis discusses how they homogenised the administration of the north with that of the south by removing feudal liberties and creating royal shires as well as introducing justices of the peace, in order to break the way that it was previously run, based on kinship.[7] This is interesting as it follows the centralising polices pointed to by Raeff as forming the state, yet starting to occur the century before he puts those innovations. Likely the reason it is not brought up is due to the difficulty that was faced by the Tudors in implementing their reforms, partially due to difficulty in finding a lord that could replace the quasi-royal Percy's and the region's vulnerability to invasion from the north.[8] This would mean that the point at which state institutions truly exerted power was later than the point at which those institutions was developed. An explanation as to why Raeff only talks

[5] Ibid, pp.855-856, 858
[6] Raeff, 'Police State', p. 1227
[7] S.G. Ellis, 'Civilizing Northumberland: Representations of Englishness in the Tudor State' in *Journal of Historical Sociology* 12:2 (1999), pp. 103-127, pp. 105-106
[8] *Ibid*, p. 108

about certain steps occurring in the rise of the state, not accounting for the kind of regression mentioned by Ellis, could be due to him falling into a whiggish approach to the development of the state, seeing it as inevitable. This is an approach which is criticised by some historians like Robert Frost, who suggests how the state as a concept has hindered the study of other aspects of political development and only focusing on those unions which resulted in the formation of modern states.[9]

Looking at these examples brings forward some clear points of confusion and disagreement on how early modern historians understand the state. Raeff seems to see the state as emerging across Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, though jumpstarted by the reformation, all areas of Europe seem asserted to move towards the same absolutist structure of the *polizeistaat.* As decades passed some historians, like Monod, adopted certain ideas, like the importance of the Reformation, though does not view it as an unstoppable process, noting points at which governments revert to being more medieval.[10] Frost is the furthest away from Raeff in both time and opinion, writing how states existing as Raeff portrays them, absolutist and unitary, were, even into the nineteenth century, "very much the exception."[11] This would seem to demonstrate how historians of the early modern period have evolved in opinion from seeing the state as something which arises early and is perfected through the period, to a more complex view of change, at times closer, at others further away from the state recognised today. Yet there is the interesting matter of Ellis. Writing about a period on the edge of the medieval and the early modern, he uses the terms "Tudor state" and "English state" frequently in the

[9] Robert Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania: Volume I: The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1385-1569*, (Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 36-37
[10] Gorski, 'Review: Beyond Marx', p. 4
[11] Frost, *Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania*, p, 37

text, suggesting the state is something which already exists in some shape[12], and raising the question: did the state exist in the medieval period?

The idea of the state in the medieval period is much more hotly contested than in the early modern state, as in that case it can be agreed to exist the argument's more over prevalence and process. In the case of medieval historiography there is a much stronger opposition to the concept of the state. This is despite how the term embed itself quite quickly into the area of study, even being used in articles and texts discussing the medieval period outside of Europe. For example, in the article 'The Temple and the State in Medieval South India' by Kesavan Veluthat they use the term state throughout, generally uncritically, granting a glimpse at the impact western ideas, like state, have had on global political perceptions. The article argues that the state, specifically the monarch, would have images of themselves consecrated in the temple as well as granting the temple patronage, granting legitimacy to both.[13] This is interesting as, in some ways, it calls back to Raeff's idea of how the state developed with the monarch taking on a religious role. Yet, it seems unlikely that most early modern historians would endorse the view of this as a state, due to the existence of an alternate power base, in this case the temple, as the European case often considers the church an intruder on the power of the state.

There are some medieval historians, however, who would argue that the state could exist in the medieval period, similar to the way described above. Moving back to European historiography, Alice Taylor in the introduction to her book 'The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland, 1124–1290' gives a description of how she thinks the state should be understood in a medieval

[12] Ellis, 'Civilizing Northumberland',
[13] Kesavan Veluthat, 'The temple and the state in medieval South India' in *Studies in People's History,* vol. 4, issue 1: Special issue; State and Religion in India, (2017), pp. 15–23, pp. 19-20

context. That description is of the state as a cooperation between the king and the nobility working together to form the state, rather than viewing them as separate poles of power.[14] This idea of the state supports that which was used by Ellis, as his picturing of the Tudor state existing despite several powerful lords occupying the realm. This is an idea that is robustly denied by other historians, specifically Rees Davis, who holds numerous oppositions to the idea. Firstly, he holds the idea that in order to extend the modern idea of the state all the way back to the medieval period requires the distortion of the concept so much as to make it unusable.[15] His solution for this is to replace it with the idea of lordship understood as being uniquely medieval and capturing the proper nature of medieval hierarchy, also viewing it as having parallels in the concepts of *Herrschaft* and *seigneurie.*[16] This idea was directly answered in an article by Susan Reynolds who notes how the use of the term lordship cuts the medieval period out of the history of statehood, weaking the study of both, as well as how the terms *Herrschaft* and *seigneurie* may not be as comparable as Davis suggests.[17] Yet Reynolds does not advocate using the idea of the state uncritically but rather, like Taylor, that it can only be used by "amending Max Weber's definition of the modern state."[18] This would seem to demonstrate a growing consensus in favour of using an adapted form of the Weberian idea of the state, which transcends periodisation, given how Taylor advocates its use thirteen years after Davis and Reynolds exchange of articles.

There is perhaps a middle ground to be found, a way to understand medieval politics on terms which capture the spirit of the period while being usable to compare with events beyond the

[14] Alice Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland, 1124–1290,* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 2-3
[15] Rees Davis, 'The Medieval State: The Tyranny of a Concept?' in *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol.16, issue 2, (2003), pp. 280-300, pp. 283-284
[16] *Ibid,* p. 295
[17]Susan Reynolds, 'There were States in Medieval Europe: A Response to Rees Davies', *in Journal of historical sociology*, 2003-12, Vol.16 (4), pp.550-555, p. 554
[18] *Ibid,* pp. 550-551

period? Writing a year before Davis and Reynolds, Michael Clanchy writes in an article discussing the state in this period that, as a term, it is interchangeable with others like 'the crown' or 'the monarchy'.[19] At first, this may seem to continue the confusion by having no clear single term embracing neither Davis' idea of 'lordship', yet not seeing the 'state' as an overall description. Yet, looking back to the arguments in early modern historiography based around state formation, specifically those put forward by Raeff and Ellis, their explanations of state formation were centred around the monarch and the crown gaining more authority. This illustrates what is the biggest flaw in Davis's thinking, that medieval concepts, like lordship, were unique to the medieval period, when in fact they are not bound by periodisation. In German historiography the term *Herrschaft,* which Davis sees as a parallel to lordship, is used to describe relations between lords and their subjects even into the seventeenth century.[20] Along with other examples, such as the Tudor contestation of Percy power in northern England discussed by Ellis, it is made clear that, just as the term state is not bound to the modern period, medieval terms are used in later periods. However, this does not necessarily mean that the field of medieval and early modern studies is bound to confusion nor bound to polarisation into strictly contemporary or modern terms. It can be possible to use a blend of both medieval ideas with the terminology of state in a coherent and effective manner. An example of this can be seen in the chapter 'Empire and English Identity: Reflections on the King of England's *Dominium'* by Jean-Phillipe Genet, in which he discusses how the Plantagenet Empire identified itself and is identified by historians. Most of this essay is dedicated to looking at how medieval terminology was used at the time along with its implications, such as how the Plantagenets would change the exact Latin phrasings of their titles in order to emphasise

[19] Michael Clanchy, 'Does Writing Construct the State?' in *Journal of Historical Sociology,* vol. 15:1 (2002), pp. 68–70, p. 68
[20] John Theibault, 'Community and *Herrschaft* in the Seventeenth Century German Village' in *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 64, no.1 (1992), pp. 1-21, p. 1

different claims they held.[21] This shows that Genet is capable of giving insightful analysis through the use of medieval terms, revealing their meanings and significance. Yet, throughout the chapter, he is capable of interweaving modern terminology, including the state, describing Scotland as "a state in its own right."[22] Despite this blending of terminology however, it is clear throughout the chapter what he is discussing, that referring to political bodies in both contemporary and modern terminology can be comprehensible to a reader.

