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The Aberdeen Historical Review (*AHR*) is produced by the University of Aberdeen History Society.

Letter From the Editors

The idea for *The Aberdeen Historical Review* (*AHR*) was conceived in February 2021. We were in the midst of a second semester taught on a fully online basis and missing the uplifting atmosphere that is always palpable on campus. From this feeling, a project was born, a project that would celebrate the successes of the student body and add something new to their resumés during a time when professional development was difficult to achieve. Under the guidance of Dr Bradford Bow and *The Society of Undergraduate Humanities Publications* (*SUHP*), we formulated the values of *AHR*.

AHR is an open-access academic undergraduate journal which publishes first-class scholarship produced by students at the University of Aberdeen. All papers have been written for Honours courses at the university. The essays are thoroughly peer-reviewed by a dedicated board of students. Authors and reviewers partake in an anonymized dialogue, through which authors are challenged to review their papers and develop them beyond the course deadline and requirements. In this way, authors are given the opportunity to reach their greatest potential. Simultaneously, peer reviewers are enabled to take a unique approach to each essay and utilize their creativity, critical thinking, and academic writing skills in advising the author on improvements.

We encourage and support creative and original visions, wide-ranging ambitions, and diverse voices from all communities and backgrounds. With the Aberdeen 2040 vision of internationality, inclusion, and innovation in mind, submissions are not limited to students enrolled in the history programme. We welcome papers from any discipline, so long as the methodology and content within are historical in nature. Thus, in addition to traditional history essays, this inaugural issue features essays from archaeology, law, and medical humanities, and we hope *AHR* continues to attract submissions from students outside the history department.

Although part of a global network of undergraduate publications, *AHR* is intended primarily as a tool for its community in Aberdeen. It is our hope that students from across

year groups will use *AHR* as a guiding voice as they write their course assignments. The issue includes the course number and title for which each essay is produced, allowing for students and tutors alike to refer to first-class essays from a specific course. In this way, *AHR* hopes to not only encourage the academic development of authors and peer reviewers but of the student body as a whole.

Making *AHR* a reality has been a long but rewarding journey and we are so pleased to present to you this inaugural issue. We could not have achieved this without the endless support of Dr Bradford Bow, the tireless work of the peer review and editorial boards, and the excellent submissions from the students of the University of Aberdeen. We hope this project will inspire other students to start similar projects of their own, and we thank you all for your support.

For this issue, we have chosen to arrange the papers chronologically. The first eight titles cover antiquity through to the nineteenth century, followed by eight titles covering the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The issue opens with Marion Devigne's paper on the use of maternal milk in Ancient Egypt, a topic barely touched by current scholarship. Next, in her interdisciplinary paper, Marieke Wierenga explores the use of historical archaeology in adding to our understanding of past minority groups. Moving into the Middle Ages, Margarita Cherednikova introduces us to the laws of sex and marriage in medieval Russia. Another interdisciplinary approach follows, this time by law student Kara Bruce, in which the author reflects on the relationship between the Scottish Reformation and Scottish marriage law. Tane J. Moorhouse leads us into the early modern period with a paper on the importance of cultural context for art history. The subsequent title received the Peter McCaffery Cultural History prize for best cultural history essay or dissertation written by a University of Aberdeen student. In it, Signe Olesen details Dr William Harvey's conceptualization of the relationship between man and God as it relates to conception and the life cycle. In the penultimate paper of this section, Jaeden A. Reppert argues for the importance of studying the history of emotions. Concluding the first section, Paul Friedrich discusses the use of

literary sources in historical inquiry, drawing upon examples from Viking-era sagas and Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre.

The second section is opened by Tomas Pizarro-Escuti and his paper on First World War volunteers from South America, pulling from original Spanish texts to address this scarcely discussed group. In the following paper, Julie Mikkelsen discusses another group neglected by current scholarship: women workers in the revolutionary movement in Petrograd. Taking us into the Interwar Period, Davide Lamparelli debates the nature of the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-1921 in terms of revolution, rebellion, and war of independence. The following title by Karin Trägårdh assesses the validity of using literary sources as historical material, using the example of a 1930s Swedish novel about the age of emigration. Benjamin Morgan takes us into the second half of the twentieth century with his paper on the role of white supremacy in the subduing of the Mau Mau Rebellion. The next title, by David O. Harrop, is a reflection on the 'newness' of the 'new political history' that emerged in the scholarship in the 1960s and 70s. Drawing from his joint degree in history and politics, Michael Bryce compares the nineteenth century Urabi revolt and the Egyptian Arab Spring, which began in 2010. Finishing off the issue on a strong note, Nicole Ritchie reviews the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe and the controversy and debates that have followed it from its inception into current day.

Once again, our sincerest gratitude goes out to all authors, peer reviewers, and editorial assistants. It has been a pleasure to work with you. Also thank you to the reader for supporting us. We hope you enjoy reading this issue as much as we enjoyed making it.

See you again in the summer,

Your Editors.

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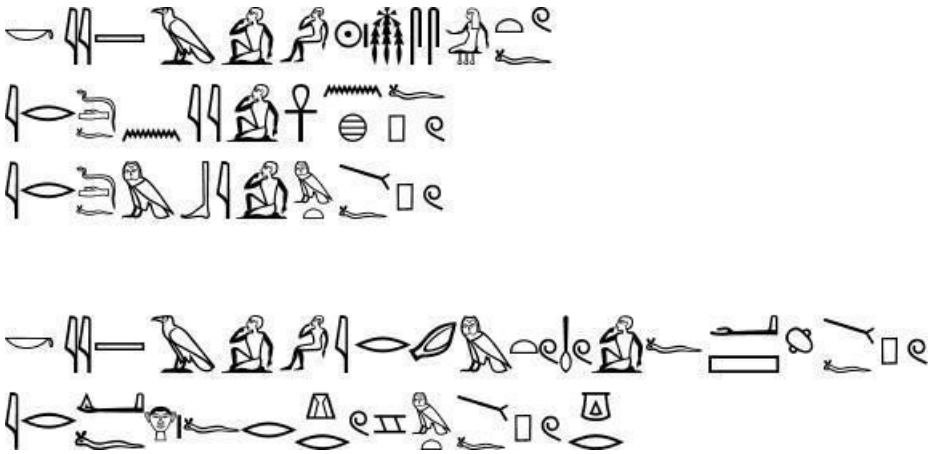
The Power of Milk: The Nutritional, Medical and Symbolic Significance of Maternal Milk in Ancient Egypt

MARION DEVIGNE*

Marion Devigne is a fourth-year Joint Honours History and Archaeology student. She started studying Egyptology during her Erasmus exchange in Germany and has further developed her interest in the field ever since. She is currently researching ancient Egyptian textiles at the university's Museum and Special Collections as part of her undergraduate dissertation and is also the founder of the University of Aberdeen Egyptology Society.



Papyrus Ebers 838-839. (97,13-97,15)

Translation,[2]
'Another **prognosis for a child on the day it is born:**
When it says 'ny', it will live
When it says 'mbj', it will die
Another (prognosis): If it lets a loud lamentation be heard, it will die
If it puts its face down, it will thereupon die'

This passage is taken from the 'exceptionally beautiful' Ebers papyrus, the longest and only complete medical papyrus, and one of the main sources of knowledge about Ancient Egyptian medicine.[3] Here, the muscle tone and strength of the newborn's cries are observed, which underlines the attention that infants received, and therefore the importance

[1]* This essay was written for ME33HM: History of Medicine.

[2] C. P. Bryan, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine: The Papyrus Ebers, Translated from the German Version* (London, 1930), 82. For a German translation, see M. Stuhr, *Medizinische Schriften der Alten Ägypter*, http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_xcvii1.html, accessed 26 November 2020.

[3] B. Ebbell, *The Papyrus Ebers: The Greatest Egyptian Medical Document* (Copenhagen and London, 1937), 11; R. Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London, 1997), 48.

given to a newborn's health in the medical context. From the first few seconds after the parturition, the care and attentiveness previously addressed to the mother during pregnancy and childbirth naturally targets the newborn too. Special attention is given to children of young age, during which maternal milk nourishes and protects it. However, the presence of maternal milk in medical papyri goes far beyond breastfeeding, being prescribed as part of remedies. This introduces a different aspect to its primary use. Not only is maternal milk protecting the newborn, but it is also curing people of diseases or injuries, especially if, as we will see, the breast milk belonged to a woman who gave birth to a son.

Our understanding of Ancient Egyptian medicine began after Champollion's decipherment of the hieroglyphs in 1822, which led to the reproduction and first translations of medical papyri.[4] Yet, a full modern English translation and survey of the entire corpus of medical papyri is still missing.[5] If clear advancements were achieved for some papyri, such as the Edmin Smith or Kahun Papyri, English translations are still sparse, fragmentary, and difficult to obtain.[6] Despite the lack of modern translations, important contributions to the understanding of Egyptian medicine were made. Egyptologists now usually diverge from the older tendency to separate medicine and religion by exploring how religious beliefs were integrated into medical practices.[7] Additionally, scholars emphasise the recent development of women studies in Egyptology, but admit that such studies are still 'largely unsystematic, heterogeneous' and 'anchored in a first phase of

[4] J. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London, 1996), 6.

[5] S. Carpenter et al., 'An Interlinear Transliteration and English Translation of Portions of The Ebers Papyrus, Possibly Having to Do With Diabetes Mellitus', *Annandale-on-Hudson, Bard College* (1998), 1-22, 3; G. Lloyd, 'Les Papyrus Médicaux de l'Egypte Pharaonique: Traduction Intégrale et Commentaire. Thierry Bardinet', *Isis*, 86 (1995), 628-629, 629.

[6] Carpenter et al., 'An Interlinear Transliteration', 3.

[7] For the 'wrong' dichotomy between magic and medicine: A. Austin, 'Contending with illness in Ancient Egypt: A textual and osteological study of health care at Deir el-Medina' (Doctoral dissertation, UCLA, 2014), 78; L. M. Zucconi, 'Medicine and Religion in Ancient Egypt', *Religion Compass*, 1 (2007), 26-37, 26-27.

research based on the edition and cataloguing of primary sources'.[8] The medical aspects in women and children studies that are increasingly explored are mainly on women's health, contraception,[9] and pregnancy and childbirth.[10] However, breastfeeding and mastology have been completely neglected, with only the religious aspect of breastfeeding being taken into consideration in the 1960s.[11] Maternal milk is very often but too succinctly mentioned in scholarship.[12] Tanja Pommerening evaluated the use of the milk of a woman who gave birth to a male child, but delivered a general analysis alongside Greek and Latin sources.[13] The most complete work on breastfeeding and maternal milk in Ancient Egyptian medicine is certainly Richard-Alain Jean and Anne-Marie Loyrette's book *La Mère, l'Enfant et le Lait en Egypte Ancienne*. Although going further by studying the meaning, representation, and diseases that could impact female breasts, and introducing the nutritional benefit of maternal milk as well as several therapeutic and prognostic uses, not all medical papyri were analysed.

Therefore, more single studies focusing on the importance of breastfeeding and the use of maternal milk in a medical context are still needed, to which this essay modestly attempts to contribute. In order to best understand the significance of maternal milk, a wealth of primary sources, mainly medical papyri, but also non-medical texts, are analysed. This will be combined with archaeological evidence such as figurines, ostraca, or related

[8] A. Andreeva, E. Couto-Ferreira, and S. Töpfer, 'Childbirth and Women's Healthcare in Pre-Modern Societies: An Assessment', *Dynamis*, 34 (2014), 279-287, 280.

[9] H. Fouly, W. F. McCool, and J. Koucoi, 'Ancient Egyptian Women's Health Care in Relation to Modern Women's Health Care Practices: An Overview', *The International Journal of Childbirth*, 2 (2012), 269-276.

[10] S. Töpfer, 'The Physical Activity of Parturition in Ancient Egypt: Textual and Epigraphical Sources', *Dynamis*, 34 (2014), 317-335.

[11] R. Jean and A. Loyrette, *La Mère, l'Enfant et le Lait en Egypte Ancienne* (Paris, 2010), 15.

[12] Porter, *The Greatest Benefit*, 50; D. M. Valenze, *Milk: A Local and Global History* (New Haven, 2011), 15-17; P. A. da Silva Veiga, *Health and Medicine in Ancient Egypt: Magic and Science* (Oxford, 2009), 61.

[13] T. Pommerening, 'Milch einer Frau, die einen Knaben geboren hat', P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (eds), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodos, 2008*, (Leuven, 2015), 2083-2095.

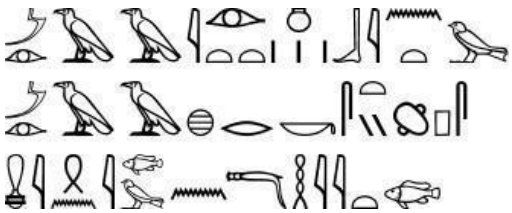
objects that can deepen our understanding of the meaning and symbol of maternal milk. By focusing on textual and material evidence, this essay will endeavour to look at the broad use, meaning, and significance of maternal milk in Ancient Egypt. Its nutritional qualities will first be discussed, followed by the therapeutic purposes of breast milk and the curative value of a particular milk (the milk of a woman who has given birth to a male child). Finally, the reasons for such a distinction will be explored.

All the *Breast*: Nutritional Powers of Maternal Milk and Further Benefits of Breastfeeding

In Ancient Egypt, milk is generally known as  *irṯt*, as used in the expression  *irṯt rmṯ*, translated as 'human milk'. The attention paid to the act of nursing and breast milk in Ancient Egypt can be seen in medical documents. For example, the Ebers papyrus provides two complementary examinations of maternal milk in order to assess its quality.[14]

A 'good milk': papyrus Ebers 796. (94,8-94,10)

Translation,[15]
'**To recognise a milk, which is good**
Its smell is like ground earth almonds
This is an analysis criterion'



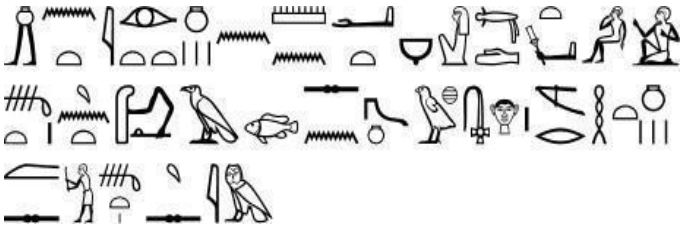
[14] Bryan, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 82.

[15] Bryan, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 109; in French, Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 104; in German, Stuhr, *Medizinische Schriften.*

A ‘bad milk’: papyrus Ebers 788. (93,17-93,18)

Translation,[16]
‘**To recognise a milk, which is bad:**
You will perceive that its smell
is like the stench of the fish’

In these two passages, fresh breast milk is compared to two biological products as references. Good milk is likened to the smell of a freshly grounded plant. On the other hand, when the smell of milk is comparable to the unpleasant smell of fish, it is inedible and may even be harmful to the newborn. This indicates the special attention that breast milk receives before being given to the child. An observational examination seems necessary to ensure its well-being.



Papyrus Ebers 836. (97,10-97,11)

Translation,[17]
‘To bring up the milk of a wet nurse suckled by a child:
Large dorsal bone of a Nile perch fried in oil.
Smear her back with it.’

The Ebers papyrus also provides a back treatment for a woman who does not produce milk or if the quantity of her milk is not sufficient. Here, the *Lates niloticus*, also known as Nile perch or Giant lates, is prescribed. The strength and voraciousness of this fish, the largest in the Nile, was well known to the Ancient Egyptians, who called it the ‘fighting fish’.[18] Interestingly, smearing the backbone of this strong animal on the back of the wet-nurse aims to give her the same strength, and thus increase the amount of milk produced. We can see that maternal milk is carefully handled, its quality and quantity being two

[16] Bryan, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine,* 109; Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 108; Stuhr, *Medizinische Schriften*.

[17] Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 116; Stuhr, *Medizinische Schriften*.

[18] Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 118.

essential analysed aspects. Looking at the papyri, we can also assess the importance that the Ancient Egyptians gave to the act of breastfeeding itself, and more particularly, why this was necessary.

Ramesseum papyrus III: B: 10-11

Translation,[19]
'Make a child accept (the breast), if he does not want to suckle
Swallow! so speaks Horus. Chewed up! so speaks Seth'

This passage indicates that maternal milk is vital for the child, who is encouraged in the eating process by the deities Horus and Seth. Interestingly, the child is placed in the same position as Horus, who has already overcome the difficulty to accept the milk of his mother Isis.[20] Therefore, the deities help the mother with such torment, when the child's survival is at stake. The Ancient Egyptians were aware of the importance of breast milk for the well-being of the child, which protected him from eventual contamination of pathogenic germs.[21] The Ancient Egyptian *Instructions of Any* (from the New Kingdom) inform us of the strength that a child receives from his mother during the three years of breastfeeding, and the importance to subsequently acknowledge and respect one's mother during one's lifetime.[22] Thereafter, the child is a 'weaned child'  *wḏḥ*.[23] It is evident that breastfeeding was accurately understood as a crucial protection from illnesses.[24] This is

[19] Ibid., 111.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., 130.

[22] F. J. Chabas, *Les maximes du scribe Ani: d'après le papyrus hiératique N° IV du musée de Boulaq* (1876), 216.

[23] Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère,* 129.

[24] Fouly, 'Ancient Egyptian Women's Health Care', 274.

confirmed from archaeological data of cemeteries, where the peak of mortality of children is reached at about the age of four, when the child is for the first time introduced to solid foods.[25]

Therefore, the Ancient Egyptians seemed to believe that maternal milk constituted a natural and complete food and protected the child against infections and diseases, which is certainly one of the biggest benefits of breastfeeding. Scholars also mentioned the contraceptive powers of breastfeeding, an observation well understood by women in Ancient Egypt.[26] During this period, the ovulation is suppressed, which enables the mother to space pregnancies. Lastly, another advantage of breastfeeding can be seen in the papyrus Ebers, namely the possibility to transmit a treatment through maternal milk.

Papyrus Ebers 272bis (49,18-49,41)
Translation:[27]
'**Another (remedy) that corrects the urine of a child**
Rub together reed pith to completion in sweet beer[28]
A bowl of the thick fluid is to be drunk by the woman
It is given to the child from a *hnw* jar'

[25] J. Brewer Douglas and E. Teeter, *Egypt and the Egyptians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 97.

[26] Brewer and Teeter, *Egypt and the Egyptians*, 98; Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 131; Fouly, 'Ancient Egyptian Women's Health Care', 275.

[27] Carpenter, et al., 'An Interlinear Transliteration', 141.

[28] Max Nelson argues that sweet beer is more commonly prescribed than plain beer in medical papyri, potentially to flavour and cover up the bad taste of the medicinal preparations. This would be coherent here; a sweeter taste could potentially be more easily accepted by the infant. M. Nelson, 'To Your Health! The Role of Beer in Ancient Medicine', W. H. Salazar (ed.), *Beer: Production, consumption and health effects* (New York, 2016), 11.

In this passage, the urinary flow of the child must be rectified, which could be understood as a diuresis.[29] Interestingly, a dual medication is prescribed. Not only does the child have to drink the mixture, but so does the woman (here the wet-nurse). Through breastfeeding, the medication will also be administered to the infant, which is thought to offer a more effective remedy and a better chance of recovery. This type of medical treatment is also seen in the Berlin Papyrus 3027. (7,1-7,3), which proves that breastfeeding played an important intermediary role in providing the treatment to the child.[30]

Figure 1: Representation of a squatting woman suckling a child, ca. 1295 B.C. – 1069 B.C., The British Museum, EA15973 © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Therefore, written sources, and more particularly medical papyri, provide good evidence on the important nutritional and medical aspects of maternal milk. Looking at the material culture can also confirm and deepen our understanding of the significance the Ancient Egyptians gave to breast milk. The woman nursing a baby is a very common theme in Egyptian art from the Predynastic Period to Roman times. For example, an 18th Dynasty sunk relief represents a woman nursing a child, squatting and holding him very close to her body (Figure 1).[31] Although very simple (not painted and made out of a rough, square piece of limestone) and depicting a recurring motif in Ancient Egyptian art, this representation is unusual, very personal, and

[29] Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 141.

[30] A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind aus dem Papyrus 3027 des Berliner Museums* (Berlin, 1901), 28.

[31] Relief, EA15973, Egypt and Sudan Collection, The British Museum, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA15973, accessed 28 November 2020.

Figure 2: Princess Sobeknakht Suckling a Prince, ca. 1700 B.C. – after 1630 B.C., Brooklyn Museum, 43.137 © Brooklyn Museum.

even emotional. We are witnessing a very special relationship when the mother and child are isolated and seem to be one and the same. This confirms the symbolic attachment and the special bond that could unite mother and child in Ancient Egypt.

Statuettes are also fine examples of nursing scenes, such as the Princess Sobeknakht suckling her male child (Figure 2).[32] With her left knee raised to feed her child, she is depicted in a very traditional way of sitting nursing figurines; she is more distant than the relief discussed above. Distinctive elements (notably the headdress, the uraeus cobra, and the bronze plaque bearing her name) demonstrate her high status. It is suggested that this figurine may celebrate the birth of the prince, which is a strong indication of the significance of the imagery of a woman of high status breast feeding.[33] By depicting the newborn suckling the princess, the royal lineage is proclaimed and his future legitimacy as a king ensured.

A limestone statuette dating to the Middle or Early New Kingdom depicts a woman nursing a relatively older child (Figure 3).[34] Another woman behind her is

Figure 3: Woman nursing her child while another woman is dressing her hair. ca. 1981 B.C. – 1500 B.C., MMA, 22.2.35 © Public Domain.

[32] Princess Sobeknakht Suckling a Prince, 43.137, Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art, Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3463, accessed 28 November 2020.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Group of two women and a child, 22.2.35, Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544225, accessed 28 November 2020.

dressing the hair of the mother. This interesting scene brings together two acts of everyday life, which places breastfeeding as a regular and common event and where the woman-child relationship is strongly established. An ostracon from Deir el-Medina[35] represents a very similar scene (Figure 4).[36] A young woman is depicted in profile, nursing a newborn. Her hairstyle is carefully dressed, and she wears sandals, jewellery, and a belt, which are signs of her high status. The woman is sitting and offers her breast with her hand to the infant. Below is a servant, most probably Nubian, holding a mirror and a container for kohl. The background of vine leaves is identical, which may indicate that she is presenting these objects to the nursing woman. Here again, the nursing scene is part of daily routine, where the nursing woman and child alike receive special care and attention.

Figure 4: Woman nursing an infant, ca. 1295 B.C. – 1069 B.C., The British Museum, EA8506 © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Royal and divine births are also relevant examples of nursing scenes. In the temple of Armant, for example, a very realistic relief (around 50 BC) represents the birth of the divine child.[37] In the center, the woman in labour is depicted, while on the right the infant

[35] The settlement of Deir el-Medina can provide wealthy information on health care. Austin, 'Contending with illness in Ancient Egypt', 8.

[36] (Copyright free - credit) Ostracon, EA8506, Egypt and Sudan Collection, The British Museum, London, https://www. britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA8506, accessed 28 November 2020.

[37] R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preuften, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., nach diesen Ländern gesendeten, und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition auf Befehl Seiner Majestät, 13 vol.* (Berlin, 1849), Abteilung IV, Bandel IX, Blatt 60a.

is already in the arms of a nurse, suckling her breast. Therefore, the ejection and post-partum stages are combined in one relief.[38] Breastfeeding the child appears as a symbolic act beyond the nutritional good, referring here to a divine gesture.[39] The numerous nursing scenes indicate the importance of breastfeeding and maternal milk for Ancient Egyptian culture. Particularly, they demonstrate the bond which is established between mother (or wet-nurse) and child and the particular female sphere that is created. Women hold a special status when having maternal milk, crucial for the well-being of the child.[40] But as we will see, the use of breast milk went far beyond the nutrition of the newborn. It was beneficial to society as a whole and was used by adults as well.

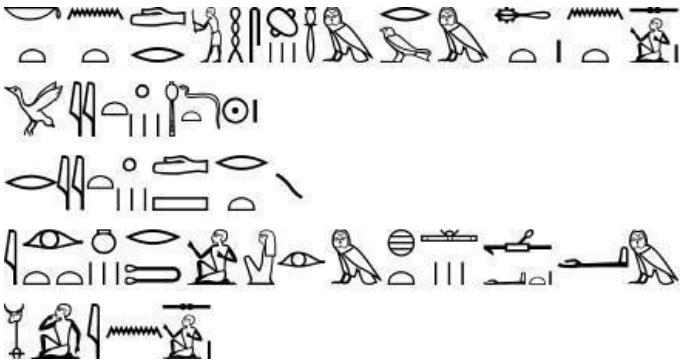
White Gold in Ancient Egypt

The Ancient Egyptians included maternal milk in medical documents for various treatments. An exhaustive list would be too long here, but it is nevertheless important to identify for which diseases or other troubles milk was generally thought to procure relief or cure. The complete Ebers Papyrus is very informative and provides relevant information on its application. Matemal milk was used in various forms, both orally and locally. Often mixed with other ingredients, it could then be gargled, drunk, applied locally in specific areas depending on the health problem (eye, nose, anus, vagina...), or it could also be applied directly on the skin. For example, maternal milk could be used as a cream for a better skin (pEbers 720.87 13-15) and against bruises (pEbers 734.88,16-88,19), but could also be taken orally as an elaborate mixture for other serious troubles like constipation (pEbers 30. 10 9-14) or heart disease (pBerlin 116. 9,12-10,2). A few examples will demonstrate the broad use of maternal milk.

[38] Töpfer, 'The Physical Activity of Parturition', 322.

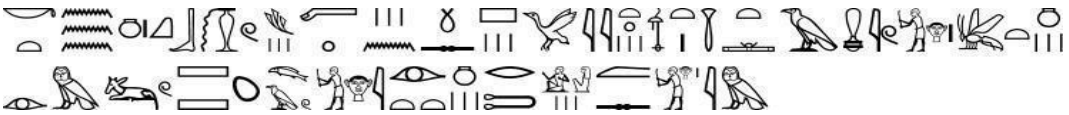
[39] Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 16.

[40] Ibid.



Papyrus Ebers 720. (87,13-87,15)

Translation, [41]
‘**Another (remedy):**
Sap of the *obw plant*, alabaster powder, gum resin, mix on honey
Make a pulp, crush on human milk, anoint the face with it.’



Papyrus Ebers 30. (10.9-10,14)

Translation,[42]
‘**Another (remedy) for getting rid of sick feces in the man’s stomach:**
White gum[43] **1**
Red ink **1**
Human milk, making to a uniform mass
Swallow by the man.’

Here, maternal milk is needed for its embellishing properties on the skin, but also for more serious troubles in gastroenterology. Interestingly, we can also deduce from these two examples that maternal milk can be prescribed to both men and women. Its therapeutic powers are therefore recognised for children (see above pEbers 272bis 49,18-49,4), as well as adults no matter the sex.

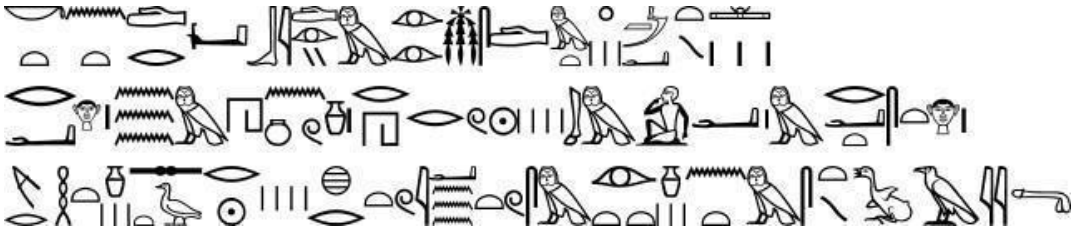
Though all maternal milk could be used, medical papyri clearly distinguish its quality based on the sex of the child. Indeed, the ‘Milk of a woman who has borne a male child’

[41] Stuhr, *Medizinische Schriften*.

[42] Ibid.

[43] ‘gomme blanche’: Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 133; ‘weißer Gummi’: Stuhr, *Medizinische Schriften*.

 had many more therapeutic powers in Ancient Egypt, especially in ophthalmology, dermatology, and for other diseases like the *baa* disease.[44] This specific milk is particularly important for eye disorders, common in Ancient Egypt.[45] Applied to the eyes, the milk of a woman who has borne a male child could help to 'restore the lustre in the eye' (pEbers 414. 62,17-62,18) or remove a red inflammation (pEbers 408. 62,9- 62,10).[46] It could also be used to remove blood from the eyes (pEbers 384. 60,13-60,16) or as the final process of washing the eye in case of an eye disease,



Papyrus Ebers 368. (59,6 -59,10)

Translation,[47]
'**Another remedy for curing the bjdj-disease of the eyes:** Real galena, to be put in water in a *hnw* jar for four days. To be repeated by putting it in fat of pintail duck for four days. Then it is washed in the milk of the mother of a boy.'

This particular milk could be used fresh, or stored and transported for medical purposes,[48] or in case of surplus[49] in anthropoid jars. These jars could have a simple shape, with a woman's head to express the female origin of their content (Figure 5) or more elaborate, representing a woman holding a young boy in her arms.[50] Though these jars are

[44] Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère,* 136.

[45] Porter, *The Greatest Benefit,* 18.

[46] Bryan, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine,* 95-97.

[47] M. Nederhof, 'Transliteration and translation of parts of Papyrus Ebers, on the basis of Möller', https://mjn.host.cs.st-andrews.ac.uk/egyptian/texts/corpus/pdf/Ebers.pdf, accessed 30 November 2020.

[48] Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 156.

[49] J. P. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2005), 34.

[50] Ibid.; Jug in the shape of a woman's head, 26.2.30, Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544869, accessed 30 November 2020; Gefäß in

thought to be produced for only a short period of time during the New Kingdom (1450-1350 B.C.) between the reigns of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II[51], their representation and capacity to store about the same amount of milk a single breast produces in one feeding clearly show the medical and symbolic importance of this particular milk.[52] Therefore, the milk of a woman who has given birth to a son was considered so precious and powerful that we can see its influence all the way to Greek medicine[53] and even later on, in medieval Coptic and in medieval European healing literature.[54]

Besides its therapeutic properties, this particular milk also had prognostic powers, being used in an oral test to know whether another woman was physically ready to be pregnant and give birth.

Figure 5: Anthropoid jug in the shape of a woman's head, MMA, 26.2.30 © Public Domain.

Gestalt einer Frau (Amme) mit Kind, ÄM14476, Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=591744&viewType=detailView, accessed 30 November 2020. Other fine examples of anthropoid jars are Louvre, AF1660, MMA, 25.7.42, Boston 1985.336.

[51] Allen, *The Art of Medicine*, 34; da Silva Veiga, *Health and Medicine*, 61.

[52] Ibid.

[53] This particular milk is found in Greek sources, which indicates Greek knowledge of Egyptian medicine and rituals. However, it was almost only recommended to women or infants. See J. Laskaris, 'Nursing Mothers in Greek and Roman Medicine', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 112 (2008), 459-464, 459.

[54] Pommerening, 'Milch einer Frau', 2084.

Papyrus Berlin 3038. 193 (vs 1,3-1,4)

Translation,[55]
'**(In order to discern) a woman who will give birth from a woman who will not give birth:**
bddw-kA-plant. Grind, (then) mix with milk of a woman who has borne a male child
It will be made into a swallow
Make the woman take it. If she vomits, she will give birth. If she has gas, she will never give birth.'

In the papyrus, two tests are indicated for the same purpose. Indeed, this oral test is followed by the same prescription, but only the way milk is collected and inserted changes: it has to be taken manually, stored in a *hnw* vase, and has to be inserted in the vagina instead (pBerlin 3038. 194 1,5-1,6).[56] After taking this product, the woman's behaviour is observed. The test is positive if she vomits and negative if she has intestinal disorders. Acting like an envoy, the powerful maternal milk from a woman who gave birth to a son has the mission to explore and declare the woman's ability to give birth or not. Its 'answer' is seen when observing the woman's reaction to the mixture.[57]

Finally, we can notice that even though maternal milk is not prescribed for some health problems, it can, however, add an extra power to the treatment. This can be seen in the Hearst Papyrus, when the milk of a woman who has borne a male child needs to be stored in a *hnw* vessel with salt for one night and then be given to the patient in order to

[55] W. Wreszinski, *Facsimile und Umschrift* (Leipzig, 1909), 106; in French, see Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 164.

[56] *hnw* (or *henu*) corresponds to a jar in Ancient Egypt. *hnw* (*hin*) also designates a unit of volume of about half a litre. See Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 2017), ed. modernised by Boris Jegorović, 196.

[57] Jean and Loyrette, *La Mère*, 172.

'Make the *mtw* vessels absorb the treatment' (pHearst 111. 8,12-8,13).[58] In the Ebers papyrus, milk is also used as an excipient in the same way. This precious and special milk has, therefore, the important role of facilitating medication, which is better absorbed by the body. It is then interesting to wonder why such a difference was made between this milk and that of a woman who gave birth to a girl. Even though 'children of both sexes were valued' in Ancient Egypt, a clear distinction is sometimes made between male and female offspring.[59] Indeed, in the Ebers papyrus, the sex of the child influences the vessel containing the remedy: 'If a girl, she had to drink it out of a cool flask. If a boy, he had to drink it out of a *hennu* vessel'.[60] Here, the effectiveness of medical treatment depends on the distinction of the two sexes. Likewise, even though the milk of a woman who has borne a daughter can be used for some medical treatments, it is still referred to as mother's milk and never specifically mentioned. Therefore, the medical use of the milk of the mother who gave birth to a son is never prevented. As we will see, a better understanding of its symbolic meaning becomes relevant.

Isis, Healer and Mother: Exploring the goddess myth

Looking at the incantations that are addressed upon maternal milk can give a better understanding on the meaning of maternal milk and more particularly the clear power of the milk of a woman who has borne a male child. Against coryza for example, 'Milk-of-a-woman-who-has-borne-a-son' and strong-smelling gummi are used against the runny nose (pEbers 763. 90,15-91,1). Interestingly, a magical incantation has to be spoken four times upon this precious milk,

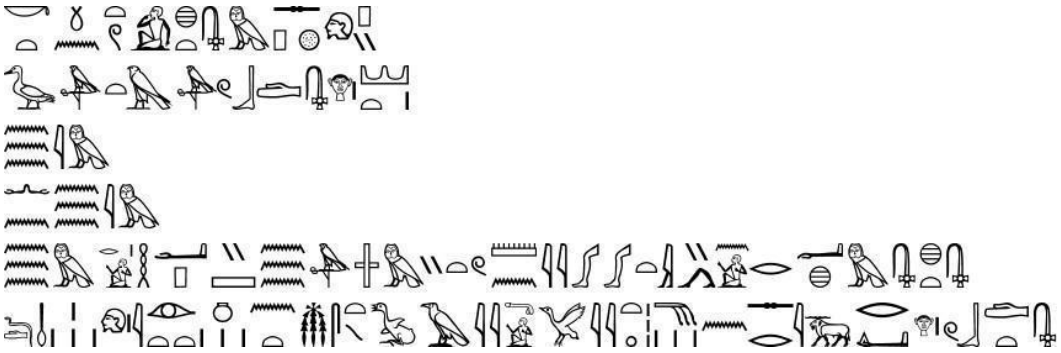
[58] *mtw*, translated today as '*mtw* vessels' seems to refer to internal structures that carried substances like intestines, blood vessels, or nerves. They originated at the heart and terminated at the anus. See J. Barr, 'Vascular Medicine and Surgery in Ancient Egypt', *Journal of Vascular Surgery*, 60 (2014), 260-3, 261; for a detailed analysis, see Zucconi, 'Medicine and Religion', 27-29.

[59] Brewer and Teeter, *Egypt and the Egyptians*, 97.

[60] Bryan, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 807.

> I have brought your (appropriate) medicine against you, your protective drink against you. … It will drive you out, it will do away with you. … Go out to the earth, rot away![61]

This incantation clearly indicates that maternal milk was thought to have clear therapeutic powers, as it was specifically brought as a cure to the patient. Another incantation is very illuminating, as it clearly demonstrates the religious meaning that maternal milk has in case of a burned skin. In the Ebers papyrus, we are witnessing a dialogue between the doctor and the goddess Isis, the Great Mother:



Papyrus Ebers 499. (69,3-69,5)

Translation,[62]
'**Another conjuration for a burn:**
'Your son Horus has been burnt in the desert!' 'Is there water there?'
'There is no water there!'
'Water is in my mouth, an Inundation is between my thighs. It is to extinguish the fire that I have arrived. Break out, burn!'
Words to be said over the milk of a woman who has given birth to a male child, gum and hairs of a ram. To be applied to the burn'

Here, the spell confers maternal milk healing powers against the burn.[63] The patient is compared to Horus, while his mother Isis is appealed to cure him. From this incantation, maternal milk is identified as Isis' milk, the mother of Horus. This association is seen again

[61] J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden, 1978), 34.

[62] Ibid., 25.

[63] For the significance of spells, see Zucconi, 'Medicine and Religion', 23.

in another incantation against a burn, where the words used by Isis for rescuing her son Horus from being burned had to be said out loud and repeated (pLondon 46 14,8-14,14),

> Show me my way that I may do what I know (to do), that I may extinguish it for him with my milk, with the salutary liquids from between my breasts. It will be applied to your body so that your vessels become sound. I will make the fire recede that has attacked you![64]

Connoted with deities and mythical stories, the milk of a woman who has given birth to a male child has magically enhanced powers. Through this myth, any burn becomes Horus' wound, and maternal milk used for the treatment is transformed into the precious healing milk of Isis.[65] Very powerful in Ancient Egypt, this goddess is known to protect women in all stages of their lives, especially during pregnancy and childbirth, and would be strongly identified with them.[66] A spell from the papyrus Leiden I 348 demonstrates the parallel that is established between a mother and Isis. This spell aims to accelerate the delivery of a woman, who is in great pain,

> Isis is suffering from her backpart being pregnant, but her month(s) have been completed, according to the (set) number in pregnancy, with her son, Horus.[67]

In this spell, the future mother is literally identified with Isis, and her future child is 'Horus'. Therefore, the woman who has borne a male child is also considered to be 'the

[64] Ibid.

[65] Pommerening, 'Milch einer Frau', 2083.

[66] Töpfer, 'Childbirth and Women's Healthcare', 333; Valenze, *Milk*, 16.

[67] J. Borghouts, *The magical texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden, 1971), 30-31.

giver of life'. She is likened to Isis, who, unsurprisingly, is mainly represented breastfeeding her son Horus (Figure 7).[68]

Conclusion

Breastfeeding was vital for the child as a nutritional and sterile food. Widely represented in both secular and religious art, breastfeeding was the symbol of fertility. As Isis did with her son Horus, the mother held a protective role, so that her child would be protected from danger, be fed with milk of good quality and quantity, and would finally grow up strong and healthy, as Isis succeeded with Horus. Because mothers were identified with Isis, the great Mother and Healer, the milk of a woman who had borne a male child was powerful thanks to its divine meaning and would have the same effectiveness as the milk of the goddess herself. It would carry a healing and even divine message to the body, so that the vessels would absorb and accept the medication (pHearst, 111 8,12-8,13). When going through the internal organs of a woman, this powerful milk was also carrying the divine message (PBerlin 3038 193 rs 1,3-1,4). If subjected to an obstacle (such as constipation), the organs would be unable to pass the potent substance through the body, which appears to be a prerequisite for fertility. From written sources, like the spells to be spoken upon maternal milk, to material culture, with the anthropoid jars, breast milk was much more powerful than animal's milk because of its identification with the goddess' own milk. As its symbolic replica, maternal milk of a woman who had borne a male child was precious for curing diseases, injuries, or relieving pain.

In line with this research, it would seem relevant to carry out a more in-depth analysis of the importance and symbolism of the breastfeeding figurines, known as 'servant statues'. It has been suggested that these figurines could carry a symbol of rebirth as an eternal

[68] Isis holding Horus, ABDUA:22465, Human Culture Collection, University of Aberdeen Museum, Aberdeen, https://abdn.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/44ABE_INST/6ctmk5/alma9917869203105941, accessed 1 December 2020.

guarantor of life-giving nourishment and this would explain their presence in tombs.[69] Studying this other aspect of maternal milk, namely its symbolic presence alongside the deceased and therefore its meaning in the afterlife, could bring a new perspective on the significance of maternal milk in Ancient Egyptian society.

[69] Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, 35.

The Contribution of Historical Archaeology to Our Understanding of Past Minority Groups

MARIEKE WIERENGA*

Marieke Wierenga is a fourth-year Joint Honours Archaeology and History student. What she particularly likes about this subject combination is the interdisciplinarity that allows her to study the past using both historical records and the results of field research. She is convinced that the academic disciplines of the humanities have the potential to contribute to the fight against current injustices and is therefore interested in re-examining ignored or forgotten stories of minority groups, for example through a gender lens. After her studies, she might work in sectors that focus on human rights, gender equality or indigenous rights.

Introduction

A large inspiration behind any archaeological investigation includes the wish to discover material that can further expand our current knowledge on past societies. This can comprise new finds which either confirm or contradict already existing assumptions, suggesting linkages to previously found material, or evidence that reveals so far unidentified phenomena. Ideally, this should be an unbiased study that aims to draw a realistic, complete picture of past realities and, therefore, seeks to disclose stories that have, for instance, been rather overlooked or intentionally ignored in the historiography.[2] Thus, an archaeologist works with the assumption that *anything* concerning former human societies is potentially interesting for closer inspection. Yet, archaeologists are, like all scholars, subjected to the power of past narratives which shape collective memory.[3] It is, especially regarding minority groups, crucial that archaeologists challenge dominant narratives to examine and depict both past and present communities in an accurate and respectful way that looks beyond stereotypes and the blind spots of traditional historiography. The term *historical archaeology* describes a relatively new field in archaeological research that focuses on the combined use of historical records (written, oral, architectural, visual) and material culture.

[1]* This essay was written for AY3521: Historical Archaeology.

[2] B. J. Little, *Historical Archaeology: Why the Past Matters* (Walnut Creek, 2007), 29.

[3] P. A. Shackel, 'Changing the Past for the Present and the Future', *Historical Archaeology*, 47 (2013), 1-11, 1.

It is predominantly understood as the study of the last five hundred years and post-Columbian history. The claim that the discipline of historical archaeology contributes to the processes of changing narratives and historical revisionism by comparing documentary and archaeological evidence forms the main argument of this paper.

The aim of this essay is to assess the potential of historical archaeology in the context of today's research and understanding of past minority groups. For that, it is crucial to apprehend what the term *minority groups* encompasses and to become aware of the reasons why their members have experienced and continue to experience certain mistreatments and disadvantages.[4] Due to our predominant concentration on the victim role of minority groups, it is essential to call respectful attention to the original character and qualities of their members' lifestyles. Additionally, this essay seeks to illustrate how historical archaeology can and should contribute to the process of coming to terms with the past by making (intentionally) ignored stories and their effects on current social developments visible. Different foci include the definition of the term *minority groups*, the examination of representative case studies, and, lastly, the relevance of historical archaeology in furthering a just discourse, intending to improve the social situation of those affected today.

Problems with terminology and definitions

By the most common definitions, *minority* is used as a term to describe either 'the smaller number or part' in a system or a 'group or subdivision whose views or actions distinguish it from the main body of people'.[5] This generalization is problematic and has led to controversy surrounding the terminology, as it excludes from the narrative certain groups that do not seem to belong to a minority at first glance.[6] There is the example of people born as biologically female. Browsing through one of the most frequently used reference

[4] The emphasis is mine.

[5] 'Minority', *OED Online*, 2021, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/118943?redirectedFrom=minority, accessed 19 July 2021.

[6] L. M. Killian, 'What or Who is a "Minority"?', *Michigan Sociological Review*, 10 (1996), 18-31, 19.

resources for general global data, the CIA's World Factbook, reveals that the worldwide human sex ratio at birth is quite balanced, being close to 1:1, like the sex ratio of most sexual species.[7] Assessing this data in connection with the most common definitions of minorities, one could conclude that women do not meet the criteria of being minority group members, as the entirety of women does not constitute a smaller number in society or shares a certain (world) view that is only characteristic for them. Worth considering is the more specific, widely cited definition of sociologist Louis Wirth who assigns the term *minority* to a,

> group of people [that], because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.[8]

Thereafter, one's eligibility for minority group membership is not determined by the numerical aspect but by power relations which create differences between subordinate and dominant groups. One famous example that demonstrates the relative insignificance of the quantity of people in the context of unjust power relations is the case study of South Africa's apartheid. During this period a larger number of black inhabitants, a so-called 'majority-minority', faced oppression exercised by a smaller number of white authorities.[9] Yet, in conformity with Wirth's definition, whites cannot be considered a minority here.[10]

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[7] 'Sex Ratio', *Central Intelligence Agency*: *The World Factbook*, 2021, https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/world/#people-and-society, accessed 19 July 2021.

[8] L. Wirth, 'The Problem of Minority Groups', Ralph Linton (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York, 1945), 347-372, 347.

[9] G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination* (New York, 2013), 9.

[10] A. Mayne, *From Politics Past to Politics Future: An Integrated Analysis of Current and Emergent Paradigms* (Westport, Connecticut, 1999), 52.