These reactions by medieval historians, with what they should do with a term they have realised does not fit as they thought, has been picked up on and articulated by one of their number, Andrea Ruddick, in the chapter "Identity" in the book *Using Concepts in Medieval History Perspectives on Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500.* In the chapter, though primarily concentrated on the concept of its namesake, Ruddick discusses the different ways historians react to a difficult term, by replacing it with a different term, by re-defining the term, using it despite its issues or embracing a word's myriad meanings.[23] This articulates the reactions we have seen to this point, Davis seeks to replace state with lordship, while both Taylor and Reynolds seek to re-define the term and its use to better fit the period and their writing. Genet and Clanchy seem to strike a balance of the last two, with Genet ploughing on in regards to his use of state, though treating other possibly problematic terms, specifically nation and identity, with more nuance, while Clanchy dissects the complexities of state, but does not use it to the same extent as others.

[21] Jene-Philippe Genet, 'Empire and English Identity: Reflections on the King of England's *Dominium'* in *The Plantagenet Empire, 1259-1453: Proceedings of the 2014 Harlaxton Symposium,* edited. Peter Crooks, David Green & W. Ormrod, (The Dorset Press, 2016) pp. 35-48, p. 36
[22] *Ibid,* pp. 40-42
[23] Andrea Ruddick, 'Identity' in *Using Concepts in Medieval History Perspectives on Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500*, edited. Jackson W. Armstrong, Peter Crooks, Andrea Ruddick, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), pp.107-123, pp.113-115

Ultimately, there are a number of ways in which the idea of the ‘state’ has created confusion amongst historians of both the early modern and medieval periods. For early modern historians, the nature of the confusion has centred around the disagreement about when state power emerged, which events contributed to its emergence and the extent to which the idea of the modern state has distracted from other political formations in the period. In the case of medieval historiography, the debate has been over whether use of the term state is valid in the period: some, like Davis, arguing for an alternative term, others, such as Taylor, seeking to redefine the term, while a few, for example Genet, use the term in conjunction with others letting their argument draw on both. Of these ideas of what to do with the state presented, the most compelling would be the one hinted at by Ruddick, of embracing the complexities inherent in the terms we use, though when not viable at least defining the sense in which terms are intended is important. Overall, the ‘state’ seems to be a very good case study into looking at the difficulty caused by language and concepts in the writing of history.

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War and Society: 'New' Military History

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War, the creator and destroyer of human civilization. A paradoxical phenomenon that historians have studied and attempted to understand for centuries. Traditional military historians believed the best way to understand war was to study battle strategy, generalship, and victories. A perspective that neglected to consider the experience of soldiers, marginalized groups, and its consequential social implications. However, works produced by the historians, Michael Roberts, and John Keegan, beginning in the mid-1950s challenged the traditional approach by shifting the focus onto the relationship between war and society. By the start of the 21st century, the field was transformed, featuring works exploring the influence of war on gender roles, racism, and culture. Accounts published by the former soldiers, Sigfried Sassoon and Robert Graves, stimulated a movement characterized by inquiries into the experiences of ordinary soldiers. Thus, altering the image of warfare entirely. Therefore, positively contributing to a more inclusive narrative which prioritizes the voices of those forced to endure the societal implications of war. While many criticize the field for its 'glorification' of war, it becomes evident that 'new' military history only attempts to recognize the diversity of the war experience. This essay aims to demonstrate how 'new' military historians have reshaped the study of war, to account for the societal consequences it induces.

To better understand military history, there first must be an assessment of the contributions made by Prussian General Carl Von Clausewitz and the legacy of his 19th century work, *'On War.'*[1] Despite the doctrine's publication a century prior, and the author's status as a general, his discussion of the principles related to the political nature of war has influenced can be observed within the working theories of several modern historians. Clausewitz postulated that war is merely "an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will," motivated entirely by the "political objectives" of each state. Once political motivations are exposed, "using the laws of probability," one can predict their "opponents' likely course and act."[2] Therefore, he posited that insight into the future of war could be gained through an examination of the actions of states and their potential incentives. A notion that became central to the argument posed by modern historian Gary Sheffield in his commentary on the consultation of military history when shaping foreign and governmental policies. Sheffield believed military historians could use their knowledge of the 'military past' to sway those in positions of power and mold the future of war. Rather than Clausewitz's conviction that "war is an instrument of policy," Sheffield, considers "military history" to be the new instrument of policy.[3] Other 'new' military historians, such as Michael Roberts and Margaret MacMillan, propose that war has forged and facilitated the development of modern society. Roberts diversified the field of military history in 1956 with his *'Military Revolution, 1560-1660.'* He theorized that a Military Revolution, characterized by tactical reforms and military expansion, ensued during the 16th and 17th centuries. Subsequently, some of Europe's first permanent were assembled, composed of conscripts from all social classes. This led to the expansion of state

[1] Carol von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. by J.J Graham <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1946/1946-h/1946-h.htm> [accessed 20 March 2024].
[2] Ibid.
[3] Gary Sheffield, 'Military Past, Military Present, Military Future: The Usefulness of Military History', *RUSI Journal*, 153.3 (2008), p.107.

armies; however, the larger they grew the more desperate they became for resources and leadership. Consequently, states were able to centralize their authority by forming stable bureaucratic institutions and enlisting help of all members of society. Roberts considered war a "social escalator" that encouraged and fostered the development of an organized society under the supervision of a single central authority.[4] MacMillan acknowledges a similar connection between war and the birth of modern society, concentrating on socio-economic repercussions. She identified the formalization of treasuries and taxation as indicators of economic growth, stemming directly from the "capacity to make war." Social changes also ensued, which MacMillian described as the societal "participation in war," which "in turn brought an extension of rights."[5] This view, along with those provided by Sheffield and Roberts, highlights the field's transition from discussions focused on battles and strategy. It is therefore the job of 'new' military historians to study transformations incited by war, to understand how it has contributed to the development of society.

In connection with exploring the implications of war, Joanna Bourke, '*An Intimate History of Killing,'* addresses the progression of societal norms regarding race and gender. She analyzed how the perpetuation of sexist and racist stereotypes by society prevented or limited the conscription of minorities to the frontlines. Society prior to the 1970's disregarded the prospect of arming women due to their perceived psychological and physical inferiority. Consequently, women were perceived to lack the necessary aggression and mental strength to qualify as diligent combatants. Therefore, the 'ideal' soldier was believed to be everything that a woman was not: masculine, strong, and programmed with an instinct to kill.[6] An

[4] Michael Roberts, 'The Military Revolution', in *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Clifford J. Rogers, 61.1 (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 27.
[5] Margaret MacMillian, *War: How Conflict Shaped Us* (Profile Books Ltd, 2020), p. 4.
[6] Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare* (London: Granta Books, 2000), pp.307-339.

understanding that became embedded within the standards fabricated by military institutions. The British and American war offices commonly resisted the inclusion of women in combat units due to their fear that it would hinder the "masculine" reputation of their military.[7] Yet, they "militarized" these societal norms rejecting women on account of their belief that the presence of women on the battlefield would deter enemy surrender because there was no "honor" in surrendering to a woman. Not to mention, they believed they were fulfilling their moral obligation to society by not exposing women to the harsh and vulgar reality of military training and war. Although, as war raged on and the lines between the battlefront and the home front became blurred, it grew harder for society to uphold these norms. The participation of everyone regardless of gender was essential, and women proved to be vital to the war effort. Women were thus needed to fill roles left vacant in factories, tend to the farm, and bear all financial burdens. The War office also recruited them to fill non-combative positions, some became receptionists, others were nurses, few were spies, and the rest were members of unarmed Auxiliary Corps.[8] Aware of the ambitions of women to help defend their home, the British government assembled Queen Mary's Auxiliary Corps (QMAAC), Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS), and the Women's Royal Airforce (WRAF), during World War I.[9] Nine members of the QMAAC died during German Air raids, and forty were awarded the OBE (Officer of the Most Excellent order of the British Empire) demonstrating that women were just as capable of valiantly risking their lives to protect their country. While the Corps were disbanded in 1919, their effectiveness prompted their re-formation amid World War II.[10] Pressured by the success of Women Corps during World War I, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Public Law 554 bill in 1942, approving the formation of the Women's

[7]Ibid, p. 329.
[8] Ibid, pp.325-26.
[9] 'Women in the Armed Forces', *Royal British Legion* <https://www.britishlegion.org.uk/get-involved/remembrance/stories/women-in-the-armed-services > [accessed 19 March 2024].
[10] Ibid.