The importance of interdisciplinary collaboration

This emphasis on 'the distribution of power, and not numbers' when examining minority groups is a central theme in all social sciences, including sociology and anthropology, which demonstrates that historical archaeology can learn from and is partly reliant on interdisciplinary collaboration.[11] Especially concerning the study of subordinate groups, it is crucial to strive for the integration of muted voices in the historical narrative. The *muted group theory*, a product of anthropological research by Edwin and Shirley Ardener, focuses particularly on how subordinate groups have experienced disadvantages due to difficulty expressing themselves in the language of the dominant group.[12] This theory can be expanded to the field of archaeology. While past dominant groups held the power to control the modes of minorities' self-expression, muted groups presumably resisted dominant ideologies by expressing 'themselves in alternative media, for example, particular choices or uses of material culture, distinct rules of etiquette, or religion'.[13] These alternatives constitute main sources for historical archaeologists intending to study minority groups. The challenge, however, is to recognize which artefacts are representative of the original character of respective subordinate groups and which are merely the product of adapting to the dominant culture.[14] Interdisciplinary collaboration as well as comparative analysis of documentary sources and archaeological evidence can be very revealing in this regard, as other perspectives hold the potential to complement the narrative. Nevertheless, finding material is also hampered by the fact that certain groups, such as enslaved people, due to poverty or repression had little possessions. Consequently, these can be overlooked or

[11] Simpson and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, 9.

[12] E. Ardener, 'Belief and the Problem of Women and the "Problem" Revisited', E. Lewin (ed.), *Feminist Anthropology: A Reader* (Hoboken, 2006), 47-65.

[13] Little, *Why the Past Matters*, 68.

[14] Ibid., 69.

misread by scholars judging from an outsider perspective or from a privileged, powerful position.[15]

Both a challenge and enrichment in examining minority groups is the fact that empirical research forms a main part of the study. This has created different opinions on questions that consider who should be called a minority and why. For instance, one can distinguish between 'near-minorities', including 'the aged, women, homosexuals, deviant sociopolitical groups, the physically handicapped', and 'full minorities', a term that describes primarily ethnic groups which can either be a 'cultural [or] racial minority'.[16] Nigerian-American anthropologist John Ogbu differentiates between 'autonomous minorities' (minorities in a numerical sense), 'immigrant or voluntary minorities' (that deliberately move to another country), and 'castelike or involuntary minorities' (who are forced to immigrate, for example, through slavery).[17] It becomes obvious that historical archaeologists can draw upon a variety of definitions of other disciplines in the social sciences. This shows that the study of minorities is a cross-disciplinary research. Overall, the term 'collective discrimination' seems to represent one of the most appropriate frameworks to approach minority groups as it is very inclusive and hence mirrors the archaeologist's attitude that *anything* might be interesting for closer inspection.[18]

For this paper, such an inclusive framework is too broad to discuss in detail. Thus, a selection of case studies concerning the study of ethnic minorities and women in the past is used to demonstrate the way historical archaeology can disclose expressions of past minorities' muteness and overcome the challenges in discovering and recognizing these.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Simpson and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, 10-11.

[17] J. U. Ogbu, 'Understanding Cultural Diversity and Learning', *Educational Researcher*, 21 (1992), 5-14, 8.

[18] Wirth, 'The Problem of Minority Groups', 347. The emphasis is mine.

(Re)discovering the past lives of ethnic minorities

Ethnicity is one of the main concepts for the study of minority groups but is contested as its application includes bias, different definitions, and lack of consensus.[19] Archaeological study of material remains is controversial, since scholars use observable patterns to explain past identities, although even these changed amongst societies and over time. Randall McGuire illustrates how historical archaeology offers useful approaches by putting an emphasis on contextualization and making the mundane more visible.[20] According to him, ethnicity concerns the interrelationship of three variables: 'competition provides the motivation for group formation, ethnocentrism channels it along ethnic lines, and the differential distribution of power determines the nature of the relationship.'[21] A so-called 'ethnic boundary' is the factor that differentiates ethnic groups from others and is marked by the usage of behavioural or material traits as symbols.[22] By combining history and archaeology, one can overcome the limitations of the respective subjects.

Michael Nassaney's 2008 study of a French colonial outpost at Fort St. Joseph in North America confirms McGuire's observation that contextualization is important. His analysis of ceramics, animal bone use, and use of space suggests cross-cultural interaction in the context of fur trade that eventually fostered new identity formation and interdependencies between the colonizers and the colonized. Cultural (ex)change was thus a process experienced by both sides.[23] This demonstrates how archaeological evidence can disclose stories of European colonialism which have vanished in the narrative due to concentration on the colonizer's actions and legacy. Examining the most basic forms of

[19] R. H. McGuire, 'The Study of Ethnicity in Historical Archaeology', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 1 (1982), 159-178, 164.

[20] Ibid., 161.

[21] Ibid., 173.

[22] Ibid., 160.

[23] M. S. Nassaney, 'Identity Formation at a French Colonial Outpost in the North American Interior', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 12 (2008), 297-318, 315.

human interaction and everyday behaviour assigns more importance to the realization of interrelations.

The study of race partly intersects with the study of ethnicity but is essentially a field of its own. A classic example of a ground-breaking discovery in this field of archaeology is the African Burial Ground in New York. Its context shows the significance of comparative and interdisciplinary research in recent discourses on social justice. During construction work in 1991, this eighteenth-century cemetery was discovered. Soon after followed archaeological excavation, uncovering around four hundred burials of men, women, and children of African descent.[24] The project met with public controversy, received criticism from the African American community, who was initially not involved, and concern was expressed about the disrespectful way the investigation was handled, partly being carried out hurriedly while construction was already in progress.[25] This insensitivity of the General Services Administration during the preservation process was seen by the African American community as a continuity of white supremacy. Eventually, it was acknowledged that the excavation so far had not fulfilled professional standards. Thus, other experts as well as the black community were consulted.[26] Skeletal and DNA analysis revealed a variety of diseases and injuries, disclosing the inhuman conditions in which past enslaved Africans had to live.[27] The discovery of the burial ground was revolutionary, serving as a symbolic reminder for the ubiquity of slavery in America. Additionally, the lessons learned during the excavation process are ground-breaking, showing the importance of questioning dominant narratives (for instance, those told by enslaved people's oppressors). It illustrates how essential it is to do extensive research on a place's history prior to excavation, to conduct sensible public archaeology, to think about

[24] Little, *Why the Past Matters*, 150.

[25] Ibid., 150.

[26] Ibid.

[27] M. E. Mack and M. L. Blakey, 'The New York African Burial Ground Project: Past Biases, Current Dilemmas, and Future Research Opportunities', *Historical Archaeology*, 38 (2004), 10-17, 15.

one's privilege, and to follow the principle of *sankofa*, which means to 'reclaim the past and understand … how the present came to be so that we can move forward.'[28] Here, interdisciplinary collaboration in historical archaeology succeeded in integrating a long-overlooked chapter of New York's history into the official American heritage. Not only was the project essential for making the struggles of black communities in the past visible (and indirectly meant that whites were willing to reflect on past injustices), but it also considered the needs and wishes of present minorities by involving them into the project.

Women in the historical and archaeological record

The study of past women, while important to consider as a field on its own, is to be seen in relation and not independently from the study of all genders. Gender, being a 'useful category of historical analysis' and possible lens through which we view past societies, forms the main starting point for research in gender history and gender archaeology.[29] These two sub-disciplines emerged following feminist movements in the second half of the twentieth century and strive to achieve more visibility for women that have largely been ignored in historiography due to gender biases and androcentric research.[30] The voices of past women were often doubly ignored or muted: initially, when patriarchal structures prevented them from expressing their opinions during their lifetimes, and later, when they were ignored in a country's dominant narratives. Hence, obvious starting points of investigation can be areas that women in past societies traditionally occupied, according to popular history. For women in nineteenth-century America and many Western societies,

[28] Little, *Why the Past Matters*, 15.

[29] J. W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 1053-1075.

[30] Ibid., 1075.

these were primarily the private spheres, thus domestic life, while men participated in the public spheres of society.[31]

Although this ordinary life is easily ignored, its remaining material products have become increasingly important for our understanding of past lives and women's alternative forms of expression. Historical records, and consequently historiography, have mainly focused on noteworthy, socially remarkable events (predominantly male political and economic achievements), while the study of artefacts also considers products of everyday life and low-profile household activities. Combining these opposites, historical archaeology has the potential to balance out disparities by, for instance, supporting examination of artefacts related to the private spheres of past women. Diana Wall's analysis of ceramics from nineteenth-century American households suggests that the modes of women's expression had moved into the domestic sphere as they started buying matching or decorated sets that marked their gender roles.[32] Moreover, Wall's findings and scholars' interpretations revealed that factors like race or class might have determined purchasing behaviour and that the variety of ceramics in households reflected these different decisions.[33]

Besides using gender as a starting point for examination, scholars have increasingly stressed that labour can and should be another main category of analysis.[34] Regarding women's history, this includes unusual workplaces (such as brothels) which are often either neglected or stereotyped in conventional scholarship. Archaeological evidence might disclose alternative narratives which show that some past events were maybe not that unusual at all. Laura McAtackney's 2016 research focuses on another unusual site,

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[31] B. L. Voss, 'Engendered Archaeology: Men, Women and Others', M. Hall and S. W. Silliman (eds), *Historical Archaeology* (Oxford, 2006), 107-127, 113.

[32] D. Wall, *The Archaeology of Gender: Separating the Spheres in Urban America* (New York, 1994).

[33] Idem, 'Examining Gender, Class, and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century New York City', *Historical Archaeology*, 33 (1999), 102–117, 114.

[34] S. W. Silliman, 'Struggling with Labor; Working with Identities', M. Hall and S. W. Silliman (eds), *Historical Archaeology* (Oxford, 2006), 147-166, 162.

Dublin's Kilmainham Gaol prison, where the study of graffiti with Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) shed light on female experiences of political imprisonment during the Irish Civil War. [35] Contemporary archaeology and modern technology can open new discussions on how women were, possibly deliberately, left out of popular narratives, and how this ignorance has negatively affected nation-building and nation branding processes or popular memory. The study of historical archaeology has the potential to move misinterpreted and forgotten sites into the public focus while amending the reputation of places and of women in the past and in the present. This way, understanding the past can facilitate positive changes in the present, and, vice versa, living memory (revealed, for example, through archaeo-ethnography) can help fill gaps of knowledge.

The study of women is connected to the entirety of research on minorities, since factors like race or class shaped female lives, already under unequal treatment, in a different way than male lives. According to Suzanne Spencer-Wood, past political events, such as colonialism and imperialism, have not only created or fostered discriminating theories of racism, classism, or sexism, but were also in itself gendered and occurred in the framework of patriarchy.[36] Regarding European colonialism, Spencer-Wood distinguishes between various forms of 'patriarchal colonialism', respectively choosing different foci, namely white men's exploitation of women at the workplace, during sexual relationships, or in the household.[37] In doing so, she demonstrates the significance of analysing these aspects together, as it shows that colonized women, suffering from sexism, racism, and classism, were suppressed in multiple ways.[38] The rise of feminism made scholars question past and

[35] L. McAtackney, 'Gender, Incarceration, and Power Relations during the Irish Civil War (1922-1923)', S. Duyos-Álvarez et al. (eds), *Gender Violence in Peace and War: States of Complicity* (New Brunswick, 2016), 47-63, 47.

[36] S. M. Spencer-Wood, 'Feminist Theorizing of Patriarchal Colonialism, Power Dynamics, and Social Agency Materialized in Colonial Institutions', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology,* 20 (2016), 477-491, 478.

[37] Ibid., 479.

[38] Ibid., 480.

present power dynamics. Without this inquiry, the historical narrative would probably still be androcentric, and therefore incomplete and misleading.

The potential of historical archaeology for historical revisionism

Approaching biases in historical sources is a two-sided challenge as it concerns both the creators' and one's own biases. James Deetz's 1963 research on *La Purisima Mission*, one of several Spanish missions intending to convert Native Americans to Catholicism, is an example of that. While his identification of artefacts associated with women (ornamentation, household items) presented an essential contribution to (feminist) archaeology, Deetz was criticized for his uncritical, Eurocentric evaluation, which suggested one-way assimilation. Without directly relating the processes to colonialism, he had 'concluded that the lack of excavated arrowheads indicated Indian men were more assimilated into Spanish culture than Indian women'.[39] The products of imperialism and patriarchal power dynamics have made it difficult to discover hidden stories and interconnections, which is why contextualization and gendered analysis is so important. This not only creates more visibility for past women, but also facilitates the 'crediting indigenous women for their contributions to colonial culture [which presents] a radical departure from previous archaeological research'.[40] Past documents were primarily written by the powerful, for instance, slave plantation owners, and very rarely by women who, besides being indigenous, were likely to be illiterate.[41] This makes the 'archaeological application of feminist theories … for the materialization of colonial patriarchal power dynamics' even more essential.[42] Analysing archaeological material can produce a more realistic picture of past power dynamics, as original evidence, especially if long

[39] Ibid., 482.

[40] Voss, 'Engendered Archaeology', 112.

[41] Spencer-Wood, 'Feminist Theorizing', 483.

[42] Ibid., 481.

overlooked, is less likely to have been manipulated. However, it is important to remember that subjection has never been a natural, voluntary decision for minorities. Thus, when one analyses their presence at places where they were subjected to dominant ideologies, one ought to consider that much of what they left behind is a product of muted expression, not a representation of their traditions and origins.[43] Another example for biased interpretation can be found in gender studies, where scholars occasionally disagree with each other's opinions on the male-female dichotomy, the differences between sex and gender, and the potential existence of more than two genders.[44]

Acknowledging that a biased framework in past historiography has contributed to marginalisation processes is not only essential for historical revisionism. It also highlights the flaws of the general organizational structure in (Western) academia, which lacks minority representation amongst its scholars - although, ironically, the demonstration of diversity and emphasis on ignored history form main objectives in modern research.[45] Such structure fosters the so-called 'academic dependency' under which non-Western countries have been subjected to the ideas and institutions of Western scholarship and which, being a form of 'academic neo-colonialism', can be regarded as a consequence of 'academic imperialism'.[46] The latter began 'in the colonial period with the setting up and direct control of schools, universities and publishing houses' by the colonizers and illustrates the long-lasting effect of past power dynamics despite the achievement of political independence in many countries.[47]

[43] Little, *Why the Past Matters*, 68.

[44] Voss, 'Engendered Archaeology', 108.

[45] S. F. Alatas, 'Academic Dependency and the Global Division of Labour in the Social Sciences', *Current Sociology*, 51 (2003), 599-613.

[46] Ibid., 602.

[47] Ibid., 601.

Conclusion

One of the most important outcomes of approaching the stories of minority groups through the lens of historical archaeology is the disclosure of (so far) hidden, invisible history that revolves around the lives of subordinate groups in society. These narratives have for long fallen victim to marginalisation processes over the centuries, which, in turn, have been directed by those with the privileges to write history: primarily white, powerful men. This bias of historical sources constitutes not only a challenge to achieve visibility for past minorities, but also impedes progress in matters that are supposed to improve current situations of inequality. These issues have justified the need to explore past narratives based on new approaches that promote the significance of interdisciplinary collaboration. The parallel transmission of written accounts and archaeological evidence in historical archaeology has the potential to balance out former disparities concerning the respective representation of communities and authorities in historical records. Historical archaeologists have been able to shed light on silenced voices and ignored stories in the past, integrating new perspectives into present discourses on social justice and marginalised communities. The interdisciplinary approach has been particularly successful; however, further progress in public archaeology is desirable to let the wider community participate actively in debates about their heritage.

Law, Sex, and Marriage in Medieval Russia

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Law in Medieval Russia is a niche yet very debated phenomenon; even when examined within the context of Russian medieval history overall and its cultural development in particular, it remains somewhat unclear. The gradual establishment of a centralised Russian state and law is a process worth observing in detail. However, this essay will only be able to touch upon a few major developments and influences generally perceived as crucial for the making of Russian laws. The main subject of scholarly debates on Russian cultural and legal formation concerns the extent of Scandinavian and Byzantine impact, with scholars such as Henrik Birnbaum and Ryazanovsky focusing on the Norman theory, and works concerning Russia's Christening exploring the links between Russian and Byzantine orthodox Churches. This essay will therefore briefly examine several legal documents considered the main testaments of Medieval Russian law, analyse them within the wider context of the Russian Middle-Ages, exogenous cultural impact, and the gradual advance of Christianity. This analysis, while focusing on the formation of Russian law under the influence of Rus' primary trading partners, Scandinavia and Byzantium, and its impact on medieval sex and marriage, will be primarily concerned with the legal heritage of the two towns considered to be medieval cultural centres, Kiev and Novgorod, in the period between roughly ninth to sixteenth century.

While practically all the texts discussed in this essay are examples of Orthodox canon law, it is important to note that Russian Christianisation was an exceptionally slow process; it was officially initiated in 988, when Prince Vladimir (Volodimir) of Kiev instituted

[1]*This essay was produced for HI304H: Law, Sex and Marriage in the Middle Ages.

Orthodox Christianity as the official religion by way of a mass christening of all the Kievan people. This was, however, merely an exterior conversion designed to unite several Slavic tribes under one religion in an attempt to create a centralised Russian state, since paganism proved to be unsuited for this purpose due to the great variety of its forms.[2] As noted by E.V. Anichkov, 'Christianization of the countryside was the work, not of the eleventh and twelfth, but of the fifteenth and sixteenth or even the seventeenth century'.[3] Due to the length of this conversion, pagan beliefs were not rejected, but persisted until today either on their own or interwoven with Christian traditions and rituals.[4] Orthodox dogmatism never quite reached the consciousness of Russian people; instead, they prioritised the economy of the new religion, its rituals and iconodulism, which in the Russian mind merged with idolatry.[5] As such, cults of pagan deities were incorporated in Christian cults of the saints; the main focus lay on their practicality and integration in peasant life as protectors of crops, fertility and so on.[6] So, while later canon law codes were generally borrowed from Byzantine Church, they were edited according to Russian needs and in many ways reflected pre-existing pagan beliefs.

With no substantial written sources on the pagan institute of marriage, some existing marital traditions are known to be a continuation of pre-Christian customs. From later documentation of the struggles of the Church, it is evident that Old Russian society (roughly fifth to ninth centuries) practiced polygyny. This custom remained among peasants as well as princes for centuries. It was, however, forbidden for a woman to take several husbands. According to the *Primary Chronicle*, (also *Nestor's Chronicle* or *Povest' Vremennyh Let*, one of the most uncontested records of Russian medieval history dating

[2] N. S. Gordienko, *Russia's Christening: Facts Versus Legends and Myths* (Leningrad, 1984), 275.

[3] V. G. Vlasov, 'The Christianisation of the Russian Peasants', *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology*, 29 (1990), 25.

[4] Ibid., 26-27.

[5] Gordienko, *Christening*, 118.

[6] Ibid., 109.

back to late eleventh or early twelfth century), the law of Svarog (one of the major Russian pagan gods) stated that '*законъ устави женамъ за единъ мужь посагати и ходити говеющи, а иже прелюбы дѣющи, казнити повелѣваше* [according to the law, a wife should marry one husband and obey him; if she fornicates, execute her]'.[7] Women's autonomy was nonetheless somewhat ensured by the standard pagan nuptial ceremony – bridal kidnapping. While scholar E.N. Yarmonova traces this custom back to the Neolithic, when the danger of inbreeding in smaller tribes forced them to exogamy, which gave rise to the practice of kidnapping your desired bride from a neighbouring tribe, by the sixth century it had certainly turned into a ritual rather than a real abduction.[8] Usually, a ritualistic abduction of the girl occurred after she conspired with her sweetheart 'by the waters'. A series of pagan festivities transpiring around bodies of water and spanning from early spring and the feast of Lada to midsummer and the Kupala Night saw all the youths from neighbouring villages gather in their holy places and choose a partner.[9] A couple would agree to run away together; as stated in the Primary Chronicle: '*и тот умыкает жену себе, кто с ней сговорился* [he who conspired with the wife takes her away]'.[10] This custom provided freedom of choice for the bride as well as the groom, as no parental consent was needed. In fact, *Yaroslav's Church Statute* from the eleventh century indicates that a parent who would cause harm to their children by forcing them into a non-consensual marriage would be punished.[11]

However, another form of pagan betrothal still practiced today called '*выкуп невесты* [bride price]' considers the woman essentially a chattel. A bride could be sold

[7] B. A. Rybakov, 'Chapter 6: Agrarian Cult of the Slavs', *Old Slavic Paganism* (Moscow, 1981), 6.

[8] E. N. Yarmonova, 'Bridal Kidnapping as a Form of Conducting a Marriage in the Pagan Period of Rus', *Voprosy Sovremennoj Jurisprudencii*, 40 (2014), 2.

[9] E. S. Nizhnik, *Legal Regulations of Familial and Marital Relations in Russian History* (Saint-Petersburg, 2006), 9.

[10] *Primary Chronicle (Lavrentiev Collection, 1337)*, 1-2.

[11] *Statute of Prince Yaroslav (1019-54)*, trans. D. H. Kaiser, *The Laws of Rus - Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Salt Lake City, 1992), 47.

from her father to her husband, resulting in her complete submission. Such a wedding was usually accompanied by rituals accentuating her position; for instance, the father would pass the husband a whip symbolising his power over his wife.[12] It is unclear whether the bride had any say in this. While she probably was not allowed to make the final decision, there are cases showing that she was at least asked. So, a twelfth century Novgorodian birch bark letter from a certain Mikita to a certain Uljanitsa is an instance of the groom asking specifically for the bride's consent to marriage.[13] This, however, is one of the few instances mentioning a woman's consent. The form of marriage featuring a bride price also included what was called the *smotriny*, a ceremony that allowed the groom's family or the matchmaker to inspect the bride. While this tradition shows the extent to which the woman was treated like a commodity, it also entailed a certain risk for the groom. Since a marriage was very much an economic transaction between two families, it was uncommon for the groom to have significant power over it. Usually, it was the matchmaker who secured the marriage, and the groom had no right to see his bride until the very wedding.[14] As shown in twelfth and thirteenth century Novgorodian court manuscripts, all kinds of deceptions took place. During the *smotriny* ceremony, the matchmaker could be presented with a girl that was not at all the bride, but her prettier sister, relative, or even a servant. As the bride's face would only be revealed after the wedding, there would be no way to withdraw.[15] It was possible, even, for a servant girl to be married off in place of the promised bride in order to receive a bigger bride price, as lords and ladies had control over their servants' marriages; once the wedding had taken place, only death or divorce would separate the couple.[16]

[12] A. G. Smirnov, *Folk Customs of Conducting a Marriage* (Moscow, 2021), 11.

[13] Nizhnik, *Regulations*, 26.

[14] Ibid., 30.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 28.