Army Auxiliary Corps.[11] Therefore, society's departure from the conception that women were incapable of possessing the qualities necessary to contribute to the security of their nation. Even though women were not completely liberated from the stereotypes that confined them to non-combative roles until the late 1970's, post-war sparked the beginning of an ideological shift. A shift that not only reshaped the societal perception of gender but also demanded the military to relinquish their image of the masculine soldier. This gradual transition can studied to understand the composition of the modern military. A pivotal understanding, that otherwise would have been overlooked by traditional military thought.

African Americans in the United States faced similar attitudes surrounding their involvement in combative military units in the twentieth century. Despite their commendable performances during the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Civil War, and Spanish-American War, when the World Wars broke out, the U.S military assigned most African Americans to service-based positions. Bourke observed that during World War I, three-fourths of enlisted Black soldiers served in non-combative units. At first glance, it may not appear these assignments were issued maliciously, but once investigated, it was discovered such decisions were driven by a racially motivated society.[12] Governed by Jim Crow laws, American society in the early twentieth century perpetuated the belief that African Americans were not fit for assuming combative roles. It was according to their consensus that Black citizens had a childlike disposition, and therefore, lacked aggression and were susceptible to nervous breakdowns. A justification employed by the United States Air Force to try to prevent African Americans from becoming pilots.[13] A logic that was abandoned and transcended by the

[11] 'Creation of the Women's Army Corps', *United States Army*, <https://www.army.mil/women/history/wac.html> [accessed 19 March 2024].
[12] Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing*, p.120.
[13] Ibid, p.121.

Tuskegee Airmen, an all-Black fighter pilot unit, assembled amid World War II. The joint effort of Lynn Homan and Thomas Reilly in, Black *Knights: The Story of the Tuskegee Airmen,*[14] as well as J. Todd Moye's, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II,*[15] shed light untold stories of these men. Part of the 332nd Fighter Group, the Tuskegee Airmen became one of the most successful escort units to fly over Italy and Germany. Within the span of two years, they flew over 15,000 missions yet managed to survive the war with one of the lowest mortality rates of any escort fighter group. Consequently, they received eight Purple Hearts, fourteen Bronze Stars, three Distinguished Unit Citations, and ninety-six Distinguished Flying Crosses."[16]Although, they were not the only African- Americans soldiers to make such impressive accomplishments. The 761st Tank Division, otherwise known as the 'Black Panthers,' was the first crew of African tankers. Assigned to General Patton's command, they arrived on European soil on October 10, 1944. The 'Black Panthers' took the town, Morville-les- Vic, and aided in several other German defeats.[17] The remarkable achievements made by the Tuskegee Airmen and the 761st Tank Battalion, along with the stories of countless others, are often left out of the World War II narratives. By excluding an examination of their participation, neglects to consider a key element of the war effort. As it was the stories of their bravery and inclusion, that mobilized the African- American community in support of the war. The National World War II Museum estimates that prior to 1941 there were fewer than 4,000 African Americans serving in the military, twelve of whom had become officers. A mere four years later, there were 1.2 million African Americans serving amongst the branches, on either

[14] Lynn M. Homan and Thomas Reilly, *Black Knights: The Story of the Tuskegee Airmen* (Pelican Publishing Co, 2001).
[15] J. Todd Moye, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II* (Oxford University Press, 2012).
[16] 'The Tuskegee Airmen', *The National WWII Museum,* <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/sites/default/files/2017-07/tuskegee-airmen.pdf> [accessed 19 March 2024].
[17] Ed Lengel, 'The Black Panthers Enter Combat: The 761st Tank Battalion', *The National WWII Museum,* 20 June 2020 <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/black-panthers-761st-tank-battalion> [accessed 20 March 2024].

the battle or the home front.[18] Their heightened involvement without a doubt strengthened the American war effort. Nevertheless, consideration of the minority war experience is still needed, as it differed significantly from those encountered by their white counterparts. Society treated African Americans as if they were the enemies, but that did not prevent them from answering the call of duty to protect and serve their country. Encountering abuses on both the battlefront and home front, Black citizens contributed to an entirely different war narrative. New military history considers the extent to which societal norms, concerning race and gender, have shaped, and limited the war experiences of minorities.

Until the latter half of the twentieth century, entertainment, and oral histories, fostered a societal culture that "glorified" war. Amidst World War I governments recognized the power of entertainment to engage the masses and impress upon children the importance of a soldier's duty. War was therefore presented according to exaggerated accounts of comradeship, invincibility, and assured victory over the enemy. Films such as The *Battle of the Somme (1916), The Battle of Ancre (1916),* and *Why We Fight (1942),* were commissioned by the military to serve as propaganda.[19] Each of these films included genuine footage of troops, set to the voice of a narrator detailing the "honor" and "brotherhood" that awaited soldiers at war.[20] Completely unaware of the inflated nature of these portrayals, young men had internalized an image of war that was rooted not in experience, but rather in TV dramatizations. Oral histories conveying grandfathers and fathers as war heroes were also to blame for society's misguided perception of war. The extent to which these societal expectations influenced younger generations can be observed in William D. Erhart's article, '*Why I did it.'* An article dedicated to outlining his experiences and reasons for enlisting in the United States Marine Corps in 1966

[18] 'The Tuskegee Airmen', *The National WWII Museum.*
[19] Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare,* p. 6.
[20] Ibid, pp. 23-25.

at age seventeen. After years of watching the films featuring, John Wayne, Audie Murphy, and Willim Holden, and "newsreels of the troops," an enthusiasm for war and duty was nurtured. Coupled with a growing envy of those who had fathers whom he knew "had been heroes in that war," he decided to enlist.[21] Erhart recounted that by the joining the Corps, he would be able to "make all those fantasies come true."[22] Though, he soon found that war was no place to live out childhood fantasies or fulfill any sentiments of honor and duty. Instead, he found that those "hate-filled beings," that waited behind enemy lines were just men, men who wanted "me to stop killing them and go away." [23]Another Vietnam vet, by the name of Allen Hunt, shares a similar experience. While reminiscing about his childhood he mentioned that he would often dream about participating in combat, admitting that it was an "experience" he wanted to "acquire."[24] From these accounts, it can be observed how the popularity of such portrayals promoted the facilitation of biased representation of war within entire societies. Thus, fostering heroic. To rectify the consequences of such a narrow representation of war, John Keegan and other historians have shifted the focus of study to emphasize the perspectives of those who were involved. In doing so, they have expanded the field to include unfiltered and more authentic accounts of the realities of war. An approach that aims to piece together a narrative that reflects a "truer" depiction of the "soldiering experience."

Accordingly, 'new' military historians launched investigations to try to understand war on an individual level, learning from the experiences of individuals engaged in combat. A notable example of this approach is offered in John Keegans book, *The Face of Battle*. Published in 1976, Keegan offers a reassessment of the battles of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme. His intention was to provide a sketch of these battles by "allowing the combatants to

[21] William D. Erhart, 'Why I Did It', *A National Journal of Literature and Discussion,* 56 (1980), p. 26.
[22] Ibid, p 27.
[23] Ibid, p.31.
[24] Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing*, p. 20.

speak for themselves," to understand the extent of the physical and mental hardships that confront a soldier. Keegan contends, that in doing so, an essential component of the "battle narrative," that otherwise may not have been considered is able to take hold.[25] Thus, signaling a departure from the traditional examination of battle according to strategy and generalship. He rather prioritized information collected from letters and diaries produced by spectators and participants. Keegan constructed a timeline, allowing him to pinpoint notable moments in battle, and dissect them according to questions related to the condition and attitudes soldiers were exposed to. In his analysis of Agincourt, he considered the weather conditions, food available to the troops, and tactical formations to identify the various factors that might have influenced the emotions felt by each individual. Guided by these considerations, he discovered that fields upon which the battle took place had recently been ploughed and left muddy from the rain. A factor which severely limited the swift maneuverability of English troops. While noting the English's slow push forward, he confronts his readers with questions such as: "How did men mentally order the risks which they faced, as we know humans do? and Were armored men-at- arms more or less frightened of the arrows than of meeting their similarly clad opponents at a weapons length?."[26] Two simple questions that distract the reader from the chaos of battle, compelling them to consider the individual experience. To humanize the soldier, is an attribute historian Christine Haynes, regards as a crucial step in understanding "soldiering as an experience."[27] A concentration that relies on the soldier's individualization, regardless of rank, to better understand how their identity and emotions adapt to conditions presented by war. Therefore, works such as Siegfreid Sassoon's, '*Memoirs of an Infantry Soldier,'* [28] and Robert Grave's, *'Goodbye to All That,'*[29] are crucial to construction of the soldier's narrative.