While pagan law generally allowed for divorce and remarriage, a marriage was usually conducted '*на векы* [for ever]' and extended beyond death.[17] According to a tenth century account by Al-Masudi, Ibn Fadlan's *Risala* and Amin Razi's later version of it, it was customary among the Rus to burn the living wife of a deceased man on his pyre.[18] If the deceased was not married in life, he was to be married in death as it was necessary for him to have a wife in the afterlife. For this purpose, a slave girl was chosen to follow him in death. According to Ibn Fadlan, the girl was brought into the tent where the corpse lay, when 'six of the relatives of the dead man unite sexually with his wife in the presence of her dead [husband]'.[19] She was then drugged, stabbed, or strangled to death and burned with him. The wife who followed her husband into the afterlife was considered his 'main' wife; his other wives were free to remarry after his death.[20]

Ibn Fadlan's account is an important testimony of Scandinavian activity in Russia and its influence upon its early culture. Until the emergence of native Russian historiography, a view of the Russian culture as deeply indebted to Scandinavian impact called 'the Normanist theory' was widely popular. It is nowadays generally assumed that Scandinavians, who were undoubtedly present in Russia from 862 onwards, did, in fact, exercise a certain yet not dominant influence upon Russian state and law.[21] Historian Henrik Birnbaum conducted a linguistic comparison of early Russian and Scandinavian law texts and concluded that the extent of this influence tends to be exaggerated.[22] It is evident from his study, however, that there are clearly elements of old Scandinavian law present in the earliest known Russian law code, the *Russkaya Pravda*. For instance, several

[17] Ibid., 14.

[18] Ibid., 15.

[19] W. Duczko, *Viking Rus: Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe* (Leiden, 2004), 145-146.

[20] Nizhnik, *Regulations*, 14.

[21] N. Ryasanovsky, 'The Norman Theory of the Origin of the Russian State' *The Russian Review,* 7 (1947), 97.

[22] H. Birnbaum, 'On Old Russian and Old Scandinavian Legal Language: Some Comparative Notes on Style and Syntax', *Scando-Slavica*, 8 (1962), 117.

terms for new legal notions brought to Russia by Scandinavians had to be borrowed from them, such as the word '*вира* [vira]' from the Germanic '*wergeld*'.[23] Birnbaum also considers it notable that both the *Russkaya Pravda* and the oldest written source of Swedish laws, the *Elder Väsgöta Law*, which are believed to be a manifestation of much earlier oral legal traditions, were written down around the same time (twelfth century). Some early Soviet linguists such as Sergej Obnorskij even argued that the *Russkaya Pravda* bears no traces of Byzantine influences, as believed by most historians, but shows clear elements of Scandinavian roots.[24]

Byzantine impact, however, is much easier to trace. While it is hardly true that, as claimed by D. Obolensky, Old Russian culture is merely an extension of Byzantine culture, it is clear that there was some significant influence on culture and especially legislature.[25] The oldest known instances of the *nomocanon* date back to the end of the eleventh century; as Russian princes essentially borrowed the new religion from the Byzantine church, they followed their examples in creating church canons.[26] For instance, one of the most significant testaments of Russian law, the *Kormchaia Kniga*, was received by the metropolitan Kyrill in 1260 from Byzantium and was then edited to meet Russian issues. The secular counterpart to this religious canon, the *Merilo Pravednoje*, was written in the same century.[27] Another important document, *Yaroslav's Pravda* of 1016, is also said to be inspired by Byzantine canon.[28] This document later became the basis for the first version of the *Russkaya Pravda* called the *kratkaja redakcija* or the 'short edition' that dates back

[23] Ibid., 116.

[24] Ibid., 118.

[25] Idem, 'The Subcultures of Medieval Russia: Chronology, Regional Distribution, Internal Links, and External Influences', *Viator,* 15 (1984), 186.

[26] P. I. Gaidenko and T. J. Fomina, 'Of the Church Status of Kirik of Novgorod and Other Authors of the Questioning', *Vestnik Chelyabinskogo Universiteta,* 51 (2012), 83-84.

[27] K. V. Vershinin, *Merilo Pravednoje as a Testament of Old Russian Literacy and Law* (Moscow, 2019), 2.

[28] O. V. Inshakov, 'The Reflection of the Evolution of the Russian Family in the Russkaya Pravda', *Vestnik Volgogradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta 3, Ekonomika, Ekologiya,* 4 (2016), 10.

to the eleventh century.[29] The long edition of this document, the *prostrannaja redakcija*, that comes from at least the twelfth century, is one of the major Russian legal documents; it became the core of several versions of the *Kormchaia Kniga* and the *Merilo Pravednoje* and is found in more than one hundred manuscripts.

While the short version of the *Russkaya Pravda* covers murder and theft, the longer one contains entries concerning marriage and inheritance, clarifying the position of the woman. Clauses 92 to 106 make clear that the widow does not stand to inherit anything unless specifically stated by her husband; she is usually taken care of by her children.[30] The same goes for daughters: they only inherit their father's possessions in the case of the absence of male heirs.[31] Clause 99 states that if there are underaged children left after the death of the husband, they are to be taken away from their mother and put in the care of a male relative.[32] The only clauses to protect the widow are Clauses 102 and 103 that declare that the children have no right at their mother's inheritance and are obliged to take care of her.[33] This clearly shows the incapacitated legal and economical position of the woman.

The successor of this document, the edited version of the *Komchaia Kniga* of 1262, defined the minimum age and the maximum blood relations. A priest was not to marry a girl younger than twelve and a boy younger than fifteen; however, these set limits were largely ignored by peasants and by aristocracy for practical and political reasons respectively. For instance, the *Primary Chronicle* states that Prince Sviatoslav was married in 1181 at the age of twelve, and Princess Verhuslava was allegedly less than eight when she was married off in 1187.[34] Similarly, while the Church forbade marriages between

[29] Ibid., 11.

[30] *Russkaya Pravda, the long edition* (Troizkij Collection, XIV century), 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 102, 103, 106.

[31] Ibid., 95.

[32] Ibid., 99.

[33] Ibid,, 102, 103.

[34] Nizhnik, *Regulations*, 16.

persons in a closer relation (blood or spiritual) than seven generations, this rule was not always respected.

Another document addressing marital issues is a work by a Novgorod priest Kirik called *Voproshanije Kirikovo* [*Kirik's Questioning*] from the mid-twelfth century. It takes the form of a question and answer session between Kirik and his superior Archbishop Nifont and is one of the most important sources of Russian canon law as applied to quotidian reality. For instance, it makes clear that copulation was considered extremely dirty, as one was not allowed to enter the church on the same day as it occurred unless thoroughly washed.[35] It is specifically concerned with the moral and sexual life of the priest, the *pop* or the *djak*. Russian priests were not only allowed to, but were *supposed to* get married and set the example for their flock. Moral requirements for their marriage were naturally higher; for instance, the priest was not allowed to marry an 'unclean', unchaste woman.[36] He was also to be especially careful with the planning of his copulation and had to make sure he was never unclean when in church. Furthermore, he was to divorce his wife if she committed adultery.[37] Other matters of concern are those of sex and divorce. Clause 49 states that children are allowed to 'copulate unknowingly' until ten years old for boys and even earlier for girls, as it is not yet a sin. After that age, they are to get married.[38] Clause 69 condemns mistresses and extramarital children, yet does not require a punishment for what is essentially a second wife.[39] Furthermore, Clause 94 makes a convoluted case against divorce; it is said to be sinful for a wife to leave a husband, yet not sinful for a new spouse to live with a divorced or abandoned person unknowingly.[40] If one

[35] *Kirik's Questioning,* 26.

[36] *Stoglav,* 16.

[37] *Kirik's Questioning to Archbishop Nifont* (Novgorod, 1240-1250), 49.

[38] Ibid., 69.

[39] Ibid., 94.

[40] Ibid.

knowingly appropriates another's spouse, that is a sin.[41] A divorced wife should not take another husband, and a divorced man cannot remarry unless divorced for the reason of adultery.[42] If a woman unknowingly marries a divorced man who then leaves her for his previous wife, it is better for his first marriage to be dissolved and for him to be with his second wife (the Kormchaia Kniga, however, sees it the other way around).[43] Another clause concerning lesbian relations considers them sinful yet to be punished more mildly than fornication between a man and a woman.[44]

Relations between two men, however, were seen as deadly sin. A chapter of the *Stoglav*, a church canon that, while probably written down in 1551, is a one-hundred-chapter summary of pre-existing laws, considers sodomy a plague upon humanity. While it does not explicitly state the necessary punishment, it makes clear that the offenders should suffer severely.[45] The same *Stoglav* concerns matters of multiple marriages, showing that polygamy was an issue since the Christianisation in 988 until at least as late as 1551. Chapters 19 to 23 of the *Stoglav* proclaim that the first marriage is 'a law' and requires a wedding, the second marriage is 'forgiven' but only allows for a prayer, not a wedding, the third marriage is a sin which should not be honoured by even a prayer, and the fourth marriage is a crime.[46] However, the only punishment for remarriage (both in case of widowing and divorce) is a temporary suspension from the eucharist and, in extreme cases, suspension from Church (for four years for the fourth marriage).[47]

Whilst in the case of the death of a spouse it is frowned upon, but not forbidden to enter into a second marriage, divorce was a different issue. The Church was actively trying

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., 32.

[45] *Stoglav* (Stoglavy Synod, 1551), 23.

[46] Ibid., 19, 21-23.

[47] Ibid., 23.

to abolish the very institution of it, but since it was an important part of Russian culture, and the only punishment for such an offence was a *епитимья* or a penance, it was customary to accept the penance, divorce and remarry at will.[48] For instance, the infamous Russian tsar Ivan the Terrible (1530-1584) tried to negotiate with the Church up until his fourth marriage, but when he exceeded the accepted number of marriages he bothered only to repent occasionally – all this while being a highly religious man.[49] Obviously, canon law did not apply to the ruling class like it did to ordinary people. For example, while the punishment for marrying a 'heretic' was obligatory monastery confinement for women according to *Yaroslav's Church Statute*, it was normal for princesses to be married off to non-believers. It is clear, however, that the jurisdiction of the canons did not quite spread farther than the church itself.[50] In theory, according to the pagan laws later somewhat reluctantly accepted by the Church, both spouses had equal rights to request a divorce. However, there are no known instances of a successful divorce initiated by a woman. While official reasons for divorce included impotence, tonsure, wife beating, criminal offence, extreme poverty, long absence of a spouse, failure to report a criminal plot, and serious illness, the most popular reasons were adultery and infertility which were almost exclusively used against women.[51] Impurity of the bride upon marriage, in contrast to many European law codes, was not considered a deal breaker; the wife would merely pay a small monetary fine.[52]

Even though the *Church Statute of Prince Volodimir* from late tenth or early eleventh century established the Church's jurisdiction over the matters of marriage, divorce and

[48] Nizhnik, *Regulations*, 23.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Gaidenko and Fomina, *Kirik of Novgorod*, 84.

[51] O. A. Ogorodnikova, 'Marriage and Family in Medieval Russia', *Actual Problems of Humanitarian and Natural Sciences*, 3 (2011), 61.

[52] Nizhnik, *Regulations*, 28.

marital life, this jurisdiction was surprisingly feeble.[53] As mentioned before, Russian Christianisation lasted for several centuries. Due to a very materialistic perception of the Orthodox Christian faith, Russian people tended to view its institution as an outside influence rather than something deeply rooted in their minds. While common peasants chose to obey church canons when threatened with a fine or punishment, pagan countryside customs prevailed over an implanted foreign, centralised religion. Therefore, while church canons existed as the body of Medieval Russian law, their application outside of large cities such as Novgorod and Kiev, away from the bishop's immediate power, was not likely very wide.[54] However, from clauses dealing with multiple marriages, divorce, inheritance, and sodomy, we can assume the existing problems that priests were dealing with, and thus conceive the marital realities of Medieval Russian society. Although some Scandinavian, Byzantine, and other influences were undoubtedly exercised upon Russian culture and law, its core is inherently Slavic.

[53] *Statute of Saint Prince Volodimir* (980-1015), trans. Daniel H. Kaiser, *The Laws of Rus - Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Salt Lake City, 1992), 42-44.

[54] Gaidenko and Fomina, *Kirik of Novgorod*, 85.

The Scottish Protestant Reformation and its Rejection of Catholicism: A Radical Effect on Marriage Law in Scotland?

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Introduction

The Scottish Protestant Reformation of the mid-sixteenth century facilitated the 'spontaneous' development of courts of the new Church of Scotland following the suppression of the old Catholic church courts.[2] The 'extraordinary' jurisdiction exercised by the newly reformed church courts during this time brought to bear one radical change for marriage law.[3] The Commissaries of Edinburgh inherited the consistorial jurisdiction of both the old and the new Catholic courts, although the latter is not expressly stated in the charter of constitution of the Court of the Commissaries of 1563/4.[4] The consistorial judgements produced by the Commissaries of Edinburgh recognised certain aspects of the 'law of God' of the Scottish reformers, yet they also sustained much of the pre-Tridentine Canon law.[5] With this background, it will be argued that, with the exception of this one radical change, the Reformation and its rejection of Catholicism had a minimal effect on marriage law in Scotland. It will be shown that the rejection of the Canon law notion of marriage as a sacrament was responsible for this one radical change. It will also be shown that the formation of marriage, its impediments, and its legitimacy remained almost identical to the pre-Tridentine Canon law.

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[1]*This essay was written for LS4037: Scottish Legal History.

[2] T. M. Green, 'Evolution and Varieties of Church Laws and Courts', W. I. P. Hazlett (ed.), *Brill Companion to the Scottish Reformation* (Leiden, forthcoming), 1.

[3] Idem, *The Consistorial Decisions of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, 1564 to 1576/7* (Edinburgh, 2014), 27.

[4] Ibid, 19.

[5] Ibid.

Dissolution of Marriage

Before the Reformation, throughout Western Christendom, the notion of marriage as a sacrament lay at the crux of the Canon law of marriage.[6] The mere exchange of present consent gave rise to a marriage bond that could 'never be dissolved on account of carnal adultery, however great.'[7] Consequently, under Canon law, neither party could contract marriage with someone else until death of one of the parties.[8] Although the pre-Tridentine canon law recognised 'divorce', this term was only used to describe nullity of marriage or legal separation.[9] In the former circumstance, the marriage was void from the beginning, and therefore had never been contracted.[10] In the latter circumstance, the parties remained married, but were separated from bed and board.[11] The modern-day understanding of divorce was thus never recognised in the pre-Tridentine canon law.[12] However, the Scottish Protestant reformers began to grant divorce for adultery *a vinculo* (divorce from the marriage bond) in their early tribunals.[13] This fault-based type of divorce brought a valid marriage contract to an end before the death of one of the contracting parties, marking the rejection of the notion of marriage as a sacrament.[14] David B. Smith argued that 'the Commissary Court generally declined to recognize the validity of divorces granted by the

[6] J. Witte, *From Sacrament to Contract: Marriage, Religion and Law in the Western Tradition* (Louisville, 1997), 91-104, 91.

[7] *William Hay's Lectures on Marriage*, trans. J. C. Barry (Edinburgh, 1967), 83.

[8] Ibid., 67.

[9] W. D. H. Sellar, 'Marriage, Divorce and the Forbidden Degrees: Canon Law and Scots Law', W. N. Osborough (ed.), *Explorations in Law and History: Irish Legal History Society Discourses, 1988-1994* (Dublin, 1995), 59-82, 70.

[10] R. D. Ireland, 'Husband and Wife: Divorce, Nullity of Marriage and Separation', The Stair Society (ed.), *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (Edinburgh, 1958), 90-98, 90-91.

[11] Sellar, 'Marriage, Divorce and the Forbidden Degrees', 70.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., 71.

[14] R. D. Ireland, 'Husband and Wife: Post-Reformation Law of Marriage of the Commissaries' Court and Modern Common and Statute Law', The Stair Society (ed.), *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (Edinburgh, 1958), 82-89, 84.

small Reformed units.'[15] However, subsequent scholarship renders this view untenable. Indeed, in *Weston v Ewart,* the Commissaries were satisfied that the process of divorce had been 'lauchfullie led' in the Protestant kirk and consequently did not think it necessary to carry out any further probation relating to the kirk's sentence of adultery.[16] Therefore, not only does this show that the Commissaries recognised the validity of this particular aspect of the 'law of God', but on certain occasions, the sentences of the new church courts did not even require probation. The validity of the reformers' legislation pushing Parliament to recognise Reformed Christianity as Scotland's established religion in 1560 was open to question.[17] Yet, the effects of the Reformation had been substantially predicated upon the new Protestant religion in Scotland in such a way that the law was forced to recognise and approve it.[18]

Despite this being the most radical change to marriage law, one can still observe Canon law principles at play in the law of the Commissaries of Edinburgh.[19] Indeed, the oath of calumny and the recrimination defences - condonation and *lenocinium* (connivance) - survived the Reformation.[20] As late as 1952, Scottish judges were citing the Spanish Jesuit Thomas Sanchez as authority on *lenocinium.*[21] This illustrates just how deeply embedded Canon law was in the Scottish legal system, the continuity of which is clear.[22] Accordingly,

[15] D. B. Smith, 'The Reformers and Divorce. A Study on Consistorial Jurisdiction', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 9 (1911), 10-36, 19.

[16] *Weston v Ewart* (1564/5) 8 NRS, CC8/2/I, fos 323 r-v, cited in T. M. Green, *The Consistorial Decisions of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, 1564 to 1567/7* (Edinburgh, 2014), item 8.

[17] T. Green, *Spiritual Jurisdiction in Reformation Scotland: A Legal History* (Edinburgh, 2019), 56.

[18] Green, *The Consistorial Decisions,* 58

[19] Sellar, 'Marriage, Divorce and the Forbidden Degrees', 71.

[20] Ibid.

[21] *Riddell v. Riddell* 1952 SC 475, per Lord President Cooper at 484.

[22] W. D. H. Sellar, 'A Historical Perspective', M. C. Meston, W. D. H. Sellar, and Lord Cooper, *The Scottish Legal Tradition* (Edinburgh, 1991), 29-43, 41.

Thomas Craig noted in 1590: 'Although we have shaken off the papal yoke, the Canon law's great authority still survives in our country.'[23]

Malicious desertion was the second ground for the new kind of divorce that was introduced by statute in 1573.[24] Notwithstanding the religious wording of the statute, there was no reference to the 'law of God' or any other authority.[25] Consequently, it is strongly suggested that the authority of the pre-Union Scots Parliament was extended by this Act amidst the overthrow of the Catholic constitution.[26] Instead of simply declaring the position of the consistorial law, the three estates had effectively laid down the law with a retrospective element.[27] However, it has been widely accepted that this ground of divorce was only established for the personal benefit of the Earl of Argyll, without a view to theology.[28] Nevertheless, it is unlikely that this reform would have been established had it not been for the prior reception of the 'law of God' and rejection of the doctrine that marriage was a sacrament. Clearly, the Reformation had fuelled a pivotal change in the religious belief system of Scotland and many other Protestant jurisdictions that was never to be reversed.[29]

These new grounds of divorce could not have been introduced had it not been for the suppression of the old Catholic church courts.[30] Ireland supported the widely accepted idea that the abrogation of Papal authority by the Act of the Reformation Parliament in 1560

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[23] T. Craig, *Jus feudale tribus libris comprehensum*, trans. L. Dodd (Edinburgh 2017), 82-85.

[24] T. M. Green, 'Early Modern Jurisprudence and Theology', D. Fergusson and M. Elliott (eds), *The History of Scottish Theology, vol. 1* (Oxford, 2019), 328-341, 334.

[25] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707,* K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2021), A1573/4/2. See also T. M. Green, *The Consistorial Decisions of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, 1564 to 1576/7* (Edinburgh, 2014), 58.

[26] Green, *The Consistorial Decisions,* 58.

[27] Ibid.

[28] T M. Green, 'Early Modern Jurisprudence and Theology' in David Fergusson and Mark Elliott (eds.), *The History of Scottish Theology* (Oxford, 2019), vol. 1, 328-341, 336.

[29] Green, *The Consistorial Decisions,* 58.

[30] Ibid., 27.

'destroyed … the Officials' Courts which had exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishops.'[31] However, Thomas M. Green highlights issues with this theory[32], namely that the 1560 Act was not recognised as valid by the most authoritative members of the Government throughout Queen Mary's reign.[33] Moreover, there is a chronological error given that the Kirk session of St Andrews was already engaging in divorce litigation from February 1559/60, before the 1560 Act was passed in August.[34] Accordingly, Green's theory attributing the suppression of the old church courts to the Wars of Congregation is far more plausible.[35]

Formation of Marriage

The 'continuing influence' of the Canon law is most obvious in the formation of marriage.[36] Both prior to and after the Reformation, parties who wished to contract marriage could do so *sponsalia per verba de praesenti* (exchange of present consent) or *per verba futuro subsequente copula* (a promise to marry followed by a subsequent act of consummation) without regard to any formalities.[37] This is because ~~the~~ Canon law has a 'strong bias in favour of marriage.'[38] It is therefore somewhat ironic that the Council of Trent abolished irregular marriages in 1563.[39] Such marriages continued to be recognised in Scotland until

[31] R. D. Ireland, 'Husband and Wife: Post-Reformation Law of Marriageof the Commissaries' Court and Modern Common and Statute Law', *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (Edinburgh,1958), 82-89, 82.

[32] T. M. Green, 'The Court of the Commissaries of Edinburgh Consistorial Law and Litigation, 1559-1576' (Edinburgh, 2010), 1-372, 10-11.

[33] Ibid, 10.

[34] Ibid, 10-11.

[35] Ibid, 11.

[36] Green, 'Marriage, Divorce and the Forbidden Degrees', 61.

[37] A. D. M. Forte, 'Some Aspects of the Law of Marriage in Scotland: 1500-1700', E. M. Craik (ed.), *Marriage and Property: Women and Marital Customs in History* (Aberdeen, 1984), 104-118, 107-8.

[38] J. D. Scanlon, 'Husband and Wife: Pre-Reformation Canon Law of Marriage of the Officials Court', The Stair Society (ed.), *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (Edinburgh, 1958), 69-81, 71.

[39] Sellar, 'Marriage, Divorce and the Forbidden Degrees', 62.

1940.[40] However, that is not to say that irregular marriages did not run into criticism.[41] Indeed, in 1562, the Kirk session of Aberdeen called into question their validity.[42] Subsequent doubts were raised by Lord Fraser who questioned Viscount Stair's view that the fundamental aspect in the contraction of marriage remained the exchange of mutual consent.[43] Fraser argued that consent *de praesenti* alone was not sufficient to create a marriage, as had been decided in earlier cases, and that *per verba futuro subsequente copula* merely created a binding pre-contract to marriage.[44] However, later cases still regarded marriages *per verba futuro subsequente copula* sufficient to constitute marriage in and of itself.[45] Although the Canon law had encouraged parties to solemnise their marriage *in facie ecclesiae* (in the face of the church), this was not to say that there was not already a marriage in existence.[46] It is interesting to note that the rejection of marriage as a sacrament led to the most radical change to marriage law during the Reformation era, yet this same principle underpinned the policy of recognising as valid the Canon law doctrine of irregular marriage, which persisted until 1940.[47] Thomas Christopher Smout explains that the recalcitrant Kirk sessions were unwilling to 'play any tune called' by a council that undermined the 'rights of the laity.'[48] This unwillingness, coupled with the fact that the

[40] Marriage (Scotland) Act 1939, s5.