[25] John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London: Cox & Wyman Ltd, 1976), p.32.
[26] Ibid, pp.87-89.
[27] Christina Haynes,'The New "New" Military History: Recent Work on War in the Age of Revolutions', *Journal of Modern History,* 95.2 (2023), p.393.
[28] Siegfried Sassoon, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (London: Faber & Faber Ltd, 1930).
[29] Robert Graves, *Goodbye To All That,* revised ed., (Penguin Books, 1973).

Sassoon continuously remind his readers, how easy it is for a soldier to become consumed by the gunfire, fear, and death that surrounds him in the trenches. Noting that to survive in the trenches, meant that soldier's part with pieces of their humanity. A feeling described by his main character George Sherston, who felt like "an intruder," in civilized society.[30] Graves echoes a similar sentiment, when discussing the "usefulness" of a soldier who had been in the trenches for longer than five months, informing readers that the first three weeks the soldier was when he was at his "best." He continued, depicting the slow deterioration of the soldier's psyche. He checked in at six months, reporting that, "his usefulness gradually declined." By around ten months, Graves recounted that the man was no longer a soldier but had "most likely become a drag."[31] Therefore, illuminating the mental adaptations a soldier is forced to endure for their own survival. Together, Sassoon and Graves effectively conveyed the harrowing reality of life and the isolation felt by those on the Western Front. The humanization of the ordinary soldier has allowed historians to debunk any misguided conceptions of the "glory" of war, providing a more authentic representation of the mental and physical trauma encountered by individuals in combat.

Conventional military history failed to consider the wider implications of war, primarily because of its focus on the evaluation of leadership, tactics, and military operations. Thus, contributing to narrative that valued battles based on their outcomes, measured the worth of soldiers according to their rank, and disregarded the societal consequences. An approach that became modernized in the mid-1950's, prompting an investigation into the various outcomes instigated by war. 'New' military historians have since considered war in relation to the progression of societal institutions, norms, and culture. Additionally, scholars sought to

[30] Siegfried Sassoon, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*, p.48.
[31]Robert Graves, *Goodbye To All That,* p.170.

understand the experience of all soldiers, rather than just higher ranked officers. 'New' military history, therefore, encourages the analysis of the reciprocal relationship between war and society, to offer a more comprehensive overview of the ramifications of warfare.

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How did disabled Veterans fit into Nazi Ideology?

CONRAD FUNK

Conrad Funk is a third year History student serving as the assistant Layout editor for this year's AHR in addition to being Treasurer of the History Society. His key points of study lie in modern political, social, and military history and how these might be reconceptualized through the lens of disability, and gender.

To answer this question any evaluation will first require an intended scope and definitions. Regarding scope, this essay will concern itself with the positionality of German disabled veterans under Nazi ideology from 1933-1945. Concerning definitions, disability shall not be closely defined as any such definition runs the risk of being exclusionary and counterproductive. Lastly, Carol Poore's 'hierarchy of disability' from her influential book *Disability in Twentieth-Century German Culture* will be utilized as a foil for argument. In this, she suggests the existence of a clear Nazi hierarchy of disability with disabled veterans at the summit, civilian bombing victims, and those that the Nazis deemed hereditarily ill[1] or *Erbkranke* at the bottom.[2] Furthermore, she posits that there existed a clear separation between these different strata enforced by the state and disabled people themselves, notably disabled veterans.[3] Having established the parameters, this essay shall explore how disabled veterans fit into Nazi ideology by critically engaging with Poore's 'hierarchy of disability'. Said engagement shall entail a more general overview and contextualization of disabled veterans'

[1] It is important to note that Nazi understandings of hereditary illness are in many cases not medically supported, thus the phrasing.
[2] Carol Poore, 'Who Belongs? Disability and the German Nation in Postwar Literature and Film', *German Studies Review*, 26 (2003), 21-42 (22).
[3] Carol Poore, 'Disability in Nazi Culture', in *Disability in Twentieth-Century German Culture*, ed. by LeAnn Fields, (The University of Michigan Press, 2009), pp.67-138 (p.67).
Ibid, p.73.

treatment from 1933-1945 divided into pre-WWII and wartime, an initial evaluation of said treatment, contestation of Poore's framework, and lastly, the introduction of a new framework.

After the Nazi *Machtergreifung* in 1933 and until 1939 the primary points of contact between the regime and disabled veterans were through the *Nationalsozialistische Kriegsopferversorgung* (NSKOV) and the pension system. NSKOV was created by the regime as part of the greater homogenization policy of public organizations, such as unions or veterans' associations.[4] Most notable among its successes is the widespread celebration of disabled veterans and their sacrifice through special privileges, such as reduced prices for public transport or cultural institutions,[5] and mass rallies in their honor.[6] Regarding the quality of living, there were reversals of the cuts undertaken by the previous government due to the Great Depression[7] and a seemingly great reduction in the unemployment rate of disabled veterans from 46,780 to 30, 797 within the first year of Nazi rule.[8]

The latter improvements were largely cosmetic though, as this reduction was in great part due to the Nazi exclusion of Jews, or Communists from the statistics,[9] and the expulsion of mentally disabled veterans from the pension system.[10] This then stands as symptomatic of greater policy, which did little for veterans' standard of living.[11] Furthermore, even those benefits provided to

[4] Martin Crotty, Neil J. Diamant and Mark Edele, 'Benefits for the Vanquished', in *The Politics of Veteran Benefits in the Twentieth Century: A Comparative History*, ed. by Emily Andrew (Cornell University Press, 2020), pp.63-92 (p.66).
[5] Ibid, p.70.
[6] Nils Löffelbein, 'The Legacy of the Front: The Disabled Veterans of the First World War in Germany after 1918', in *New Political Ideas in the Aftermath of the Great War*, ed. by Alessandro Salvador and Anders G. Kjøstvedt, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp.175-97 (p.184)
[7] James M. Diehl, 'Change and Continuity in the Treatment of German Kriegsopfer', *Central European History*, 18 (1985), 170-87 (173).
[8] Christopher R. Jackson, 'Infirmative Action: The Law of the Severely Disabled in Germany', *Central European History*, 26 (2008), 417-55 (447).
[9] Jackson, 449.
[10] Poore, 'Disability in Nazi Culture', p.70.
[11] Ibid, p.70.

veterans in the form of public celebrations were instrumentalized for Nazi gain. Here, disabled veterans' bodies were used, on one hand as a sign of the injustices of Versailles,[12] and on the other to glorify the sacrifices of war with the aim of militarizing society. The latter entailed sanitizing the effects of war on veterans' bodies during rallies by covering their wounds and invoking military strength by clothing them in their old uniforms.[13] Consequently, Nazi prewar treatment brought little change in actual living conditions but did achieve a 'psychological revolution' marked by the public veneration of veterans.[14]

This continued into wartime treatment, which whilst containing some benefits for the newly disabled veterans, such as fast-tracking into government jobs after injury,[15] nonetheless further deteriorated the standard of living of disabled veterans. The prime cause of this was the war which demanded the extraction of utility above all else. This then took the shape of funding cuts of NSKOV,[16] and a shifting narrative that increasingly portrayed work as an obligation to the nation, also affecting disabled veterans.[17] Lastly, there are the *Marschabteilungen* which served to draft disabled veterans back into service. This then represents the ultimate example of Nazi exploitation of disabled veterans' remaining utility given that they were usually totally unfit for front-line service and thus effectively sacrificed by the Nazis.[18]

Given the above, this essay would initially conclude that disabled veterans were overall exploited by the regime through the instrumentalization of their bodies to aid in pre-war militarization, through excluding mentally disabled, Jewish, or Communist veterans, by

[12] Ibid, p.71.
[13] Ibid, p.71.
[14] James M. Diehl, 'Victors or Victims? Disabled Veterans in the Third Reich', *The Journal of modern history*, 59 (1987), 705-736 (723).
[15] Jackson, 450.
[16] Diehl, 'Victors or Victims?', 734.
[17] Jackson, 451.
[18] Poore, 'Disability in Nazi Culture', p.70.

obliging them to labor during wartime, and through the *Marschabteilungen*. Additionally, the benefits that were provided did little for disabled veterans' standard of living. A tempering factor to this initial evaluation is that the pre-war policy of recognition aligned with many veterans' strong desires for validation, given their socially marginal roles under Weimar.[19] The instrumentalization of this celebration to glorify war was strongly contested by the mentally disabled veterans though,[20] thus ultimately not outweighing the greater theme of exploitation.

Concerning this initial evaluation, it is notable that even a macro perspective cannot entirely shy away from accounting for subgroups within the category of disabled veteran such as mentally disabled veterans, Jewish veterans, or communist veterans. The question is: Are these nuancing factors both numerous and consequential enough to justify the discarding of disabled veterans as a useful category of analysis, such as used by Poore? This essay will argue that both the above conditions apply, and that the category of disabled veterans should be discarded. This will be demonstrated by examining 4 factors of nuance in treatment: Race; Extent of Injury; Mind vs. Body; and Masculinity as it intertwines with Sexuality.

Regarding 'race', the perceived Jewishness of some disabled veterans by the Nazis lead to their exclusion from any positive narratives surrounding veterans and their eventual planned murder.[21] This then immediately constitutes a major factor of variation within the category of disabled veterans due to the conception of Jews as a racial threat. Said variations did not only manifest in negative terms though and could net significant benefits such as marriage

[19] Deborah Cohen, 'Will to Work: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany after the First World War', in *Disabled Veterans in History*, ed. by David A. Gerber, Enlarged and Revised edn. (The University of Michigan Press, 2012), pp.295-321 (p.310-11).
[20] Jason Crouthamel, 'Nazi Germany's Hidden 'Psychopaths': Case Studies of Mentally Disabled Veterans in the Third Reich', in *The Great War and German Memory: Society, Politics and Psychological Trauma, 1914-1945*, ed. by Anna Henderson, (University of Exeter Press, 2009), pp.189-219 (p.190).
[21] Löffelbein, p.186.

mediation. This mediation was primarily a product of the Nazi belief that front line combatants represented the best genetic material available to the Reich. Increased casualties, especially during 1942 and after, were consequently seen as potentially disastrous as the genetically ideal would be unable to pass down their genes.[22] In light of this, the Nazis began to provide marriage mediation for disabled veterans intending to salvage their genetic material, which without assistance was deemed unlikely to be passed on. The reasons for this assumption were the significant care needs of disabled veterans, their economically weaker position in the job market, and Nazis assuming women would find disabled veterans unattractive due to their scars.[23] Mediation then did provide tangible benefits to disabled veterans but only due to their racial utility as holders of 'superior' genetic material which could be propagated by reproduction.[24] Thus, race seems an impactful signifier of disabled veteran treatment and is majorly informed by utility.

Regarding the extent of injury, Nazi colonization policy in the east proves particularly insightful. Said policy was prompted by early victories from 1939-41 and the desire to resettle the East with Aryans. These settlements offered land and housing but often lacked required applicants of suitable 'biological material'.[25] The definition of this fell under the jurisdiction of the SS. Disabled veterans then received privileged status to applications due to their general supposed genetic superiority, once again showcasing the advantages of race. This superior status did not guarantee their racial suitability in the eyes of the SS though, as their criteria went beyond ancestry or service records. Further criteria to be met were various 'German

[22] Christopher Thomas Goodwin, 'What Difference Does a (Disabled) Husband Make? Disabled Veterans, Women, and the Limits of Population Policy in the Third Reich', *Journal of Family History*, 48 (2023), 447-69 (447).
[23] Goodwin, 'Population Policy', 449.
[24] Ibid, 456.
[25] Christopher Thomas Goodwin, 'Racial Colonists in the Nazi East: Disabled Veterans and the Malleable Boundaries of Race, Masculinity, and Disability', *Central European History*, 57 (2024), 59-77 (60).

attributes' in terms of character, such as confidence and bravery, in addition to 'German features' in appearance. In practice, this meant that disability on paper would not prove a hindrance to application. Given that the process also included submission of a photograph though, those with severe facial disfigurement or burns were rejected as their 'German features' could not be read.[26] Consequently, it seems apparent that the body and particularly the face could serve as critical signifiers of race which if not readable, as sometimes the case in disfigurement or disability, could exclude those affected from racial benefits. Thus, the extent of the injury and its influence on the readability of race is vital to consider when analyzing disabled veterans, given the already established importance of 'race' in providing vital racial utility for the Nazi cause.

Thirdly, there is the Nazi distinction between bodily and mental disabilities. Bodily injuries and disability, as shown in the contextualization, were sanitized but still glorified as a symbol of national sacrifice. Mental disability though was instead perceived as a sign of weakness and seen as a racial pollutant. Consequently, the mentally disabled and traumatized were excluded from pensions after 1933[27] and even in part euthanized by the regime.[28] This then once again demonstrates that disabled veterans' sacrifice and race could be negated by nuancing factors, thus demonstrating their importance. A point of uniqueness in the matter of mental disability though, is the difficulty in identifying and clearly categorizing mental disability. The SS in the context of the aforementioned settlement scheme, for example, struggled to delineate clearly between veterans with brain injuries, deemed acceptable, and those with psychosis, deemed racially unfit.[29] Consequently, it on one end seems apparent that the factor of nuance between mental and physical disability must be considered when analyzing the role of disabled veterans

[26] Ibid, 63-64.
[27] Poore, 'Disability in Nazi Culture', p.70.
[28] Goodwin, 'Racial Colonists', 73.
[29] Ibid, 73.

within Nazi ideology, given its significant influence on veteran treatment. On the other hand, Nazi difficulties in categorizing mental disability then further contested the notion of clear categories.

Lastly, there is masculinity as it intertwines with sexuality to consider. Firstly, it is important to understand, that the Nazis adopted an ideal of masculinity deeply intertwined with soldiery and the experience of comradery during WWI.[30] Said comradery then included and provided space for celebration of strong male bonds of compassion and brotherly love.[31] Homosexual veterans then used this as an opportunity to argue that their sexual and romantic bonds were within the margins of this hegemonic masculinity, thus asserting their masculinity. A notable example of this was the head of the Sturm Abteilung (SA) Ernst Röhm.[32] This though, was seen as an unacceptable corruption of the Nazi ideal of comradeship and was erased as a narrative after the 1934 Röhm Putsch.[33] Thereafter, homosexuals were nearly exclusively categorized as effeminate, returning to a long-defined status quo that denied their masculinity.[34] Furthermore, their sexuality and identity were understood as a contagious disease afflicting the German racial body[35] which had to be eradicated in all its forms.[36] In policy terms, this manifested in arrests, torture, and eventual internment in concentration camps[37] clearly showcasing Nazi prioritization of racial purity and racial utility over any past sacrifice for the German nation.[38] Consequently, homosexuality and masculinity are vital to consider given their significant consequences under the Nazis.

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[30] Thomas Kühne, 'Protean Masculinity, Hegemonic Masculinity: Soldiers in the Third Reich', *Central European History*, 51 (2018), 390-418 (394).
[31] Jason Crouthamel, 'Homosexuality and Comradeship: Destabilizing the Hegemonic Masculine Ideal in Nazi Germany', *Central European* History, 51 (2018), 419-39 (423).
[32] Ibid, 420.
[33] Ibid, 427.
[34] Ibid, 419-20.
[35] Ibid, 421.
[36] Ibid, 427.
[37] Ibid, 428.
[38] Ibid, 422.

Having now contested the usefulness of the category of disabled veterans and therefore, Poore's framework of a clearly delineated hierarchy of disability based upon said categorization, this essay would suggest a new narrative. Said narrative is a spectrum of disability in which one's positionality is based on proximity to sacrifice and utility. This would allow for a greater account of the variance demonstrated by the nuance cases and better reflect the value given to veterans by the Nazis given the reoccurring importance of sacrifice, as seen by the celebration of sacrifice in the contextualization, and utility, as seen particularly through racial utility in the four examined nuance cases.