[41] Sellar, 'Marriage, Divorce and the Forbidden Degrees', 61.

[42] Ibid.

[43] J. Dalrymple Viscount of Stair, *The Institutions of the Law of Scotland deduced from its originals, and collated with the civil, canon and feudal laws, and with the customs of neighbouring nations, in IV books*, I.4.6, 25-27.

[44] *Aldinstoun v Macmillan* (1564) NRS, CC8/2/I, fos.322r, cited in T. M. Green, *The Consistorial Decisions of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, 1564 to 1576/7* (Edinburgh, 2014), item 7; P. Fraser, *Treatise on husband and wife, 2 vol.* (Edinburgh, 1876), 322-58.

[45] *Pennycook v Grinton* 1752 Mor.12677; *Mackie v Mackie* 1917 S.C. 276.

[46] Forte, 'Some Aspects of the Law of Marriage', 108.

[47] Green, *The Consistorial Decisions*, 58; Scanlon, 'Husband and Wife: Pre-Reformation Canon Law', 71; Marriage (Scotland) Act 1939, s5.

[48] T. C. Smout, 'Scottish Marriage, Regular and Irregular, 1500 -1940', R. B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage* (London, 1980), 204-236, 212.

Canon law was too 'sophisticated and comprehensive' to be overwritten, facilitated the continuity of the Canon law in this particular area.[49] Indeed, Stair noted 'so deep hath this canon law been rooted, that, even where the Pope's authority is rejected, yet consideration must be had to those laws.'[50] Thus, the formation of marriage remained unaffected by the Reformation insofar as consent remained of fundamental importance and - in the absence of regulatory requirements - freedom to contract marriage was very much maintained.

Impediments and Legitimacy

Before the Reformation, the rules regarding the forbidden degrees extended to the fourth degree of canonical computation.[51] The Marriage Act 1567 reduced the forbidden degrees down to two.[52] In an attempt to abate the sin of incest, Parliament also enacted the Incest Act 1567 which rendered incest a crime, commission of which justified death.[53] However, there were many unanswered questions relating to the interpretation of the statute, rendering it an 'engine of death.'[54] It was thought that affinity created a literal blood relation, within the context of which incest could occur.[55] Indeed, in 1628, George Sinclair was sentenced to death for committing incest by having intercourse with one of his pupils and then subsequently with her sister.[56] This case witnessed the misconstrued application of the technical impediment of affinity under the Canon law and illustrates 'one of the

[49] Green, 'Evolution and Varieties of Church Law and Courts', 23.

[50] Stair, *Institutions of the Law of Scotland,* I.1.14.

[51] *Hay's Lectures on Marriage,* 76.

[52] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707,* K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2021), A1567/12/15, *APS* iii, 26, c.16.

[53] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707,* K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2021), A1567/12/14, *APS* iii, 25, c.15.

[54] Sellar, *A Historical Perspective,* 82.

[55] Ibid., 89.

[56] S. A. Gillon (ed.), *Selected Justiciary Cases 1624-1650,* vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1953), 121.

blackest chapters in the history of Scots law.'[57] Although there had been a minor alteration to marriage law in that first cousins could now marry, the reformer's interpretation of Leviticus chapter eighteen aligned the law very closely with the pre-Tridentine Canon law.[58] Moreover, Canon law's age of capacity remained unchanged until 1929.[59] Thus, the repudiation of Catholicism during the Reformation era had minimal effect on the law relating to impediments.

Similarly, the Reformation had no effect on the substantive law of legitimacy, where Canon law was retained entirely.[60] In 1530, William Hay explained that when a man contracts marriage with his concubine on his deathbed, their children will be legitimated.[61] Canon law also maintained that children of a regularly contracted, annulled marriage would be legitimate where there was ignorance of the impediment and good faith.[62] We can see from the points explored in *Dunbar v. Adair* that the consistorial judges very much upheld these doctrines.[63] In this vein, the only change that the rejection of Catholicism caused here was *procedural*, in that bastardy cases were now to be remitted to the Commissaries of Edinburgh given their national jurisdiction.[64] Contrastingly, the *substantive* law of legitimacy – the law governing the rights and duties of individuals – saw no change following the rejection of Catholicism.

The principal reason for this high degree of continuity is that the bedrock of the *ius commune* (the common law of Europe which was the product of medieval European legal

[57] Sellar, *A Historical Perspective,* 76.

[58] Ibid., 80.

[59] Age of Marriage Act 1929: 19&20 Geo V, c.26, s.16.

[60] Green, *The Consistorial Decisions*, 64.

[61] *M'Adam Esq. v Walker, and Others,* 3 ER 654. See also, *William Hay's Lectures on Marriage*, 317.

[62] Sellar, *A Historical Perspective,* 64-66.

[63] *Dunbar v Adair* (1573) NRS, CC8/2/6, fos 93v-97v, cited in T. M. Green, *The Consistorial Decisions of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, 1564 to 1576/7* (Edinburgh, 2014), item 109.

[64] Green, *Consistorial Decisions,* 64.

culture) was the Canon law.[65] Scottish lawyers continued to be trained in *ius commune* and the application of it in the absence of any clash with the local law.[66] The survival of this broader European legal context during the religious schisms associated with the Reformation played a significant role in facilitating the continuity of Canon law, and in turn explains the minimal effect that the Reformation had on marriage law in Scotland.[67]

Conclusion

It has been submitted that the Scottish Protestant Reformation and its rejection of Catholicism had a limited bearing on the substantive law of marriage. The alteration in the religious belief system fuelled one radical change which enabled, for the first time, a form of divorce which brought a valid marriage contract to an end by judicial decree – an unthinkable concept in Scotland prior to 1560.[68] There was no change to the formation of marriage, where continuity was most evident.[69] There was another minor change to the law in that the forbidden degrees were now reduced to two.[70] However, the Reformers retained the Canon law doctrine that affinity occurs from extra-marital copula.[71] As for legitimacy, Canon law was maintained in its entirety.[72] The emerging 'law of God' was mostly regulated by statute, whereas Canon law had already been deeply embedded in the Scottish

[65] G. Dolezalek, 'The Court of Session as a Ius Commune Court – Witnessed by "Sinclair's Practicks", 1540-1549', H. L. Macqueen (ed.), *Miscellany IV* (Edinburgh, 2002), 51-84, 52.

[66] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707,* K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2021), A1567/12/15, *APS* iii, 26, c.16.

[67] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707,* K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2021), A1567/12/14, *APS* iii, 25, c.15.

[68] Green, *The Consistorial Decisions,* 63.

[69] Sellar, 'Marriage, Divorce and the Forbidden Degrees', 61.

[70] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707,* K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2021), A1567/12/15, *APS* iii, 26, c.16.

[71] Sellar, 'A Historical Perspective', 76.

[72] Green, *The Consistorial Decisions,* 64.

legal system, to which the Commissaries of Edinburgh could easily resort.[73] This constitutional landscape was a vehicle for the continuity of Canon law and was in turn responsible for the lack of change to the substantive law of marriage.

[73] Green, 'Evolution and Varieties of Church Law and Courts', 24.

Marx and the Societal Production of Art

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Introduction

A fundamental question within the scholarship of art history asks whether art should be understood as a product of society or as an individual's creation. This discussion has provided the 'backbone for histories of art'.[2] Art historians such as Ernst Gombrich have stressed how art is produced solely by the 'greatness' and 'genius' of individual creators.[3] This viewpoint therefore perceives artists to be independent from societal influence.[4]

Yet, significantly, the contrasting epistemology of social history argues that art is largely, if not primarily, influenced by its social surroundings. Adherents to this view of art, and how art history should be written, are historians such as Margaret A. Rose and Arnold Hauser, as well as Karl Marx. From Marx's philosophical perspective, art can only be viewed as a collective product rather than as a piece of self-consciousness. Overall, this methodological approach to art history proposes that the artist is merely a vessel through which the reflection of the societal situation is revealed.[5] Similarly, E. H. Carr pondered: 'How far are the facts of history facts about single individuals and how far social facts?'[6] Following this methodological approach, social connotations are tremendously relevant to the production of art history and historians must have a profound understanding of the

[1]* This essay was written for HI356J: Thinking History.

[2] D. Arnold, *Art History: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2020), 5.

[3] A. Hauser, *The Social History of Art Volume II: Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque* (London, 1999), 61.

[4] Arnold, *Art History*, 5.

[5] Ibid., 98.

[6] E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (Harmondsworth, 1964), 35.

societal conditions under which it was created.[7] These societal conditions largely come under two major categories. Firstly, the historian should examine the wider societal context from which the art was produced. Therefore, the prevalent issues of the era, such as wars and diseases, must be considered in order to understand how the mindset of the artist was formed. Secondly, art historians have to explore the internal hierarchical structures of the society in which the piece of art was created and how this affected the means of production for creative work.[8] In this regard, this essay shall, in particular, examine the role of the patronage system in the artistic community of Renaissance Italy. Additionally, Marx's position and concepts of social art history raise a vital point of realisation for the art historian – that they too are moulded by their own society. Consequently, historians must be aware of the critical analytical ramifications that come with this insight.

This essay shall ultimately agree that the contributions of a social history perspective are too important to be analytically neglected by art historians. This approach exposes the insufficient historiographical understanding of artwork production by historical analysis that is based solely upon personal, psychoanalytical, and historical accounts of particular artists. Therefore, the inclusion of social art history provides historians with a significant method from which to gain a more complete understanding of the works they construct. To enable this analysis, this essay shall make use of artistic and non-artistic sources from across a variety of eras and locations from Renaissance Italy to nineteenth century Western artistic depictions of the 'Middle East'.

Wider societal context

As stated above, Marx's position is significant to the enhancement of the discipline of art history as it requires historians to have a better understanding of the period's wider societal context from which the specific piece of art was created. This is because the artist and, as

[7] M. A. Rose, *Marx's Lost Aesthetic: Karl Marx and the Visual Arts* (Cambridge, 1984), 80.

[8] Ibid., 81.

a result, their art are shaped by the conditions and issues of the society prevalent during their lifetime. Mid-seventeenth century European artistic focus was concentrated on the devastating effects of numerous large-scale conflicts and related revolts sweeping through the continent. The turbulent nature of this period cannot be understated. For example, between 1635 and 1666, a total of twenty-seven major revolts occurred, thirteen of which generated regime changes.[9] Such was the scale of the distress and instability caused in this era that many historians have consequently referred to this epoch as a period of 'General Crisis'.[10] Yet, in addition to bringing about substantial societal upheaval through dramatic religious and political adjustments, they came attached to the devastating effects of warfare. This was particularly the case for central Europe where, according to Theodore K. Rabb, at least a third of the population died due to the direct and subsidiary impact of the Thirty Years War.[11] Hence, it is no wonder that Thomas Hobbes' text *Leviathan,* published in 1651, described the life of man to be 'solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short'.[12] Thus, it is clear that, to the inhabitants of the mid-seventeenth century, the world was perceived to be dangerous and uncertain.

As a consequence, this sense of despair was directly represented in the period's art. In particular, Rembrandt's *The Descent from the Cross* (1634) (Figure 1) uses a dark and gloomy setting to highlight the ominous feelings of this period. This brooding background enables the use of sparing yet strategic lighting for a sensational effect. This is because it illuminates the centre-piece of this painting: Christ's dead body. This depiction of the fragility of Jesus' corpse emphasises to the viewer the dramatic and central role that Christianity had in creating this period's sombre tone due to its shocking religious wars between, primarily, Protestants and Catholic factions. Therefore, given the period's wider

[9] G. Parker, 'Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered', *The American Historical Review*, 113 (2008), 1053-1079, 1055.

[10] Ibid., 1053.

[11] T. K. Rabb, *The Struggle For Stability In Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1975), 76.

[12] T. Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651; Minneapolis, 2018), 115.

context and the religious grief these conflicts entailed, it is unsurprising that, '[a]t a period when Dutch art was secular and the Puritan feeling hostile to the idea of religious art, Rembrandt turned again and again to gospel them.'[13] Following Marx's logic regarding the societal influence upon artistic creations, it is clear that this consistent focus on dramatic yet melancholic religious artworks during the period of the General Crisis was conducted in order to raise cognizance to the tension and uncertainty caused by ongoing psychical and theological disputes within the Christian faiths.[14]

Additionally, it is important to recognise the extent to which these wars would have placed a heavy burden of grief and despair upon the general populace of Europe. Rembrandt's depictions of Jesus' followers draw direct comparisons to the inhabitants of early modern Europe as Christ's supporters are visibly consumed by their sorrow following his demise. This resembles the experiences of countless families who would have become emotionally, physically, and economically drained from the misery of war. The scale of this period's conflicts is captured by Noel G. Parker when he states how 'more wars took place around the world than in any other era before the Second World War.'[15] Evidently, death and suffering engulfed the lives and minds of mid-seventeenth century civilians. It is therefore plain to see that both the spiritual and physical worlds of Europeans throughout the era of the General Crisis were grieving over the death and anguish of both their loved ones and of Christendom.

However, many art historians disagree with Marx's contention and instead focus on the ability of the artist as the determining factor in the creation of art. The origin of this framework of art history has been accredited to Giorgio Vasari, who, by conducting a

[13] I. Weadock, 'Rembrandt's "Descent From The Cross By Torchlight'', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit,* 18 (1938), 1–2, 2.

[14] Rabb, *The Struggle,* 106.

[15] N. G. Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 2013), 26.

biographical focus upon a collection of exceptionally gifted fifteenth century artists,[16] placed 'so much emphasis on the "genius" and achievement of an individual artist … [and therefore] laid the foundations for the kind of connoisseurly approach to art history.'[17] In this manner, Vasari and subsequent art historian theorists subscribed to the idea that artists have the concept of the object they aim to capture contained solely within their own creative mind.[18] Correspondingly, according to Griselda Pollock, the most typical discursive forms of art historical writing are,

> the monograph (a study of the artist's life and work), and the catalogue raisonne (the collection of the complete oeuvre of the artist whose coherence as an individual creator is produced by assembling all of his or (rarely) her work in an expressive totality).[19]

Consequently, as Steve Edwards has stated: 'The predominant way of envisaging the artist in our culture is as a special kind of person who expresses their inborn genius and talent.'[20] Therefore, the mainstream evaluation of the artist's work would be to emphasise the personal brilliance, both technically and imaginatively. Accordingly, the notion that Rembrandt's work was largely determined by his social being would be rejected. Instead, Rembrandt's portrayal of the desperate situation of the mid-seventeenth century would be considered to be his personal thoughts when objectively surveying events. In this manner, art is given an elitist component where it is perceived as something which can only be created by great individuals.[21] Naturally, this perspective does contain elements of

[16] G. Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists* (1550; New York, 1991), 23.

[17] Arnold, *Art History*, 33-34.

[18] Ibid., 36.

[19] G. Pollock, 'Artists, Mythologies and Media – Genius, Madness and Art History', *Screen*, 21 (1980), 57-96, 58.

[20] S. Edwards (ed.), *Art and its Histories: A Reader* (London, 1999), 91.

[21] Rose, '*Marx's Lost'*, 81.

analytical merit. For instance, historians are not incorrect to highlight the sheer technical ability of these artists to first envision and then create their pieces of art, a feat that is undeniably down to their gifted ability. Moreover, as highlighted by Pollock, this approach positively enables art historians to examine the artwork itself, as well as turns the artist themselves into both a historical and psychological subject from which to gain 'contemplative access to that subject's "transcendent" and creative subjectivity'.[22]

Yet to claim that Rembrandt's work was created solely by his artistic ingenuity, objectivity, and unprejudiced views of society is far too simplistic. Instead, this understanding stems from a lack of wider, contextualised research. This line of argument inexplicably attempts to argue that individual artists can withdraw themselves from society's influences, and instead observe the world from a separate, fully objective position. This produces defective historical analysis if used in isolation by creating an 'ideological, "pure" space for something called "art", sealed off from and impenetrable to any attempt to locate art practice within a history of production and social relations'.[23] This methodological approach to art history analysis detrimentally forgets that individuals are not isolated beings but rather members of a social group 'whose sanctioned modes of life shape his behavior, and with whose fate his own is thus inextricably bound.'[24] Hence, it is unsurprising that upon further inspection of artworks produced during the period of the General Crisis, similar themes of societal grief and melancholy, as portrayed in Rembrandt's *The Descent from the Cross* (1634), are depicted by other artists. For instance, Peter Paul Rubens' *Consequences of War* (1638-39) (Figure 2) is comparable to Rembrandt's work, as once again dark tones filled with emotional individuals are dramatically portrayed. This image again encapsulates the deep societal feeling of regret

[22] Pollock, '*Artists, Mythologies'*, 58.

[23] Ibid., 57.

[24] American Anthropological Association, 'Statement on Human Rights', *American Anthropologist*, 49 (1947), 539–543, 539.

and dejection that this wave of suffering had unleashed upon the inhabitants of Europe. As Rubens stated himself,

> [the] grief-stricken woman clothed in black, with torn veil, robbed of all her jewels and other ornaments, is the unfortunate Europe, who, for so many years now, has suffered plunder, outrage, and misery.[25]

Thus, it is clear that these specific themes of despair, pain, and sorrow were not only depicted by Rembrandt during this era. This calls into question the veracity of the claim that Rembrandt's paintings and their incorporated themes stemmed purely from his individual 'genius'. As Rabb states,

> That such a preference should have appeared now, after over 120 years of Mannerism and Baroque when one can search for it in vain, and that it should have grown pre-eminent within another generation, is striking testimony to the transformation wrought in the mid-seventeenth century.[26]

Rather, as numerous artists were expressing these same emotions within their art during the same period, it would be spurious to contend that artistic genius alone is the causal factor behind the creation of art. Therefore, through the analysis of mid-seventeenth century art, this essay would concur that individual artists are indeed 'geniuses' in their artistic vision and ability. Nevertheless, as man's consciousness is brought to existence through their social being, the role of societal influences should be viewed as a critical determinant in generating the artist's creational framework. Thus, as Thomas Munro appropriately contends, 'for an adequate theory of causation in the history of art' it is required to 'combine the socio-economic approach with the biological, psychological, and

[25] P. P. Rubens, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, trans. R. S. Magurn (Cambridge, 1955), 408-9.

[26] Rabb, *The Struggle*, 106.

others'.[27] This is as the 'world is the material context for artistic development, and the circumstances of the world … should be seen as the basic conditions for the existence of all phenomenaassociated with arts and human creativity'.[28] Hence, understanding art's wider societal context is crucial to the analysis of art history, as it critically shapes the existence of the works that are interpreted.[29]

Internal Societal Hierarchies

Social art history also usefully raises significant consideration to how the internal constructions of societies affect the means of production for creative work. During the Renaissance, the numerous city states of the Italian Peninsula were dominated by elites who were able to control their societies through their vast wealth and their society's hierarchical structure.[30] Those comprising the wealthy banking and merchants professions within the Republics of Florence and Venice thus dominated their respective nation's political, societal, and cultural contexts.[31] As a direct consequence of the enormous wealth and power that these elites possessed, many notables of Renaissance society were able and willing to become patrons to various artists. These patrons ranged from rich individuals to state, church, or corporate group officials who commissioned artists to create their desired work.[32] Correspondingly, however, through the various systems of patronage, the production of art was controlled by the elite. Artists were rewarded for their work, either

[27] T. Munro, 'The Marxist Theory of Art History: Socio-Economic Determinism and the Dialectical Process', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 18 (1960), 430-445, 445.

[28] A. Alizadeh, 'Marx and Art: Use, Value, Poetry' *Continental Thought & Theory: A Journal of Intellectual Freedom*, 1 (2017), 587-615, 603-604.

[29] K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. S. W. Ryazanskaya (1859; Moscow, 1977), https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm, accessed 1 April 2020.

[30] J. T. Paoletti and G. M. Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy: Fourth Edition* (London, 2019), 16.

[31] J.Kirschner, 'Family and Marriage: A socio-legal perspective', *Italy in the Age of Renaissance*, J. M. Najemy (ed.),*: 1300-1550* (Oxford, 2004), 82-102, 89.

[32] Paoletti and Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, 16.

through *clientelismo* (exchanges or favours granted usually in a political sense) or *mecenatismo* (the monetary purchase and support of artistic projects).[33] Due to their control over the resources required by artists (money, materials, and, often, the political clout required for the commissioning of particular artist projects) patrons were able to dominate what artists created. Artists had to thus 'conform to the social, political, and devotional expectations of their paymasters' in order to win these commissions.[34] Hence, the means of production of art in Renaissance Italy were directly controlled by the artist's elite patrons. This made them 'dominating figure[s] in artistic creation', as they maintained significant influence over what specific styles of artwork were produced.[35] Consequently, for Marx, art is determined by 'the mode of production in material life'.[36] Social art history is directly linked to the principles of Marx's general political philosophy, as class relations and the importance of wider economic materialistic considerations are deemed inherently entangled within the production of art.[37] Thus, as the specific example of Renaissance Italian patronage system has highlighted, due to financial, physical, and political resources required for the creation of art, it is most often not solely dictated by the visions of individual 'geniuses' but also often the vision of those commissioning pieces of work. Therefore, social art history rightfully demonstrates the importance of examining the internal political and economic structures of the societies from which each particular piece of art was produced.[38]

Moreover, this approach to art history analysis allows historians to more accurately examine the specific art styles created throughout particular eras, as internal societal structures determine what styles of art are created. Once again referring to the Italian

[33] Ibid.

[34] G. A. Johnson, *Renaissance Art: A Very Short Introduction,* (Oxford, 2005), 7.

[35] Paoletti and Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy,* 16.

[36] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Literature and Art* (New York, 1947), 1.

[37] Rose, *Marx's Lost,* 80.

[38] Ibid.

Renaissance states, it is clear that the art commissioned was itself a reflection of the specific hierarchical ideas and cultural fashions of the Italian peninsula's elite during this period. For example, the Renaissance itself constituted a revitalisation of teachings from the classical period of antiquity. This heavily applied to the occupation of art whereby, as Jonathan Harris states, 'the Renaissance certainly … [was] partly the "rebirth" or "rediscovery" of so-called classical artistic skills, knowledge and ideals found in ancient Greek and Roman society'.[39] Hence, to the wealthy elite of the Renaissance, the extent of an individual's knowledge and wealth could be showcased by referencing classical art in their own newly commissioned pieces. Art, therefore, could put on display the intellectual and monetary worth of the individual patrons. As a result, the Marchesa of Mantua, Isabella d'Este, commissioned Piero Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi to create the *Statuette of the Apollo Belvedere* (1497-98), a statue in the style of classical era sculptures.[40] By replicating, yet attempting to surpass, the greatness of the 'ancients', patrons such as Isabella revealed to the public their 'exquisite taste and [their] intimate familiarity with Classical learning', thus highlighting their intellectual excellence and superiority.[41] Additionally, Hans Holbein's *The Ambassadors* (1533) (Figure 3) was commissioned by a French ambassador, Jean de Dinteville, whom it replicates. This image showcases both ambassadors and a plethora of their possessions. They are each portrayed adorning clothing containing intricate detail, which is likely to have been bought at a substantial cost to their owners. Furthermore, by showcasing the numerous possessions of the ambassadors, such as their globes, musical instruments, and scientific instruments, these esteemed gentlemen undoubtedly wished to highlight their significant wealth, whilst simultaneously revealing how they were indeed worldly and learned individuals.[42]

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[39] J. Harris, 'With an Introduction by Jonathan Harris', A. Hauser (ed.), *The Social History of Art Volume II: Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque* (London, 1999), xxx.