If one wishes to utilize a nuanced spectrum though, one then cannot also maintain the strict categorical separation practiced by Poore concerning *Erbkranke* and disabled veterans. Consequently, the question of whether the framework is transferable in the context of *Erbkranke* then presents itself. This essay will argue that the framework is transferable and in doing so will further solidify the legitimacy of the framework whilst also proving the context essential for later positioning disabled veterans into Nazi ideology. The method for doing so shall be the examination of hereditary blindness, voluntary sterilization, and examples of overlap with disabled veterans. Before doing so some minor context is needed though. That being that *Erbkranke* were continuous targets of Nazi oppression which took shape in sterilization laws[39] and later extermination,[40] rationalized by eugenic notions of *Erbkranke* endangering the racial body.

[39] Amir Teicher, 'Why Did the Nazis Sterilize the Blind? Genetics and the Shaping of the Sterilization Law of 1933', *Central European History*, 52 (2019), 289-309 (289-90).
[40] Goodwin, 'Racial Colonists', 60.

Concerning the hereditarily blind, these were scientifically proven to be able to pass on their blindness yet were peripheral to eugenic discourse.[41] Additionally, whilst they were included in Nazi sterilization laws, this arguably was done to lend scientific credibility to the bill and not stringently enacted,[42] as seen by the fact that the hereditarily blind long enjoyed significant public sympathy.[43] This was a product of their utility and proximity to sacrifice. Regarding racial utility, the hereditarily blind were doubtlessly considered potentially harmful given that their blindness was inheritable. Tempering this though was their low reproduction rate which did not make them a racial threat in Nazi eyes. Economically, they were little affected by their blindness and thus held some utility for the Nazis.[44] What caused their comparatively privileged position was their proximity to sacrifice given their shared experience with the many disabled veterans blinded in WWI. Consequently, they were not included in negative stigma so often surrounding *Erbkranke*, as to suggest that the blind were inferior would equally affect blind veterans, a publicly unacceptable notion.[45]

The voluntarily sterilized in turn, are often overlooked in the historiography in favor of those later forcibly sterilized.[46] One archival document which then sheds further light on them is the internal writing addressed to the Reichspropagandaleitung written by Hugo Fischer, the Stellvertretender Reichspropagandaleiter, in 1935. In this the propagandistic depiction of *Erbkranke* is deemed as overly negative, usually depicting them as idiots or criminals,[47] and thus disincentivizing nationalistic *Erbkranke* from voluntary sterilization. It then argues for a far more neutral propagandistic tone to lessen the stigma attached to *Erbkranke*. Furthermore,

[41] Teicher, 292-93.
[42] Teicher, 289-90.
[43] Teicher, 291.
[44] Teicher, 299.
[45] Teicher, 294-95.
[46] Teicher, 291.
[47] Berlin, Bundesarchiv, NS 18/1329, Richtlinien für die Propaganda der Sterilisation, 123-24, pp.120-21 (p.121) < https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/main.xhtml> [accessed 29 November 2024].

it emphasizes that the voluntarily sterilized should be treated with respect and not as second-class citizens. The rationale for this treatment despite the Nazis considering them racially inferior and less racially useful is their proximity to sacrifice. More specifically, it is their voluntary sterilization understood as sacrifice and motivated by 'love for the nation'.[48] This once again supports the notion of a spectrum of disability. Lastly, there is an overlap in conceptualization between groups of disabled veterans and *Erbkranke*. An example of this is homosexual veterans, who like *Erbkranke* were seen as a disease on the racial body in need of extermination by the Nazis.[49] Furthermore, disability generally was also often regarded as a symptom of national degeneration mirroring the discourse surrounding genetic degeneration *Erbkranke*.[50] This then highlights that proximity between both loose groups could go both ways cementing the practicality of a spectrum of disability. Consequently, one can conclude that *Erbkranke* too can be placed within the spectrum of disability though on average lower than disabled veterans. This can be seen by the fact that the *Erbkranke* examined primarily benefited from proximity to sacrifice, a quality innate to Nazi conceptions of disabled veterans. Cases of overlap demonstrate that this is only an average though and that disabled veterans' proximity to sacrifice could be outweighed by lacking utility in the eyes of Nazi ideology.

In conclusion, on a macro scale, disabled veterans were on one end celebrated for their sacrifice and on the other exploited for their labor or combat utility by the regime. This macro framework was shown to be limited in its utility though, given the numerous highly impactful factors of nuance within the category of disabled veterans under Nazi ideology. Exemplary of this were the factors of 'race', the extent of injury, mind vs. body, and masculinity and sexuality. Given the inaccuracy of the categories of disabled veterans, as used by Poore, a new framework which

[48] Ibid, p.120.
[49] Crouthamel, 'Homosexuality and Comradeship', 427.
[50] Staffan Bengtsson, 'The Nation's body: Disability and Deviance in the writings of Adolf Hitler', *Disability & Society*, 33 (2018), 416-432 (421).

determined value according to proximity to sacrifice and utility was suggested, the latter of which included notions of racial utility. Said framework was far more useful given that it better accounted for the variance of disabled veteran experience and its causes. Following this, there was an exploration of how a spectrum of disability might transfer to the case of *Erbkranke*, necessary given the framework's emphasis on variance which would stand in conflict with drawing a clear hierarchical separation. The result of this exploration was the conclusion that the framework was indeed transferable to the context of *Erbkranke*. Furthermore, benefits incurred by *Erbkranke* due to veteran and sacrifice proximity, such as the hereditarily blind or the voluntarily sterilized, suggested that *Erbkranke* on average were valued less by the Nazis, a product of their perceived lesser utility. This though, was shown to be far from absolute given overlapping cases such as homosexual veterans. In sum then, disabled veterans fit into Nazi ideology according to their proximity to sacrifice and their utility which determined their value on a greater spectrum of disability. Within this spectrum, they were on average regarded higher than *Erbkranke* though significant points of nuance exist and must be considered. This higher positioning though, did not spare them from Nazi exploitation for their political symbolism or their remaining labor or military utility.

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Challenging the narrative: The centrality of Black leadership in the gay liberation movement in the late twentieth century United States

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Alina Kops is a fourth-year single honour history student. Her interests lie within the field of Queer History and the History of the Marginalised. After completing her undergraduate degree, she would like to pursue an academic career and has been accepted into a Master's degree at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver.[1]

While the movement for gay and lesbian rights, also referred to as the gay liberation movement, was influenced by earlier activism, it did not become a social movement, as defined by Marc Stein as an 'organized, [...] collective, and [...] sustained [...] effort to produce, prevent, or reverse social change', until the 1950s.[2] The most well-known developments associated with the movement are probably the Stonewall Riots in 1969 and the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender communities of colour participated in the movement from the beginning but are not often recognised for their activism, especially by white re-tellers of gay stories.[3] For instance, in Vern L. Bullough's book on gay and lesbian rights activists before Stonewall, only two of the forty-nine discussed persons are African American.[4] One exception

[1] This essay was written for HI305T: The Long Black Freedom Struggle in America, 1865-2020.
[2] Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), p. 9.
[3] Henry Barnes, 'Stonewall sparks boycott row after claims film 'whitewashes' gay struggle; Trailer for Roland Emmerich movie telling the story of New York protests that fuelled the gay liberation movement angers LGBT activists by leaving out key black and Latino transgender figures', *The Guardian*, 07 August 2015
[4] Vern L. Bullough, *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context* (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002).

is Marsha P. Johnson who has been celebrated as the 'Saint of Christopher Street' and was the subject of a temporary memorial near the Stonewall Inn.[5]

This essay will focus on the centrality of Black leadership in the gay liberation movement, rather than question the level of participation of people of colour in the movement. In order to discuss this effectively, some key terms and concepts need to be defined. First of all, this study only concerns activism in the gay and lesbian movement from 1950 to 1990, according to the criteria by Stein laid out above, and only comments on the United States. Next, "leadership" encompasses more than public charisma. According to Marshall Ganz, the voluntary and ideologically motivated nature of social movements requires leaders to foster relationships building with and among members, motivate through public narratives infused with hope, strategize the use of resources creatively and achieve outcomes in a timely manner.[6] Leaders are needed at all levels of the movement to make it successful, therefore I will be discussing individuals active at local as well as national levels. In assessing the "centrality" of Black leadership, I will examine to what extent Black leaders were involved in significant developments in the gay liberation movement. For this purpose, this essay will focus on three case studies of African American activists in the gay and lesbian movement: Cleo Glenn/Bonner, Marsha P. Johnson, and Reggie Williams. Each of these individuals participated in the movement through three different eras of the movement that were suggested by Stein, 1940-69, 1969-73, and 1981-90, and will be discussed in that order. This essay argues that Black leadership was central to the gay and lesbian movement throughout all these decades, however their work became more visible throughout each era as they fought for recognition within and apart from predominately white organisations. Using the examples of the

[5] Scottie Andrew, 'A Bust of Marsha P. Johnson went up near the Stonewall Inn as a tribute to the transgender activist', *CNN*, 30 August 2021; Florence Ashley, and Sam Sanchinel, 'The Saint of Christopher Street: Marsha P. Johnson and the Social Life of a Heroine', *Feminist Review*, 134.1 (2023), pp. 39-55 (p. 40).
[6] Marshall Ganz, 'Leading Change: Leadership, Organization, and Social Movements', in *Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice: An HBS Centennial Colloquium on Advancing Leadership*, ed. by Nitin Nohria and Rakesh Khurana (Boston: Harvard Business Press, 2010), pp. 527-568 (pp. 2, 5-30).

individuals mentioned above, I will first illustrate their activities within their organisations, and then analyse to what extent their leaderships were central to the gay liberation movement. Finally, I will provide a comparison between these three leaders and suggest that Black leadership proved essential in bringing the gay liberation movement forward by foregrounding minority issues.

Throughout this study, I will use the terms "gay" and "lesbian" rather than "queer" or "LGBTQ+", as the latter ones did not become widely used until after 1990.[7] As for the terms "transgender", "transsexual", "transvestite", I will use the term "trans" to encompass all the meanings of the aforementioned terms.

One of the groups that played an important role in pre-1969 gay activism was the "Daughters of Bilitis".[8] Founded in 1955 as the 'first lesbian rights group in the United States'[9], the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) aimed to advocate for '"the integration of the homosexual into society"' through education and legal support. Although envisioned by a woman of colour, Rose Bamberger, two white women have often been credited with founding the organisation that represented women's voices in the early homophile movement. Both membership and leadership of DOB were mostly white and middle-class, and although they claimed to be open to all women regardless of race, there were few Black women present in leadership roles.[10] The most notable exception is Cleo Bonner, who joined DOB in 1960, became circulation manager of the group's magazine *The Ladder* from July 1960[11] and arranged their Book and Record Service. Upon becoming the first African American national president of a gay or lesbian rights

[7] Stein, pp. 5-9.
[8] Stein, p. 2.
[9] See: 'The Daughters of Bilitis', Library of Congress, n.d. <https://guides.loc.gov/lgbtq-studies/before-stonewall/daughters-of-bilitis#s-lib-ctab-23440411-0>.
[10] Stein, pp. 55-56; Malinda Lo, 'The Women of Colour Behind the Daughters of Bilitis', Malina Lo Blog, 15 June 2021; Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (Emeryville: Seal Press, 2007), p. Xxii.
[11] The Ladder, 4.10, July 1960 <https://archive.org/details/sim_ladder_1960-07_4_10/page/n1/mode/2up>, p. 3.

organisation in 1963, Bonner delivered the welcoming address at DOB's third national convention in New York City. Marcia Gallo proposes that she kept a 'low profile for a DOB national president' due to a fear of being discovered, which is also evident in the fact that she used an alias ("Glenn") and was only open about her sexuality when far away from home. She also suggests that this could be interpreted as a sign that even though key activists within the organisation supported Bonner's position, it may still have been a mostly symbolic one.[12] The implied ambiguity of DOB's attitude towards issues of race is also reflected in conflicting accounts concerning racism. While Pat Walker, president of the San Francisco chapter in 1960, felt that her blindness was a much bigger issue than her being African American[13], Stella Rush stated that '[r]acism was often very present and very difficult to deal with' and remembered an unnamed Black woman that was disaffected at the overwhelming presence of white women in the group. Bonner was also engaged in the formation and early years of activity of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual (CRH), which was an organisation encompassing homophile activists and religious leaders, and was founded in 1964 after both groups were brought together at a retreat devised by DOB. The police presence at CRH's opening fundraiser in 1965 led to the first instance of members of the U.S. clergy advocating for gay and lesbian rights and the first victory of gay and lesbian people against the San Francisco authorities in court. As an attendee of the aforementioned retreat and member of CRH, Bonner, among others, faced significant backlash from some people within DOB who opposed its political activism.[14] Considering Ganz's understanding of leaders, Bonner was a leader not only by taking on responsibility with her positions, but also by shaping the public narrative of DOB both through her race, displaying DOB as an interracial organisation, and her welcoming address where she emphasises DOB's internationalism, kindness, resilience and lack of funds. As a part of CRH,

[12] Gallo, pp. xxii, 59-60, 91, 97-8, 103.
[13] Manuela Soares, 'Pat Walker, October 18, 1988', interview with Pat Walker, *Lesbian Herstory Archives AudioVisual Collections*, 09 March 2015.
[14] Gallo, pp. xxii, 105-11.

she created new alliances and opportunities for the gay and lesbian movement and contributed to lesbian rights' publicity. It is possible that her 'low profile' was a result of her desire for anonymity, her commitments as a parent or her cancer. [15] Regardless of her appointment as president possibly having been symbolic, Bonner's leadership was central to the gay liberation movement to the extent that she influenced two major organisations within the movement, the Daughters of Bilitis and CRH, but only remained active for a few years. While her 'low profile'- leadership did not bring forth a great number of tangible achievements, she represents the essential work needed by leaders at a lower level to sustain a social movement.

Marsha P. Johnson, on the other hand, had a more prominent reputation and is well-known for her participation in and (debated) initiation of the Stonewall Riots as well as the first Christopher Street Day march. As emphasised by Ashley and Sanchinel, the historical fact of whether or not she started the riots may not be as important to the movement as the story surrounding her heroic actions. Through Tourmaline's "rediscovery" of archival material, Johnson is now considered as vanguard of trans rights and visibility and her character is therefore influencing the queer movement in the twenty-first century from beyond the grave.[16] During her lifetime, however, Johnson was already notable through her cofounding of "Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries" (STAR) with Sylvia Rivera in 1970, which was an organisation for poor and homeless trans youth and sex workers, distinctively consisting of mainly working-class people. STAR participated in and orchestrated activism against discrimination by the police, the prison system and housing legislation.[17] Their most significant project was the establishment of a shelter for homeless gay, lesbian and trans youth, which was 'the first LGBT youth shelter in North America, the first trans woman of color-led organization

[15] Bullough, pp. 189-90.
[16] Ashley and Sanchinel, pp. 41-5.
[17] Stein 82-4, 87, Lisa Beard, *If We Were Kin: Race, Identification, and Intimate Political Appeals* (New York: Oxford Academic, 2023), p. 20.

in the US, and the first trans sex worker labor organization'[18]. Called STAR House, it moved locations several times and was supported by Johnson and Rivera's income from sex work.[19] Even though Johnson and Rivera worked with other gay and lesbian rights organisations, they chose to remain separate because they felt that their issues would be disregarded in favour of more dominant groups' issues.[20] This decision was probably made as a result of one of the gay and lesbian movement's major internal divisions which was concerned with the in- or exclusion of trans rights in the movement. As some did not consider transness to be under the umbrella of gayness, Johnson and Rivera has to deal with backlash not only from outside but also from inside the gay and lesbian movement. STAR House, for instance, eventually had to close down as other organisations like the Gay Activists Alliance or the Gay Liberation Front refused to provide assistance. At the 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Day parade, even though STAR was one of the participating organisations, several events specifically excluded trans people and an activist from Lesbian Feminist Liberation denounced trans women and drag queens as misogynist. STAR is usually considered to have disintegrated as a direct consequence of this event.[21] Up until her body turned up in the Hudson River in 1992, Johnson was engaged in AIDS activism and part of ACT UP New York.[22] As a leader, Marsha P. Johnson profiles as passionate and caring but avoidant of responsibility. When offered the presidency of STAR, she chose to become vice president instead because of her unpredictable mental state. She built strong bonds with the members of STAR and its president Rivera, and protected them from the hardships of sex work.[23] The system of communal living had much precedent among gay and

[18] Lena Rubin, 'Revolutionaries on East Second Street: The STAR House', *Off the Grid: Village Preservation Blog*, 29 October 2020.
[19] Ashley and Sanchinel, pp. 41-2; Beard, pp. 20-1.
[20] Rachel Corbman and Andrew W. Mellon, 'Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson: Listen to the Newly Unearthed Interview with Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries', *The New York Historical*, 26 June 2019.
[21] Beard, pp. 21-22, 31, 41; Ashley, p. 42; Stein, p. 113.
[22] Andrew.
[23] Ashley, p. 41; Beard, p. 20.

lesbian people[24] and somewhat reminiscent of the Houses of drag queens portrayed in the film "Paris is Burning". Together with Rivera, Johnson played a key role in increasing the visibility of the trans community and drew attention to the divisions and intersectionalities within the gay and lesbian movement of the 1970s. Her leadership was central to the gay liberation movement to the extent that she not only lead and cared for the members of STAR on the daily, but was a major influence on significant events like the Stonewall Riots and Christopher Street Day. In addition, her notoriety now serves as a symbol for Black and trans inclusion in the gay liberation movement.