[40] Arnold, *Art History.*

[41] Johnson, *Renaissance Art,* 50.

[42] Ibid., 72-73.

Art was evidently used by elites to adhere to the intellectual and stylistic fashions of the Renaissance epoch, as well as to make social and political statements relevant to the internal societal cultural structures of the Renaissance.[43] Hence, the elites' control of artistic production inescapably resulted in the ideas and norms of the ruling class becoming the ruling ideas of the epoch. This in turn ensured that the socially preferable art styles of elite families of the Renaissance became the ruling artistic ideas and styles of the epoch. As Marx further stated, 'the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force'.[44] Thus, significantly for the discipline of art history, details regarding the ownership of artistic means of production and the subsequent collective social consciousness of elites can directly shape what is created. This, therefore, highlights the significance of Marx's statement for the discipline of art history. The epistemology rightly exposes the requirement of examining both the mechanisms of the means of production as well as which social groupings control them. In other words, when examining pieces of artwork and their history, the mentioned aspects have often more influence over what is produced than individual artists and their ingenuity.

However, while systems of patronage and internal social hierarchy were critical to the production of art in Renaissance Italy, the importance of these factors has substantially reduced in recent times. The contemporary world has experienced a momentous increase in the accessibility and affordability of artistic resources for 'ordinary' citizens through the introduction of 'cheap' art supplies and new artistic mediums such as photography. This, therefore, has enabled art to be created without external economic or political dependency. As Jacques Barzun has stated, '[by] 1920 art … was the concern or pastime of a wider public than ever before … Authority had passed from the customer-patron to the supplier-

[43] J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London, 1972), 86.

[44] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'The German Ideology, including Theses on Feuerbach and Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy' (New York, 1998), 67, cited in A. Alizadeh, 'Marx and Art: Use, Value, Poetry' *Continental Thought & Theory: A Journal of Intellectual Freedom,* 1 (2017), 602.

artist.'[45] However, despite correctly highlighting how art in the present Western world is no longer strictly, 'limited to the wealthy and powerful', he severely overestimates the influence of regular individuals in determining the dominant artistic forms or artists when he states that it is 'sustained and, in a sense, supervised by public opinion'.[46] This simplistic argument negates the enduring critical role that elite institutions and corporations maintain in the means of production of art. For instance, the principal purchasers and grant providers of art remain institutions such as business organisations or universities.[47] This, therefore, ensures that elite individuals maintain their dominant position in the setting of artistic trends. While the role and power of patrons have been diluted in recent years, they remain highly significant to the production of art, and thus demand analysis from art historians. Hence, this essay concurs with Marx's statement that it is the 'social production and consumption of art that matters rather than the individual artist or patron.'[48] Thus, the examination of societal hierarchical contexts and their existing systems of means of production ownership that Marx's epistemology brings to art history is highly significant to increasing the accuracy of historical art research.

Implications for the art historian

Furthermore, by following Marx's rationality, the art historian can also become aware that they are likewise a product of their own society, as their consciousness is similarly dependent on their social being. Pertinently, Carr famously stated how facts are like,

> fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean;
> … what the historian catches will depend … on what part of the
> ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use …

[45] J. Barzun, 'An Insoluble Problem: The Patronage of Art', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 131 (1987), 121-131, 128.

[46] Ibid. 129.

[47] Ibid., 129-130.

[48] Arnold, *Art History*, 93.

> By and large, the historian will get the kind of facts he wants.
>
> History means interpretation.[49]

This point is highly relevant to art historians and what they extrapolate from the works they assess. This means that the viewpoints expressed and the interpretations given by art historians are contingent upon factors such as the era in which they grew up in, where they were from, where they were educated, and what the prevalent societal issues were during their lifespan, among other important contextual details. This determines what the historian examines, where they obtain their information, and what philosophical strains are contained within their enquiry. By adopting this methodological approach to their analysis, art historians can thus acknowledge that they are likewise a product of their own society and its conditions. This can help to minimise the occurrence of biases, or, at the very least, raise awareness towards these biases.

To provide an example of this and how this affects the art historian, one may consider nineteenth century European artistic portrayals of Arabic culture. This 'Orientalist' artistic approach contained the colonial and imperialist dogmas prevalent of the age.[50] Within these works, the West's viewpoint of the Oriental world as primitive, untamed, and showcasing an erotic sensibility was unmistakably exposed.[51] Jean-Léon Gérôme's work, *The Snake Charmer and His Audience* (1879) (Figure 4) provides a clear example of this attitude towards Middle Eastern cultures through its depiction of a naked snake charmer. From the perspective of nineteenth century Western civilians and the period's art historians, this image harks back to primitive forms of attire and entertainment that had long disappeared from use in the West but remained commonplace in the external societies of the 'Orient'.[52] Yet, importantly for the art historian, an evaluation of artworks by Gérôme or other

[49] Carr, *What Is History?*, 23.

[50] K. Philippa, 'The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting, N. Tromans (ed.)', *The Art Book,* 16 (2009), 19-21, 19.

[51] L. Nochlin, 'The Imaginary Orient', *Art in America,* 71 (1983), 118–31.

[52] Ibid., 37.

'Orientalist' artists would be considerably different when assessed within their own generational and cultural epoch compared to that of historians from different cultural or generational contexts. For example, a modem Middle Eastern historian might employ the use of post-colonial methodologies in order to conduct their critical analysis. In particular, Edward Said used this methodology to directly oppose the Western misrepresentation of Arabic culture and to highlight how art styles such as 'Orientalism' were used to help maintain the dominance of the West over the eastern world.[53] Therefore, it is extremely important to recognise how significant Marx's statement is for the art historian, as it can enable historians to recognise that they, and thus their work, are influenced by the social conditions of their own context. Thus, historians can recognise how their work is not fully objective, and will naturally contain cultural and generational biases with regards to which particular aspects of the works they examine and from what analytical lens their examination is conducted. This is hugely imperative, as their predispositions will undeniably be present within the way in which they extrapolate information and the meaning from the work they study. This can, therefore, enhance historians' capacity to evaluate their own analysis of artwork and thus realise that their historical analysis of artwork is itself 'an unending dialogue between the present and the past.'[54] Therefore, the concept that 'the personality of the individual can develop only in terms of the culture of his society' applies to both the art historian and the work which they are evaluating.[55] Hence, social art history recognises that the art historian cannot objectively evaluate their work, as they are similarly bound to and formed by their own cultural context.

Conclusion

In conclusion, social art history, and therefore Marx's philosophical approach to art history, is hugely significant to art history as his theoretical framework enables the art historian to

[53] E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), 2-3.

[54] Carr, *What Is History?*, 30.

[55] *American Anthropological*, 'Statement on Human Rights', 540.

grasp a far deeper understanding of the art they interpret compared to other methodologies which prioritise the role of the individual. Due to the prominent role that the analysis of broader historical contexts and societal means of production has within Marx's theory, historians are forced to investigate how and why these deeper societal reasons shaped the work of artists. As Marx stated '[t]he mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life.'[56] This counters the lack of contextualisation that is often present when examining art history accounts solely focused on the experiences and 'genius' of individual artists. Additionally, art historians themselves are rightly burdened with greater responsibility, and therefore forced to personally reflect on their analysis, as they too must acknowledge that they are shaped by their own social being. This results in a far greater and profoundly more honest reflection from the historian on the opinions they express when assessing both their examination of artwork and, significantly, that of their own work. Therefore, social art history is hugely significant for the academic field of art history, as it enables historians to examine the external pressures and influences affecting both artists and historians alike in substantially more detail and accuracy.[57]

[56] Marx, *A Contribution*.

[57] Arnold, *Art History*, 93-94.

Sacred Cycles: The Relationship between Man and God in William Harvey's Theory of Animal Generation, c. 1616-1657

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Introduction

William Harvey's name echoes throughout the history of early modern medicine as the discoverer of the circulation of blood. Perhaps due to this discovery, circulation was a central idea in Harvey's work. It permeates not only his treatise on his important discovery, but also his theory of animal generation.[2] It is this latter work, *De generatione animalium* (1651), which reveals an intimate relationship between man and God, a relationship based on the lifecycle of man as an individual and the cycle of the procreation of humanity as a species. This concept can serve as a useful example of how religion and science were highly interrelated during the Scientific Revolution. As John Hedley Brooke has pointed out, just because religion and science worked in tandem does not mean either necessarily benefited the other.[3] Harvey does not use science (or more accurately, natural philosophy) to further religion or vice versa, but both are important for his understanding of animal generation.

Much has been written on Harvey, his natural philosophy, and his experimental techniques.[4] However, Harveian scholarship has only recently begun examining Harvey's theology. In a comprehensive article, Don Bates argues that Harvey constructed a universe

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[1]* This essay was written for ME33HM: History of Medicine.

[2] 'Animal generation' was the contemporary term used for the process of conception, pregnancy, and birth in animals and humans alike.

[3] J. H. Brooke, *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1991), 3-5.

[4] The most influential works being the following: W. Pagel, *William Harvey's Biological Ideas* (New York, 1967); idem, *New Light on William Harvey* (London, 1976); R. French, *William Harvey's Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1994); J. G. Lennox, 'The Comparative Study of Animal Development: William Harvey's Aristotelianism', J. E. H. Smith (ed.), *The Problem of Animal Generation in Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2006), 21-46.

in which God was the primary mover and everything else served as His[5] instrument.[6] Xiaona Wang expanded upon this idea, arguing that Harvey sometimes relies on the *direct* intervention of God in the business of animal generation.[7] Meanwhile, Benjamin Goldberg has examined Harvey's treatment of the vegetative soul as superior to and more divine than the rational soul, and has asserted that the rationality of the vegetative soul allowed Harvey to find peace in a world torn by civil war.[8] This investigation aims to build on this work by examining how some of these ideas contributed to Harvey's conceptualisation of the relationship between man and God.

Although *De generatione animalium* was not published until 1651, it had been underway for a long time. Gweneth Whitteridge estimates that Harvey began constructing a narrative out of his notes in 1628, immediately after the publication of *De motu cordis*, and finished *De generatione animalium* in 1642.[9] It should be noted that Harvey based his theory of generation on his experiments on chickens and their eggs, but he believed that his ideas were easily transferable to all creatures, including man.

Because the relationship between man and God, as constructed by Harvey, is tied to the lifecycle, this investigation will follow the structure of one. During conception, the vegetative soul is communicated from God to the embryo, and after birth, His presence is evident in the structure of the animal. In life, the individual animal serves as an instrument

[5] This essay capitalizes 'He', 'Him', and 'His' for God to distinguish between God and man, for whom pronouns are not capitalized.

[6] D. Bates, '*Machina Ex Deo*: William Harvey and the Meaning of Instrument', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 61 (2000), 577-593.

[7] X. Wang, 'By Analogy to the Element of the Stars: the Divine in Jean Fernel's and William Harvey's Theories of Generation', *Intellectual History Review*, 29 (2019), 371-387.

[8] B. Goldberg, 'A Dark Business, Full of Shadows: Analogy and Theology in William Harvey', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical* Sciences, 44 (2013), 419-432; B. Goldberg, 'Epigenesis and the Rationality of Nature in William Harvey and Margaret Cavendish', *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 39 (2017), 1-23.

[9] G. Whitteridge, 'Introduction', W. Harvey, *Disputations Touching the Generation of Animals*, trans. G. Whitteridge (Oxford, 1981), xix-lxiii, xxiii-xxiv.

to Him by following its final cause. Man's relationship to God is impacted by gender, sexual activity, and His other instruments. At the point of death, God seems to abandon the individual, but death is in fact necessary for the achievement of immortality, which lifts the species to occupy a more divine position.

From Conception and Birth

Drawing from his greatest philosophical inspiration, Aristotle, Harvey's definition of the vegetative soul is 'the act of an organic body having life *in potentia*'.[10] In other words, it is what brings life to the body and makes it capable of development. The procedure by which the vegetative soul is communicated to the egg is of utmost importance, for it is here that God comes into play,

> For it is certain that there is in the egg (as well as in every conception and first rudiment), an operative power which is infused into it not only from the female, but which is also communicated to it first by the male in coitus through his geniture, and that this was first of all given to the male by the heavens or the sun or the Almighty Creator.[11]

First in the process of animal generation is God. He confers the vegetative soul of the future chick to the male's seed, imbuing the seed 'with spirit and divine efficacy', which enables the male to pass 'on to [the female] the virtue of fertility'.[12] The vegetative soul then is transferred from the male to the female through the act of coition. This step is complicated by Harvey's conviction that the semen never physically touches the egg. To solve this issue, he utilises the analogy of contagion.[13] From the female, the vegetative soul then moves to

[10] W. Harvey, *Disputations Touching the Generation of Animals*, trans. G. Whitteridge (Oxford, 1981), 140.

[11] Ibid., 239.

[12] Ibid., 183.

[13] Ibid., 147.

the egg and, 'before the fourth day', it relocates to the chick.[14] Through this process, the vegetative soul, the element that makes life and growth possible, is gifted directly from God to the embryo. Although the soul is communicated through the male and the female, it nevertheless originates with Him. In fact, Harvey identifies it as 'analogous to the element of the stars, corresponding to art and judgement, *the representative of the Omnipotent Creator*'.[15] Thus, the vegetative soul is a direct connection between the individual and God, a piece of His divinity within every human, animal, and plant.

The vegetative soul is divine. As Goldberg has pointed out, Harvey elevates the vegetative soul to a position higher than the rational soul,[16]

> that part of the soul which shapes and preserves a man, is by far more excellent and more divine and more nearly resembles the image of God than the rational part of the soul.[17]

The vegetative soul is divine by virtue of its ability to maintain man. It is the principle which enables man to procreate, which we shall later see is key to God's plan for humanity. Animal generation 'surpasses by far the very comprehension of the rational soul', which means that man, with his rational mind, is incapable of fully understanding the process of generation.[18] The vegetative soul does not need to understand generation in order for it to perform its office, because it is guided by God.[19]

As previously noted by John S. White, Harvey argued that the blood was the seat of the soul.[20] In a time when such a statement could be controversial, Harvey somehow

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[14] Ibid., 106.

[15] Ibid., 211. The emphasis is mine.

[16] Goldberg, 'A Dark Business', 429.

[17] Harvey, *Disputations*, 236.

[18] Ibid., 381.

[19] Ibid., 207.

[20] J. S. White, 'William Harvey and the Primacy of the Blood', *Annals of Science*, 43 (1986), 239-255.

avoided criticism.[21] The soul Harvey references, though, does not seem to be the immortal Christian soul but the vegetative Aristotelian, because it is capable of fading away.[22] Furthermore, Harvey connects it to 'the element of the stars', which is a connotation already established in relation to the vegetative soul.[23] Thus, the vegetative soul, man's connection to and the representative of God, flows through every vein. Its divinity transforms the blood - which without a soul is only 'gore' - into 'the tutelary deity of the body'.[24] Even the heat within the blood 'is an instrument of Almighty God'.[25] In a way that is almost alchemical in nature, the vegetative soul is diffused into the blood and the blood is diffused into man, binding man to the creator of that vegetative soul, Almighty God.[26]

The idea of God's two books, Holy Scripture on the one hand and Nature on the other, was well-established in Harvey's time.[27] Nature, which had in the Middle Ages been a symbolic proof of God, in the seventeenth century became a literal proof.[28] For all of the merit of Roger French's work, he makes the mistake of claiming that Harvey did not utilise natural theology or marvel at a Great Creator.[29] In fact, according to Harvey's good friend George Ent, Harvey felt that from nature 'we might acquire not only the knowledge of the

[21] J. Henry, 'The Matter of Souls: Medical Theory and Theology in Seventeenth-Century England', R. French and A. Wear (eds), *The Medical Revolution in the 17th Century* (Cambridge, 1989), 87-113, 92.

[22] Harvey, *Disputations*, 243-258.

[23] Ibid., 378.

[24] Ibid., 243, 248.

[25] Ibid., 380.

[26] The pseudo-alchemical nature of Harvey's theory of circulation of the blood is discussed in the following article: A. Gregory, 'Harvey, Aristotle and the Weather Cycle', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Science*, 32 (2001), 153-168.

[27] S. Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago, 1996), 78.

[28] A. Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, 1986), 49.

[29] French, *William Harvey's*, 70.

lesser secrets of Nature but some adumbration of the great Creator himself'.[30] Indeed, *De generatione animalium* is full of statements such as,

> for we do acknowledge God, the most high and omnipotent Creator, to be everywhere present in the structure of all creatures living, and to be pointed out as it were with a finger [*Digitus Dei*] in all his works[31].

Thus, not only does God exist in the vegetative soul, which is diffused in the blood, but He is also present in the very *structure* of the animal. Every cell of the individual is imbued with His divinity, anchoring man (and every other living creature) directly to God Himself from the very moment of conception.

In Life

Harvey's commitment to Aristotelian teleology has been noted by many scholars.[32] Teleology is indeed central to Harvey's natural philosophy. It is present in his anatomical lectures and his *De motu cordis* as well, but nowhere is it stronger than in his work on animal generation.[33] This is because he believed that the final cause of any animal was to generate more animals. Harvey held that God had embedded this 'plan' within every creature,

> in the first beginning of all living creatures, … they are framed by something external and pre-existent, but that immediately

[30] Harvey, *Disputations*, 4.

[31] Translation: Harvey, *Disputations*, 269; Latin: W. Harvey, *Anatomical Exercitations Concerning the Generation of Living Creatures to Which Are Added Particular Discourses of Births and of Conceptions* (London, 1653), 310.

[32] To mention a few: R. G. Frank, *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists: A Study of Scientific Ideas* (Berkeley, 1980); French, *William Harvey's*; Pagel, *New Light*; Lennox, 'The Comparative Study'.

[33] W. Harvey, *The Anatomical Lectures of William Harvey*, trans. G. Whitteridge (Edinburgh, 1964), 183-185; idem, *An Anatomical Disputation Concerning the Movement of the Heart and Blood in Living Creatures*, trans. G. Whitteridge (Oxford, 1976), 46.

> upon being endowed with life they straightway nourish themselves and increase, and this by reason of their own proper innate powers proceeding from *a first principle that is implanted and inborn in them*.[34]

As a result of possessing a final cause given to him by God, man's generative actions were not steered by himself as much as they were steered by God. There is an implicit threat to free will in this argument. However, Harvey did not believe that *all* actions were guided by God, and thus man retained his free will in all other areas. At least in the case of generation, though, God and man were in close connection and God dominated man's actions.

By following his final cause, man serves as God's instrument. Bates has explained how Harvey conceptualised the Aristotelian instrument as the tool of an ultimate craftsman. Being used by a higher power, the instrument could outdo its natural capabilities and accomplish something greater.[35] Indeed, Harvey implies that instruments are *necessary* for the generation of superior animals: 'Nature of necessity makes use of the many instruments of the diverse faculties and powers in the procreation of the more perfect and more intricate animals.'[36] Wang has argued that Harvey still allows for God to intervene directly in the process because the wisdom needed for animal generation is too profound for mortals to accomplish.[37] However, surely, God's wisdom would be stored in that 'plan' He imbued the vegetative soul with, and thus an animal *would* be able to serve as His instrument and procreate without His direct involvement.

Where instruments, and indeed God Himself, are not needed is in the generation of lesser animals, such as insects: 'Some animals, therefore, are born spontaneously, out of

[34] Idem, *Disputations*, 145. The emphasis is mine.

[35] Bates, '*Machina ex Deo*', 588-592.

[36] Harvey, *Disputations*, 176.

[37] Wang, 'By Analogy', 379.

material concocted spontaneously or by chance'.[38] However, those animals are unable to reach the same divinity that more perfect creatures are, and therefore their existence does not disprove God's greatness and man's place in God's plan. Rather, spontaneous generation shows how special man is. Just as the biblical Israelites were in a covenant with God, man is in a divine contract with Him to execute His will, which lesser creatures do not enjoy.

Thus far, 'man' has been used to mean 'human', as was the contemporary practice. It is an appropriate term to use, because Harveian scholarship is vastly incomplete when it comes to the topic of gender. Only Eve Keller has looked closely at Harvey's treatment of men and women. She argues that Harvey walked a tightrope because he acknowledged the woman's part in generation more than Aristotle and Harvey's contemporaries did, but at the same time he wanted to maintain the traditional gender balance. He managed this by giving the divine, generating power to the rooster and masculinising and emancipating the egg from its mother.[39]

That Harvey wanted to maintain traditional gender roles is not surprising when one reads John Aubrey's account of Harvey; Aubrey cites Harvey as having said, 'we Europeans [know] not how to order or governe our Woemen'.[40] In his anatomical lectures, Harvey is concerned that too much intercourse will lead to the degeneration of men 'into women', and that too little of the same would also turn men effeminate.[41] In *De generatione animalium*, he maintains that women 'run mad with desire' if they are not married fast enough.[42]

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[38] Harvey, *Disputations*, 203.

[39] E. Keller, *Generating Bodies and Gendered Selves: The Rhetoric of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Seattle, 2007), 101-124.

[40] J. Aubrey, 'Account of William Harvey', G. Keynes (ed.), *The Life of William Harvey* (Oxford, 1966), 431-437, 433.

[41] Harvey, *Anatomical Lectures*, 177, 183.

[42] Idem, *Disputations*, 44.

This view of women as lesser than and dependent on men maps onto his theory of generation. As Keller rightly points out, Harvey locates the vegetative soul within the male's seed, which is transferred to the female.[43] Hence, the female does not receive the soul directly from God; His divinity is communicated by the male. Although a woman is still connected to God in the way that every other animal is, via His presence in her body and her actions, she can never partake in the kind of covenant that God has entered into with men, whose seed can convey holiness to another creature. Interestingly, Harvey argues that the male was created for the sake of this transaction to the female.[44] This suggests that the Genesis story was false, and that Eve was created before Adam, or that Adam was created with Eve in mind. This idea may have been too threatening for Harvey to follow to its conclusion because he quickly abandons the thought.

Both sexes can pervert and corrupt God's intentions, however. As previously mentioned, Harvey believed that both too little and too much sexual intercourse would be detrimental to a man's masculinity, and that unmarried women would become hysterical without an avenue for sex. What makes people seek out sex is pleasure. Pleasure has been tied to the act of coition by Nature, another one of God's instruments, but the act 'itself is loathsome'.[45] Sex pursued without procreation exploits God's intentions and results in illegitimate pleasure. As a matter of fact, Harvey theorises that Nature 'would never have permitted' the existence of libido 'were it not for procreation's sake'.[46]

Nature, directed by God, is even so ingenious that it created a 'screen of modesty' for animals such as deer, which the male would need to move in order to access the female's private parts.[47] In connection to this idea, Harvey relates the story of the people of Borneo, whom he and some of his contemporaries believed to have tails. One indigenous

[43] Keller, *Generating Bodies*, 109-112; Harvey, *Disputations*, 147.

[44] Harvey, *Disputations*, 169.

[45] Idem, *Anatomical Lectures*, 175.

[46] Idem, *Disputations*, 48.

[47] Ibid., 37.

woman is described as having a tail that 'curled up between her buttocks and covered her anus and private parts', and Harvey takes this as an effort from Nature to preserve modesty.[48] Of course, we know now that this was not a tail but a loincloth. Harvey elsewhere argues that 'men of a warmer climate' are more sexually active.[49] 'Warmer climates' were at the time beginning to be associated with racial groups that were not white European as a result of travel narratives from explorers. A century later, these culminated in Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon's climate theory of race.[50] Thus, according to Harvey, despite Nature's best attempts at assuaging men from sexual activity regardless of race, nonwhite men in particular subvert God's plan to satiate their own urges, and by veering off His path, they deteriorate their connection to Him.

Man is not the only instrument of God. 'Nature', 'the Heavens', 'the Sun', and 'the Soul of the Universe' are all named as other important instruments.[51] In fact, *everything* on Earth and beyond is created by and is an instrument to Him. All instruments are imbued with His divinity and have been given their own final causes. Harvey explains how the sun directly influences the generation of animals, primarily through the waxing and waning of seasons.[52] In his article, Andrew Gregory argues that Harvey subscribed to a kind of astrology. It was not a deterministic sort that would have clashed with Harvey's Christianity, but a soft version that merely suggested that celestial bodies had an impact on animal generation.[53] This argument seems conjectural at first glance, but the sun's influence on *spontaneous* generation, which God has little or nothing to do with, does support Gregory's argument; the sun here serves a more diverse purpose than just as God's

[48] Ibid.

[49] Idem, *Anatomical Lectures*, 175.

[50] G. Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, 'A Natural History, General and Particular', E. C. Eze (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader* (Oxford, 1997), 15-28.

[51] Harvey, *Disputations*, 235.

[52] Ibid., 234-236.

[53] A. Gregory, 'William Harvey, Aristotle and Astrology', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 47 (2014), 199-215.

instrument. In any case, the sun plays a huge role in generation, 'And in this sense it is truly said that the Sun and a man beget a man'.[54] Through their cooperation, in another process that seems almost alchemical, the sun and man partake in each other's God-given divinities and are thereby brought closer to Him. In this way, other instruments of God interact with and act upon man in a way that strengthens man's relationship to God.

To Death

Procreation may be the final cause of man, the individual animal, but it is not the final cause of humanity, his species. The ultimate *telos*, which God has implanted in the species, is immortality,

> Wherefore seeing that Nature had no power to make the individual eternal she did what she could, that is she created the ability of these her parts to generate an eternal species like to themselves throughout all ages. Wherefore it is said in Holy Scripture that the greatest blessing is issue, that thy seed shall remain for ever. For it appears that that which is divine is eternal and perfect, and conversely. […] Those to whom no offspring are born end here. But on the other hand for others there is in all likelihood the possibility to endure eternally, for there are now living men and dogs from whose loins will be born those who will live through ten thousand years and ages.[55]

Appealing to the authority of the Bible, Harvey asserts that the only way for animals to reach immortality is by procreating into eternity. This process is like the movement of the blood: circular.[56] Many other scholars have commented on the importance of

[54] Harvey, *Disputations*, 234-236.

[55] Idem, *Anatomical Lectures*, 175.

[56] Idem, *Movement of the Heart*, 205.

circulation in Harvey's natural philosophy.[57] It was another concept he had adopted from Aristotle. The circle was a representation of eternity and could easily be used within Christian macrocosm-microcosm theologies.[58] In Harvey's thought, circulation is the movement by which immortality, eternity, and divinity become possible for man to achieve. As a result of procreation, man could become godlike. It would be the achievement of the closest possible relationship to God.[59]

Unfortunately, the immortality of the species cannot maintain the individual,

> When they have fulfilled this work of Nature, as if they had attained the highest peak or acme of their power, and achieved the last end for which they were born, then straightway, having grown effete, they begin to wither away, and *as if forsaken and abandoned by Nature and the divine power*, they grow old and, weary of life, hasten to their decay.[60]

The intimate relationship between man and God ends the moment man fulfills his *telos* and procreates, after which God abandons him and he promptly dies.[61] Death is not caused by God; God does not strike man down. Death occurs simply because God no longer maintains man and man cannot maintain himself.[62] As Harvey says, 'all mortal things rush

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[57] Gregory, 'Weather Cycle'; P. M. Jucovy, 'Circle and Circulation: The Language and Imagery of William Harvey's Discovery', *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 20 (1976), 92-107; Pagel, *New Light*, 20-21, 32; idem, *Harvey's Biological Ideas*, 13, 25-26, 82-86; C. Webster, 'Harvey's "De Generatione": Its Origins and Relevance to the Theory of Circulation', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 3 (1967), 262-274; idem, 'William Harvey and the Crisis of Medicine in Jacobean England', J. J. Bylebyl (ed.), *William Harvey and His Age: The Professional and Social Context of the Discovery of the Circulation* (Baltimore, 1979), 1-27, 22; White, 'Primacy of the Blood', 252.

[58] Jucovy, 'Circle and Circulation', 96.

[59] Intriguingly, Harvey never had children of his own. No documentation exists of how he felt about not leaving an heir.

[60] Harvey, *Disputations*, 150-151. Emphasis mine.

[61] Idem, *Anatomical Lectures*, 175.

[62] Ibid., 189-190, 237-238.

a thousand ways to their destruction, of their own accord.'[63] At this point, man's internal structures die, his blood becomes spirit-less gore, and the vegetative soul has faded away. Every tie to God has been cut. The contract has ended. Man is on his own.

And yet, Harvey's theory of circular generation relies on death. Without the destruction of the individual, animal generation could not follow its sacred cycle, which is what grants humanity immortality. Hence, if circulation is how God allows for humans to get as close to Him as they possibly can, death is a kind of necessary sacrifice that is sanctified by God Himself. Not to mention, it is, at this time in history, a given that good men will walk into the kingdom of Heaven once they die. Harvey stated in his own will, 'I doe most humbly render my soule to Him that gave it and to my blessed Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus'.[64] Therefore, it cannot be said that, within Harvey's framework, God *truly* abandons man once his *telos* has been achieved. Harvey himself uses the words 'as if' to soften his judgment, unsure of whether he could possibly be right that God would abandon His sheep just like that, even if it might look like it.[65] The relationship between God and man remains close in death, despite what it might look like to those left behind.

In a way, the individual is a Christ-like martyr. Jesus Christ was sacrificed on the cross by God for the sins of humanity. By Christ's sacrifice, humanity was purged of its sins and able to reach the kingdom of Heaven upon death, a sign of salvation and a kind of immortality bestowed upon them by God. Similarly, every man and woman's physical life must be sacrificed by God in order for humanity as a species to attain eternal life. Likewise, just as Christ was resurrected three days after his death, man will be genetically resurrected through his son who is of his seed. Christ's Second Coming, too, is analogous to the continuation of man's genealogy: it is a rebirth, possible only because God allows it to be.

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[63] Idem, *Disputations*, 190.

[64] Idem, 'The Will of William Harvey, M.D.', G. Keynes (ed.), *The Life of William Harvey* (Oxford, 1966), 457-464, 457.

[65] Idem, *Disputations*, 150-151.

Conclusion

The relationship between man and God in the thought of Harvey is an intimate connection, which is consolidated by the cycles of life, blood, and procreation, and anchored in the body. The vegetative soul of every individual originates with God. Not only are its origins divine but it is divine in its own right by virtue of its ability to procreate. It exists in the blood and is diffused throughout the body via the circulation of the blood. The connection of the creature to God is strengthened because God's touch is evident in the very structure of the organic body. He also controls the actions of the body by implanting final causes within it. By adhering to his final cause, man serves as God's instrument and executes His plan by procreating. This obligation can be likened to the Mosaic Covenant, because only the procreation of man and other complex creatures is steered by God and therefore man occupies a special role in God's plan.

Harvey's view of gender sours the relationship between a woman and God: the female cannot partake in God's divinity as closely as the male can, because it is not she who provides the vegetative soul to the embryo. However, both sexes can subvert God's plan by engaging in too much or too little sexual intercourse. Nature tries to protect against this by providing 'modesty screens' to certain female animals, but that does not stop every male. Particularly the nonwhite man is likely to overindulge in sex. By perverting God's intentions, man corrodes the relationship between himself and God, but other instruments of God can strengthen the connection because of how they affect man and the rest of the world.

Man's ultimate final cause is the immortality of the species, which is achieved through the cycle of procreation. By generating into infinity, a species can obtain eternity, which sanctifies it and raises it to a godlike level. Once the individual has procreated, it would seem as though God leaves him. However, the circulation of the species relies on the death of the individual, and therefore man becomes a Christ-like martyr, sacrificed by God for the sake of humanity.

Looking at two key figures of the Protestant movement, Martin Luther and John Calvin, one can see how Harvey's conceptualisation of the relationship between man and God fits well within a Protestant narrative. Harvey's theory is analogous to the priesthood of all believers.[66] Furthermore, both Luther and Calvin envisioned man as the instrument of God and maintained that 'fruitfulness proceeds from nothing else but the agency of God'.[67] Exploration of these similarities could help us situate Harvey within the Protestant movement, a place that he has only obscurely occupied in the scholarship. Additionally, given the correlation between religion and politics at this time, such an investigation could help us elaborate on Harvey's political opinions.[68]

Harveian scholarship has been hesitant to explore or has outright denied the existence of Harvey's religious opinion.[69] This investigation adds to the growing number of works that take Harvey's religious thought seriously, not as a performative gesture but as an expression of true belief.

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[66] M. Luther, *Address to the Nobility of the German Nation*, trans. P. Halsall (1998), https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/luther-nobility.asp, accessed 23 November 2020: 'we are all consecrated as priests by baptism'.

[67] Man as instrument: J. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. J. Allen (Philadelphia, 1813), vol. 1, chap. 16, sec. 2; M. Luther, J. Pelikan (ed.), *Luther's Works* (Saint Louis, 1958), vol. 1, 25. Quote: J. Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, trans. J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1847), vol. 4, 154. Luther on how the ability to procreate comes from God: Luther, *Luther's Works*, 25-27, 52, 71, 84, 116, 121, 127-128, 167, 237.

[68] For a discussion on Harvey's political affiliation, see the following: C. Hill, 'William Harvey and the Idea of Monarchy', *Past & Present*, 27 (1964), 54-72; idem, 'William Harvey (No Parliamentarian, No Heretic)', *Past & Present*, 31 (1965), 97-103; A. Shephard, '"O Seditious Citizen of the Physical Common-Wealth!": Harvey's Royalism and His Autopsy of Old Parr', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 65 (1995), 482-505; G. Whitteridge, 'William Harvey: A Royalist and No Parliamentarian', *Past & Present*, 30 (1965), 104-109.

[69] P. Distelzweig, '"Mechanics" and Mechanism in William Harvey's Anatomy: Varieties and Limits', P. Distelzweig, B. Goldberg, and E. R. Ragland (eds), *Early Modern Medicine and Natural Philosophy* (Dordrecht, 2016), 117-140; French, *William Harvey's*, 70; B. Goldberg, 'William Harvey, Soul Searcher: Teleology and Philosophical Anatomy' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2012); G. Keynes (ed.), *The Life of William Harvey* (Oxford, 1966), 422; Lennox, 'The Comparative Study', 45.

The Timelessness of Feeling: An Examination into the History of Emotions Through Gildas and Ilya Repin

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Introduction

What did people of the past feel? How can we measure how and why people felt the way they felt? The answer to both of these questions can be found in delving into the history of emotions. As put by Barbara Rosenwein: 'People in the past, as now, expressed joy, sorrow, anger, fear, and many other feelings'.[2] This essay will assess the claim that 'studying the history of emotions helps us to understand what people felt was important to them'.

The paper will begin by examining the evolution of the historiography of emotional history, from its early scholarship a century ago to the present-day developments that continue to shape the field, setting a framework for the analysis of two case studies. The analysis will focus on the work of Rosenwein, especially her theory of emotional communities. Using Gildas' sermon *The Ruin of Britain* and Ilya Repin's painting *Barge Haulers on the Volga*, the essay will look at what could have been felt by the people involved in the creation of these and other similar sources. A section on emotional exaggeration will be used to address arguments against emotional history and to show that such exaggeration itself supports the theory. The essay will conclude with a verdict on

[1]* This essay was written for HI356J: Thinking History.

[2] B. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), 821-845, 821.

whether or not the history of emotions is important to historical study, and if it deserves scholarly attention.

A History of the History of Emotions

One of the first historians to discuss the history of emotions was a Dutchman Johan Huizinga. In Huizinga's opus, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, he argues that the Middle Ages were, in fact, an age of emotional immaturity.[3] Other historians and sociologists, namely Lucien Febvre and Norbert Elias, followed Huizinga's beliefs on the Middle Ages.[4] These three scholars effectively founded the field of emotional history as we would understand it. However, starting in the 1980s, a new generation of historians began to challenge the traditional views laid out by their predecessors, not just on the Middle Ages, but on the field as a whole.

The first of this 'new wave' of emotional historians was husband and wife duo, Peter and Carol Stearns. The pair proclaimed the idea of 'emotionology', which is 'the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression'.[5] Their view effectively placed emotions, and the reception of them, in a societal context through the emotional standards of that society. The issue with this theory, as put by Rosenwein, is that it can only go back to a certain point in time, and, like the previous theorists, leaves out the Middle Ages.[6] The next significant publication in the field is William Reddy's book, *The Navigation of Feeling*, which introduces two important concepts: 'emotives' and 'emotional regimes'.[7] Emotives are 'emotions enacted in speech' and emotional regimes are the societal control that

[3] B. Rosenwein and R. Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge, 2018), 27.

[4] Ibid., 27-28.

[5] P. N. Stearns and C. Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *The American Historical Review*, 90 (1985), 813.

[6] Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions', 824-825.

[7] Idem, 'Reviews of Books: Reviewed Work: The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions by William M. Reddy ', *The American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), 1182.

surrounds them.[8] Combining this with previous theories as well as her own work, Rosenwein formulated the idea of 'emotional communities', with a similar system to social communities, in which the study is on the emotions felt in a particular setting, and how they changed based on which community one was in.[9] Armed with this knowledge of the development of emotional history, we can now examine two very different examples in order to discern what the creators felt was important to them.

The First Case Study: Gildas

The first case study that will be examined is Gildas' work *The Ruin of Britain*, written sometime around 540 AD.[10] Gildas, a British monk who lived during the coming of the Anglo-Saxons, believed that the reason for the island's misfortune was due to the native Britons not being good enough Christians. The most famous part of the work is his attack on five sub-Roman kings, criticising them for a multitude of reasons in incredibly colourful language. In one such instance, he says of Maglocunus,

> Your excited ears hear not the praises of God from the sweet voices of the tuneful recruits of Christ, not the melodious music of the church, but empty praises of yourself from the mouths of criminals who grate on the hearing like raving hucksters – mouths stuffed with lies and liable to bedew bystanders with their foaming phlegm.[11]

Gildas, being a holy man, would not support those he saw as sinful, and his work is full of negative words (and this is but half a paragraph), including 'raving hucksters', 'lies', and 'foaming phlegm'. Febvre's argument that 'sin was for the most part another way of

[8] Rosenwein and Cristiani, *What is the History*, 35-36.

[9] Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions', 842-843.

[10] P. H. Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1956), 13.

[11] Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, ed. J. Morris (London and Chichester, 1978), 34.

labelling the actions of one's enemies' helps to support Gildas' use of anti-Christian motifs to discredit and curse those he viewed as being against the Church and against God, which, being a devout monk, were where his positive emotions lied.[12]

Despite Gildas' apparent anger, which prevails throughout his work, there is also an element of hope to be found. There are many instances of him begging for the rulers he denounced to change their ways and turn onto a better path. When he addressed one of the rulers, Cuneglasus, he wrote,

> Do not, as the apostle says, be haughty; do not trust in the uncertainty of riches, but in God, who gives you much in abundance, so that by reforming your character you may lay up a good foundation for the future and have a true life – eternal, not mortal.[13]

With these seemingly conflicting emotions, anger and hope, and the way he expresses them, Gildas stands in contrast with the works of early emotional historians who viewed the Middle Ages as emotionally immature, especially Johan Huizinga. *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* opens with the claim that the Middle Ages had 'sharper outlines than we do now'.[14] One could argue, however, that Gildas' complex love/hate relationship to the rulers of Britain, and his sense of duty to both criticise them, but also save their souls, give him more emotional depth than Huizinga would believe possible.

As seen in the preceding example, the emotions in Gildas' writings are mainly gauged through his word choice and language. Even the title of his work conveys emotion. The work is called *The Ruin of Britain* (*De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*), and the word 'ruin' conjures up a negative image, and indeed one of pessimism from the beginning.[15]

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[12] Febvre, 'Sensibility and History', 16.

[13] Gildas, *The Ruin*, 32.

[14] J. Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch, (Chicago, 1996), 1.

[15] Blair, *An Introduction*, 13.

This negative emotion was meant not only for himself, but also for his readers. Gildas wished to be viewed as equal with others, and in having his work published, he invited others to feel what he felt.[16]

Historical and cultural anthropologist Monique Scheer believed that emotions often transfer between people, and depending on the two parties, are received in a certain way.[17] Gildas' position as a monk would thus have helped him to communicate his desired emotions to a wide readership. Rosenwein's concept of 'emotional communities' supports this, in this case the emotions being fear, anger, and hope.[18] While it may be impossible to fully know what the contemporary response to his work was, if Scheer's claims are correct, then we can get a good sense of how people might have responded. In fact, reading *The Ruin of Britain* not only tells us what Gildas felt, but helps to offer a window into what other people felt at the time.

The Second Case Study: Ilya Repin

The second case study is the famous 1873 oil-on-canvas painting by Russian realist painter Ilya Repin, *Barge Haulers on the Volga* (*Бурлаки на Волге*), now housed in The State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg.[19] The painting, completed just after Repin left art school, portrays a group of eleven men hauling a boat upstream. The men are weary to the point of exhaustion, but continue to drag the boat along the bank of the river Volga.[20]

Repin's painting's most important significance is its use as a lens to view the social conditions of the time, and how he felt about this issue. In 1861, the Russian serfs were

[16] Gildas, *The Ruin,* 13.

[17] M. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that what makes them have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory*, 51 (2012), 211.

[18] J. Plamper et al., 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory*, 49 (2010), 252-253.

[19] I. Repin, *Barge Haulers on the Volga,* 1873, The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

[20] Ibid.

emancipated.[21] In a similar spirit, several art students broke away from the strict teachings of establishment art and founded the *Peredvizhnaya Vystavka* shortly after.[22] This highlights Rosenwein's 'emotional communities', because 'within the same society contradictory values and models, not to mention deviant individuals, find their place'.[23] Repin simply found his place in a different emotional community, showing that emotionally he did not feel his previous community shared his values.

Examining the artwork itself, Repin's views on the Russian poor come to light. In a time when it was common for the wealthy to feel pity for the problems of the poor, Repin captured this by making the struggling bargemen his centrepiece.[24] He spent a considerable amount of time on the banks of the Volga to sketch and observe various barge haulers, and the painting shows this individuality in each of the faces.[25] This concern and attention to the poor show us that, at least to some level, Repin was deeply interested in the river's labourers. If this is something he views as important, then a lens can be used to see not just the emotions that Repin felt, but also the importance he placed on social history. The men are portrayed realistically, not idealised, but they still have an air of strength around them, perhaps as Repin's way of drawing attention to their plight.[26]

There is also the chance to look at his attitudes towards religion in this painting. The youngest-looking barge hauler, in the centre of the group, is wearing a small cross on his chest. He is also the only one who seems to be attempting to fight off his binds, and he is also the only member of the group who is illuminated, in contrast to the dark, sombre colours of his companions.[27] Repin putting a religious symbol in the middle of his work

[21] G. Sternin and J. Kirillina, *Ilya Repin* (New York, 2012), 7.

[22] Ibid., 9.

[23] Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions', 843.

[24] Sternin and Kirillina, *Ilya Repin*, 21.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Repin, *Barge Haulers*.

[27] Ibid.

helps to show that religion, as well as social issues, are important to him. Whereas the emotions that are seen with Gildas are revealed through his words, the emotions that are seen with Repin are revealed through his imagery and views towards the working class.

Exaggeration? Or Is It?

It is also important to bring up the issue of exaggeration in sources. According to Scheer, 'the history of emotions has often been viewed as an enterprise plagued with the problem of reliable source material'.[28] If the aim of emotional history is to uncover what was important to people in the past, then, on the surface, exaggeration seems to be an obstacle to discerning the truth. In Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani's book *What is the History of Emotions?*, referencing the work of Gerd Althoff, they say 'that even if the sources exaggerated…writers did not tell their tales in a void'.[29] Going back to a previous example, this can clearly be seen in *The Ruin of Britain* by Gildas. The whole work is loaded with exaggerations, especially concerning animal imagery, for example,

> Why do you provoke with continual injuries the groans and sighs of the holy men who are present in the flesh by your side; they are the teeth of an appalling lioness that will one day break your bones.[30]

While it is obvious that Gildas was exaggerating, and that the holy men next to the ruler in question would not metamorphosize into a hideous lioness to cripple him, one can imagine the intense sentiments that Gildas must have experienced in order to conjure up that thought. Even if that exact feeling is not explicitly seen, overemphasised emotions are

[28] Scheer, 'Are Emotions', 219.

[29] Rosenwein and Cristiani, *What is the History?*, 47.