The discovery of HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) or AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) in 1981 drew more attention to the gay and lesbian community. As it was first referred to as GRID (Gay-Related Immune Deficiency), and many of the cases that were identified first were gay men, AIDS soon gained the reputation of being a gay disease. The first responses from the gay liberation movement were dominated by white gay men, both in staff and target community,[25] which 'fed the image of AIDS as a white gay disease'[26]. One of the organisations that began providing AIDS aid for gay men of colour, and Black gay men within that category, was the National Association of Black and White Men Together (NABWMT).[27] In 1981, a year after its founding, NABWMT was joined by Reggie Williams, an African American gay X-ray technician from Cincinnati, who became, according to Dan Royles, 'one of the country's most recognized AIDS activists' and, in 1985, cofounded a task force that was specifically dedicated to non-white persons at risk for or suffering from AIDS.[28] Upon learning that he was infected himself, Williams increased his activism and, three years

[24] Stephen Vider, '"The Ultimate Extension of Gay Community": Communal Living and Gay Liberation in the 1970s', *Gender & History*, 27.3 (2015), pp. 865-881.
[25] Stein, pp. 144, 156-7.
[26] Dan Royles, *To Make the Wounded Whole: The African American Struggle against HIV/AIDS* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), p. 52.
[27] Royles, pp. 72, 52, 49.
[28] Royles, pp. 47-8.

later, cofounded the National Task Force on AIDS Prevention (NTFAP) after successfully obtaining a grant from the Center of Disease Control (CDC). Williams, as executive director of the NTFAP for six years, was involved in the nationwide survey they took to record Black gay and bisexual men's attitudes and behaviours concerning AIDS, which was instrumental in increasing the consideration of men of colour in AIDS research. The NTFAP also fostered community among local gay men of colour through establishing the Gay Men of Color Consortium in collaboration with pre-existing local organisations.[29] After a vilifying article in the press in 1991 led to decreased funding for the NTFAP from the CDC, and then to increased criticism of the NABWMT board of Williams personally, the NTFAP split from the parent organisation. As an independent entity, the NTFAP focused more on policy issues and managed to gain the recognition that 'gay men of color as a group in need of targeted AIDS funding'[30]. As a result of his own illness, Williams resigned in 1994 and died a year after the disintegration of the NTFAP in 1998. During his time as a leader within the gay and lesbian movement of the 1980s and 1990s, Reggie Williams dealt with conflicts that came with being a government-funded organisation as well as stretching between local and national initiatives. These issues translated into problems among the members of the organisation, not only in terms of skill, but also in regard to politics and funding. Another point of contention was the subject of racism. Williams utilised the task force to fight against the discrimination and racial profiling gay men of colour were faced with when seeking medical treatment. However, some Black gay men criticised both the NABWMT and the NTFAP on the point of their interracialism, as they did not feel their issues could be properly addressed or understood and feared fetishisation.[31] Despite this, his leadership was central to the gay liberation movement to the extent that Williams played a key role in increasing the visibility of gay men of colour[32], and 'while the

[29] Royles, pp. 48-9, 57-60.
[30] Royles, pp. 67-9.
[31] Royles, pp. 51-3, 70-2.
[32] Royles, pp. 69.

NTFAP [did] not survive the second decade of the AIDS epidemic, it paved the way for future organizing by gay men of color against the disease'[33].

In conclusion, Cleo Bonner, Marsha P. Johnson and Reggie Williams were three African American leaders of gay and lesbian rights organisations from the 1960s to the 1990s that were involved in wide-reaching developments in the gay liberation movement. Cleo Bonner was president of the first organisation advocating for lesbian rights in the United States and at the forefront of collaboration between gay rights activists and religious leaders. Marsha P. Johnson participated in the watershed moment of the Stonewall Riots, cofounded the first organisation that provided shelter for homeless gay youth, and played a role in both the creation of Christopher Street Day and the visibility of trans rights issues. Reggie Williams initiated and led multiple programs that focused on the care of gay men of colour during the AIDS crisis and successfully increased national consideration for their concerns. Multiple patterns appear when comparing these three individuals: all three illuminated a sub-group within the gay and lesbian movement through their work, all three fostered community within those sub-groups, and all three faced opposition from within their own organisations. While their leaderships were part of significant developments regardless of their race, all three increased the visibility of Black people within the gay and lesbian movement, whether they focused their work on this (like Williams) or not (Bonner focusing on sexuality, and Johnson focusing on transness). Similarly, all three faced disproportional discrimination on account of their intersectional identities and belonging to multiple minorities, as well as illnesses (Bonner having cancer, Johnson struggling with mental health[34], and Williams suffering from AIDS).

[33] Royles, p. 51.
[34] Ashley and Sanchinel, pp. 40-1.

Another theme that arises from the stories of these three individuals is one of assimilatory politics within the gay liberation movement. Just as the Daughters of Bilitis did not approve of masculine clothing and were not accommodating working-class members[35], the feminist lesbian activists at the Pride march in 1973 identified primarily with whiteness, middle-classness and cisgenderness[36], and most AIDS support organisations as well as the medical establishment saw the white gay man as the norm. Therefore, simply by existing, Bonner, Johnson, and Williams disrupted the public narrative of the movement which had primarily been shaped by white, middle-class, and cisgender men. Consequently, Black leadership was central to the gay liberation movement because it challenged the narrative that allowed people whose combination of identities (e.g. class, gender, religion, sexuality, race, etc.) permitted more or less belonging to dominant social groups (in the US: e.g. white, heterosexual, cisgender, etc.), to uplift themselves by discriminating against people whose identities were part of less dominant social groups (in the US: e.g. black, homosexual, transgender, etc.). By fighting for the visibility of their respective sub-groups, and by being in the spotlight themselves, Bonner, Johnson, and Williams made it impossible for the majority (i.e. heterosexual, white, cisgender, middle-class men) to ignore their presence. While the struggle for acceptance and rights for many sub-groups within in the gay and lesbian movement, and for the whole movement overall, is still going on[37], the three persons discussed in this essay, as a representation of Black leadership in the gay liberation movement, contributed to significant achievements in regards to the rights of marginalised groups within the movement. Therefore, these three case studies are also relevant to ongoing discourses surrounding the intersectionality of the LGBTQ+ rights movement and the BlackLivesMatter

[35] Lo.
[36] Beard, pp. 26-30.
[37] See: Richard Blum, 'Stonewall at 50: Whose Movement Is It Anyway?', *New Labor Forum*, 28.3 (2019), pp. 28–33.

movement, as well as discussions about the limitations of the Intersectionality Framework in human rights. [38]

[38] See: Valerie Handley and others, '#blacklgbtqlivesmatter: The Intersectionality of Black and LGBTQ+ Rights Movements on Twitter in Honor of Dominique "Rem'mie" Fells, Riah Milton, Egypt Powers, Brayla Stone, and Merci Mack', *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*, 35.2, pp. 115–133; Pok Yin S. Chow, 'Has intersectionality reached its limits: intersectionality in the UN human rights treaty body practice and the issue of ambivalence', *Human Rights Law Review*, 16.3 (2016), pp. 453-482

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