[30] Gildas, *The Ruin*, 32.

in origin true and authentic. This means that, even through amplification, we can see the inspiration behind that feeling, because 'emotions cannot be conjured out of thin air'.[31]

Conclusion

The history of emotions, as we have seen, is indeed important for learning about what people thought. Through looking at the evolution of emotional history and the theories of key historians, a clearer analysis of primary sources has become possible. With regards to Gildas and Repin, applying practices used in the history of emotions has brought clarity into the purposes they had for composing their sources, and how they felt about certain aspects, and what was important to each of them. For Gildas, it was religion. For Repin, it was social conditions. Through various mediums, both conveyed their message with the use of emotions, especially resonating with Rosenwein's theory of emotional communities. It should be fitting to conclude that, while the two sources have been analysed with regards to emotional history, doing so has opened up a whole new way to study the creators and their work. The lens of emotional history has given birth to opportunities to investigate religious, political, social, and other types of history, and allows historians to further explore not *what*, but *why* something was important. Reddy summarises it best: 'The history of emotions is a way of doing political, social, and cultural history, not something to be added to existing field',[32] and that alone proves its importance to the study of history as a whole.

[31] Scheer, 'Are Emotions', 219.

[32] Plamper, 'The History of Emotions', 249.

The Role of Literature as Source Material within Academic History

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Paul Friedrich is a fourth-year Joint Honours English and History student. He particularly enjoys studying those parts of his two subjects where they overlap, as well as phenomenology in literature and how it relates to literary theory. In the future, after a brief hiatus from education, he plans on either pursuing a career in journalism or remaining in academia.

One way to view History as a discipline is to situate it between the sciences and the more artistically inclined humanities. This rather ambivalent position has shifted throughout historiographical debates on the 'correct' way of writing history. At the forefront of this debate lies the question of the place the arts should occupy within historical study. The extent to which literary works should function as historical sources has proven especially contentious. This essay will evaluate the validity of the concerns commonly raised against the more prominent use of such sources by taking the stance that, while often valid, such generalised criticisms largely fail to consider the idiosyncrasies of literary sources that situationally render them indispensable.

The ambiguity surrounding literature as historical evidence begins with the place it habitually occupies within a historian's arsenal of sources. According to Annabel Brett, we must first understand the context the work inhabits to establish a specific teleology for any given source or its author.[2] Brett's point, while already valid, becomes especially important when examining literary sources, because the authorial intentions become obscured by an additional layer of fiction. In this context, John Tosh references the Foucauldian idea that language will always be inadequate to convey objective material truth.[3] Therefore, any text, whether literary or scientific, must be to some extent subject to bias. The two become distinct through the absence of factual constraints on literary authors

[1]* This essay was written for HI356J: Thinking History.

[2] A. Brett, 'What is Intellectual History Now?', D. Cannadine (ed.), *What is History Now*, (New York, 2002), 113-131, 116.

[3] J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (Harlow, 2010), 287.

in the crafting of their narrative. As a result, subtext and authorial bias become the primary source of literary text's historical value. This centrality of bias generally is a valid detriment to the use of literary sources for chronological purposes. Instead, the historian may recover the text's illocution and perlocution (i.e. the author's intention as opposed to the meaning imparted on his audience, respectively).

[1] Literary or intellectual works may therefore be examined from two distinct historical angles: either as a social-historic individual response to contemporary events, or as the driving force in a 'great man' political history.[2] As such, the proponents of the argument that authorial bias and a lack of factual evidence renders literary sources ineffective become guilty of misrepresenting the intentions of the historian examining the source, who in this case never intends to extract an event-driven historical chronology.

Brett invokes Robin. G. Collingwood's belief that 'we cannot understand any human action or production without an understanding of the thought involved in it'.[3] The perlocution of literary sources can aid greatly in the establishing of such thought on a collective level, involving entire societies in the framework of cultural history, while a text's illocution can reveal the inner workings of its author as a case study in a way that a chronicle of events could not. Tosh asserts that 'cultural history … amounts to nothing less than the reconstruction of the mental, emotional and conceptual world of the past'.[4] In providing access to past mindsets and psychologies, literature establishes itself as one of the cornerstones of cultural history and, therefore, as an indispensable provider of historical evidence.

However, it also follows that in their dependence on a context previously established by other types of sources, literary works become secondary in importance to those sources,

[1] Brett, 'What is Intellectual History Now?', 116.

[2] Ibid., 114.

[3] Ibid., 115.

[4] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 249.

to be used only when the historical value they contain cannot already be extracted from the latter. This conclusion is also supported by the comparatively greater effort literary sources demand from the historian in establishing the work's context and in separating fact from fiction, or aesthetics from elements of historical value.

Perhaps the most significant caveat to the admission of literature is the disruption of the balance of fact and interpretation Edward H. Carr considers essential to historical research. Carr denies the existence of any 'hard core' of facts 'existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian'.[5] However, he also cautions against the carrying of this dictum to the extreme phenomenological lengths that could justify even entirely unfounded interpretations. The historian must avoid both the 'untenable theory of history as an objective compilation of facts' and the 'equally untenable theory of history as the subjective product of the mind'.[6] To Carr, 'literary intellectuals … are so busy telling us that history is not a science … that they have no time for its achievements and its potentialities'.[7] The historical employment of literature, as far as Carr is concerned, removes history too far from the sciences in its excessive dependence on hermeneutics over empirical fact-gathering.

This claim undoubtedly has some substance. The use of literary source material necessitates the determination of the historical and linguistic realities surrounding its conception. Furthermore, because literary sources give their authors more space to impart personal bias, the determining of that bias, that is to say, the author's illocution, becomes paramount to the comprehension of the text in question. According to Brett, without the reconstruction of the historical context surrounding a literary work 'we cannot grasp the illocutionary dimension of a text … its full sense eludes us'.[8] If absence of that contextual

[5] E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (Harmondsworth, 1987), 12.

[6] Ibid., 29.

[7] Ibid., 86.

[8] Brett, 'What is Intellectual History Now?', 117.

information results in the loss of the source's historical value, any incomplete or false ancillary evidence could result in a misreading of the literary subtext. For instance, without the prerequisite cultural knowledge of old Norse culture, one might conclude that because they contain mentions of mythical creatures, old Norse sagas are entirely fictional rather than embellished historical accounts. Historians of Norse culture have long been aware that this is not the case. Sven Anderson, for example, distinguishes between sagas of historical value and those that are entirely fictional.[9] He also refers to an antecedent historian, Curt Weibull, who believes all sagas are fiction.[10] Evidently, Weibull lacked the contextual information to adequately assess the historical value of the source material. Dismissing all events contained within any given saga as false simply because one does not possess the knowledge to adequately distinguish myth from history would result in the false designation of past events as fabrication. Literature as evidence is as such more prone to provoke a historian into misinterpretation than more empirically grounded material.

It is nevertheless inaccurate to portray this flaw as unique to literary sources. Furthermore, apart from pseudo-historical accounts like the Norse saga, most literary work does not posture as factual, openly acknowledging the fictional nature of its plot. If we, like Brett, assume that, no matter the text, 'there is no supra-linguistic "concept" available in some abstract dimension', what matters is not whether what the text in terms of pure locution explicitly describes is empirically verifiable, but the specific way the author manipulates language to, via subtext, elicit a specific perlocution within the reader.[11] To put it another way, a text may literally be composed entirely of falsehoods. Figuratively, however, these falsehoods could be understood by the reader to signify something entirely separate, and factual. Thus, the text has produced valuable historical evidence.

[9] A. S. Anderson, 'The Attitude of the Historians Toward the Old Norse Sagas', *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, 15 (1939), 274-266, 266.

[10] Ibid., 272.

[11] Brett,'What is Intellectual History Now?', 117

For instance, when read not because of the factual accuracy of its plot, but for Jane's perspective as a representative of Victorian women as a real demographic, Charlotte Brontë's fictional novel *Jane Eyre* becomes a historical primary source. Throughout the first half of the novel, the governess Jane falls in love with Mr. Rochester, her charge's guardian. On the day of their marriage, she finds out that Mr. Rochester is in fact already married, although the circumstances of that marriage absolve him of some fault: he is trapped in a loveless, arranged marriage with a mentally ill wife he is unable to divorce due to the uncontrollable nature of her actions rendering her violence illegitimate reasons for legal divorce. Jane's internal monologue as a reaction to this turn of events is what contains the historical value in question.

Clearly heartbroken, Jane laments: 'My hopes were all dead—struck with a subtle doom, such as, in one night, fell on all the first-born in the land of Egypt'.[12] Evidently, she still wants to marry Mr. Rochester, but, for several reasons, cannot. A modern reader, oblivious to Victorian culture, might feel puzzled as to why she feels that she must leave regardless, other than perhaps agitation at her would-be husband's deception. Even this she forgives after he apologizes.[13] She tells Mr. Rochester: 'If I lived with you as you desire, I should then be your mistress: to say otherwise is sophistical—is false'.[14] To Victorians, the situation has become a question of Jane's honour, despite the fact that if anyone is at fault, it is Mr. Rochester. To them, while a man may take a mistress, extramarital relations brand a woman immoral. The unquestioning nature with which Jane accepts this as reality and how Brontë seems to expect her readers to do likewise reveals the cultural historical reality for women in Victorian England. Mr. Rochester's threat of physical action - '"Jane! Will you hear reason," he stooped and approached his lips to my ear, "Because if you won't,

[12] C. Brontë, *Jane Eyre,* (Minneapolis, 2015, first published in 1847), 383.

[13] Ibid., 387.

[14] Ibid., 394.

I'll try violence"' - on the other hand, remains nearly unaddressed and soon forgotten.[15] The lack of an adequate reaction here also reveals a shocking willingness to shrug off ubiquitous and generally accepted violence against women, in a work written by a Victorian woman herself. *Jane Eyre* as a literary source here serves as a primary source in writing a brief cultural history of Victorian femininity and morality.

To Brett, for all intents and purposes, the 'false' locution of *Jane Eyre's* plot does not exist at all. The language used only attains its value as language as the author intends it or once the reader interprets it. In this case, the reader, our imagined oblivious cultural historian of Victorian femininity interprets the novel as a primary source in the manner just described. Great literature, beyond aesthetic considerations, by means of a manifestly fictional narrative, makes a profound judgement pertaining to real-world issues or even effectuates extra-diegetic events. When viewed from a teleological perspective, the reality that this instrumental narrative is fictitious in nature bears no significance, situating such a literary work on equal footing with a conventional source of the same value. Literary sources are, therefore, in some ways paradoxically more honest about their duplicity than, for example, a heavily biased historical account purporting to divulge only objective truth, which may ultimately prove equally or more deceptive to the historian interpreting it.

The very idea of such near-unlimited interpretive freedom, on the other hand, may serve conversely to undermine attitudes towards literary sources. While this is not the point Brett makes, the absence of a supra-textual abstraction independent from the reader's interpretation of a text implies that its audience may impose any meaning it wishes upon it. Tosh describes a literary theory that rejects the author's jurisdiction over his work and views the 'text as open to a multiplicity of "readings" in which different audiences find different meanings' as portent of 'troubling implications … for the epistemological status of history'.[16] This extreme application of exegetic phenomenology places the defenders of

[15] Ibid., 391.

[16] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 263.

literary historical evidence in a predicament. If all interpretations become irrefutable as a result of the teleologically-based justification of literary sources as evidence that maintains that language can possess no objective meaning, all literary readings lose their credibility. Furthermore, Carr's concerns about the upended balance of interpretation and reliance on factual evidence in literature appear vindicated when confronted with this reasoning.

On this basis, the author-function cannot be discounted entirely as an authority on interpretation. Both Tosh and Brett have referenced the authorship debate in literary theory. Perhaps the most prominent contributor to that discourse has been the philosopher Michel Foucault, who identifies the author as 'the ideological figure by which one marks the manner in which we fear the proliferation of meaning'.[17] The writer, according to Foucault, although not the final authority on his work, nevertheless serves to disqualify certain readings as lying too far outside the realm of what the text in its raw form can support. This function becomes necessary because of the possibility of unlimited malleability of language in fiction, which Foucault views as perilous to the world.[18] In his delineation of the historical debate of writer involvement in politics, Walter Laquer cites the French diplomat Tocqueville, who cautions that 'the very qualities which go to make great literature can lead to catastrophic revolutions'.[19] Viewed in this light, allowing for literary hermeneutics to exert influence beyond aesthetic considerations threatens not only the scientific credibility of the discipline of history, but coupled with the absence of adequate limitations on interpretation, it also risks specious ideological weaponisation. The validity of this concern is demonstrated by, for example, the now widely recognized interpretive violence in the appropriation of German romanticism by the Weimar Republic's National Socialists to serve their fascist agenda. Benjamin Martin writes that in the aftermath of the 1932 centenary of Goethe's death, witnessing a great deal of European criticism celebrating the

[17] M. Foucault, 'What is an Author?', *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology* (New York, 1998), 205-222, 222.

[18] Ibid., 221.

[19] W. Laquer, 'Literature and the Historian', *Journal of Contemporary History* 2 (1967), 5-14, 11.

German writer as a pan-Europeanist icon of liberalism and humanism, there was a conscious Nazi effort to take ownership of Goethe as an illiberal nationalist.[20] While only one example of many, this re-writing of cultural history undoubtedly furthered the National Socialist cause through Goethe's popularity and authority.

Naturally, any text, whether fictional or scholarly, becomes subject to interpretation. The gap between illocution and perlocution may vary in extent depending on the allowance the author leaves for reader participation. However, to elevate 'fact'-based historical primary and secondary sources above literature is justified only insofar that the former is less susceptible to appropriative analysis. In fact, this perceived gap between literature and research is much smaller than the adherents of Carr's camp might admit. In his exploration of the debate of scientific as opposed to hermeneutic methodologies in 'Towards a Rational Historiography', Lionel Gossman quotes Theodor Mommsen's controversial adage that '"phantasy … is the mother of all history as it is of all poesy" and that "the historian is much more an artist than a scholar"'.[21] Although Mommsen would also strive towards a greater degree of scientific practice within the discipline, his assertion is well-supported, for instance in Hayden White's argument that 'the historian confronts a veritable chaos of events already constituted, out of which he must choose the elements of the story he would tell'.[22] In order to write anything of significance, the historian must seek out inter-related events to, like the novelist, craft a compelling narrative. The only difference lies in the requirement that these events are not fictitious. In the context of locutionary reconstruction of the text, this minute distinction is of little significance. However, the idea that a historian sets out to arrange the facts he finds into a specific narrative renders his research prone to confirmation bias. The reliability advantage more

[20] B. Martin, '"European Literature" in the New Nazi Order: The Cultural Politics of the European Writer's Union, 1941-3', *Journal of Contemporary History,* 48 (2013), 486-508, 501.

[21] L. Gossman, 'Towards a Rational Historiography', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 79 (1989), 1-68, 42.

[22] Ibid., 28.

'scientific' research supposedly enjoys over literature resultantly shrinks to much smaller proportions than in Carr's representations.

The writing and interpretation of history, as with literature, therefore, requires Foucault's principle of thrift. Gossmann cites Ankersmit's reservation that narrative philosophy does not vindicate 'the view that the historian is free to fabricate historical events'.[23] This misconception is disproved by the same reasoning that defends a work of literature from the threat of infinite valid interpretations. Foucault in a nondescript manner refers to the author as the limiting factor in this milieu. Wolfgang Iser builds on this idea by describing the term 'literature' as the compromise between the 'artistic' pole as determined by the author in the writing of the text in opposition to the 'aesthetic' pole, meaning the reader's perlocutionary realisation of the text through the lens of his or her personal experiences. The meeting point between these two poles becomes the literary work itself only in their reconciliation.[24] An arbitrary interpretation too far removed from the artistic pole thus becomes incompatible with the text. In the same manner that historical research must balance interpretation with empirical evidence, literary criticism faces the constraints of simultaneously appeasing Iser's two poles.

While this system adequately establishes the laws governing the balance of interpretation contra text, the question remains as to where exactly the exegetic liberties overstep their boundaries. Furthermore, Iser's system requires an enforcing authority who can declare readings unscientific despite inhabiting a discipline inherently averse to objective scientific fact. Gossman's answer lies in the respective work's 'internal consistency or "plausibility" and conformity "with all the evidence"'.[25] The judging authority in evaluation of these criteria are the author's peers, experts on the respective field with the necessary contextual knowledge to identify a misreading or

[23] Ibid., 43.

[24] W. Iser, 'The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach', *New Literary History*, 3 (1972), 279-299.

[25] Gossman, 'Towards a Rational Historiography', 26.

misrepresentation.[26] With these fail-safes in place, the author of a historical work has only his reputation to lose if he does fall victim to the quagmire of hermeneutics Carr perceives in literary evidence and an abundance of cultural-historic insight to gain that conventional sources cannot provide.

A further grievance often brought against the advocates of the use of fiction as historical evidence is the 'ivory tower' argument. This reasoning argues that the authors of literature are intellectuals and artists too far removed from the events and realities their contemporaries experience. Any insights their creations afford into present psychologies cannot possibly serve cultural history in its quest to recover the mentalities of entire populations. Art, intellectual, or literary history therefore at best serve a history of the select elite who partake in so called 'high' culture. While there is some substance to this claim, it disregards the existence of popular culture, as Tosh demonstrates. Medieval religious art, for one, was widely circulated throughout the various strata of its society, and the twentieth century novel as an artform gained traction far beyond the circles of this supposed literary elite.[27] Furthermore, much of the culture studied today as 'high culture' may have begun as controversial lower-class entertainment, such as the Victorian sensation novel. Many of the works studied within the artistic disciplines today receive attention precisely because of the widespread reactions they provoked within their contemporaries, which alone renders them worthy of historical study. Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret,* for example, received widespread critical and public outrage because of how its main character depicts Victorian femininity, as Lynn Voskuil writes.[28] Its reach both as an expression of the Zeitgeist and as a driving factor of contemporary attitudes toward femininity, therefore, must have reached far beyond any cultural elite. Political historians may be satisfied with the argument that even if 'high culture' remained contained to a select

[26] Ibid., 58.

[27] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 247.

[28] L. Voskuil, 'Lady Audley and the Meanings of Victorian Femininity', *Feminist Studies*, 27 (2001), 611-639, 615.

few, these elites are the very subjects directing the events so central to any 'top-down' approach to history. Any cultural influence on this demographic thus retains significance. Laquer notes that 'the reading public, perhaps unfortunately, has a preference for amateurs over professionals, and outsiders over academics.'[29] While some cultural evidence may exist in isolation from the general populace, scholarly research appears no less susceptible to the accusation that it situates itself too far removed from the everyday realities of the time period under study. Popular culture and its literary resources provide a convenient remedy to this problem.

Laquer concludes that to its own detriment, the discipline of history has in some ways acquired an aversion to imagination and aesthetics.[30] Similarly, Gossman rightfully criticizes his colleague Goldstein's designation of any sort of narrative in history as superfluous superstructure.[31] If we maintain the nonexistence of supra-textual meaning, the aesthetics of any text become a crucial part to its meaning and interpretation. However, even if we assume the existence of such meaning, there is nothing to stop Goldstein from simply extracting the elements useful to the history he is writing while leaving behind any aesthetic components. At best, Goldstein's reservations amount to another reason to, due to the increased effort of extraction, treat literature as evidence only if the historical insight they contain cannot be found elsewhere.

To conclude, most arguments against the use of literary sources as historical evidence seem grounded either in issues of convenience or a lack of faith in the historian's ability to make effective use of them. The increased effort in interpretation and arguably the separation of aesthetic elements from those of scientific value render other sources more convenient providers of evidence when they contain similar information. Realistically, this is rarely the case, because literature represents a unique means of access to the mentalities

[29] Laquer, 'Literature and the Historian', 5.

[30] Ibid., 6.

[31] Gossman, 'Towards a Rational Historiography', 38.

of entire cultures. Furthermore, a skilled historian should possess the capabilities to adjust for the increased propensity for authorial bias while, with the help of ancillary sources, separating scientific benefit from narrative fiction. Carr famously believed that the study of history should serve the identification of and movement towards an ideal society.[32] Echoing this view, Brett closes her chapter with the epigram that it is 'in trying to unravel the mental worlds of the past, we give ourselves the opportunity to re-weave our own'.[33] When confronted with literature's status as a central contributor to cultural history as a driving factor of future collective psychological development, even Carr must recognize the undeniable benefit of literary sources as historical evidence.

[32] Carr, *What is History?,* 132.

[33] Brett, 'What is Intellectual History Now?', 128.

The 'Forgotten Legion': Latin American Volunteers in the Great War

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Thousands of young Latin Americans enlisted between 1914 and 1918 to join either the Allies or the Central Powers and fight alongside British, French, Italian, and even Ottoman soldiers.[2] In fact, Argentina alone sent around forty thousand combatants.[3] Why did they leave the comfort of their homes and cross the ocean for a war that was not perceived as theirs? The historiography of the participation of Latin America in the First World War has been scarce in both European and Ibero-American academia, despite the significant number of Latin Americans who volunteered in the war.[4] On the one hand, the purpose of this essay is to put their participation into perspective by analysing the reasons that led the Latin American volunteers to join the conflict, in the hopes of determining - or at least opening a dialogue about - Latin America's rightful place in the Great War. On the other hand, the purpose is to rescue these soldiers from oblivion, as they have almost disappeared from collective memory.[5]

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[1]* This essay was written for HI304T: World War I: International Perspectives.

[2] T. Fischer, 'América Latina y la Primera Guerra Mundial', *Iberoamericana*, 16 (2016), 259-272, 262.

[3] M. I. Tato, 'El llamado de la Patria: Británicos e Italianos Residentes en la Argentina Frente a la Primera Guerra Mundial', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, 25 (2011), 273-292, 280; H. Otero, 'Emigración, Movilización Militar y Cultura de Guerra. Los Franceses de La Argentina Durante La Gran Guerra', *Amnis*, 10 (2011).

[4] Fischer, 'América Latina', 259.

[5] M. Bourlet, 'Les Volontaires Latino-Américains dans l'Armée Française Pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale', *Revue Historique des Armées*, 255 (2009), 68-78, 68.

In this essay, the volunteers will be distinguished as two groups with different motivations. First, there are the volunteers with a direct connection to the belligerents who displayed a transnational identity and were motivated by a sense of national duty, focusing on the British, French, Italian, and German diasporas in Latin America. Second are the volunteers with no direct connection to Europe who were mostly inspired by cultural affinity and their western values. There are thirty-three countries in Latin America. Therefore, emphasis will be placed in those states with a high population of European emigrants, such as Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, and especially Argentina, where most scholarship research has been done on the subject.[6]

Well-known is the arrival of the first Spanish *conquistadores* in the Americas during the sixteenth century and the establishment of their colonial Empire. However, the wave of immigration between 1860 and 1915 was equally unprecedented.[7] The economic crises that afflicted Europe during this period forced millions of Europeans to leave their homes in the hopes of finding better living standards. Indeed, around forty-one million Europeans left their countries to settle in the New World.[8] Latin American policymakers were enthusiastic about this migratory wave, which would 'modernise' and 'civilise' their countries; hence, the immigrants were welcomed by the locals.[9] This positive reception enabled the migrants to integrate civically while keeping their ethnic identity. The hosting states did not perceive their European identity as an obstacle because the newly formed Latin American Republics had a civic nationalism.[10] In turn, this allowed migrants to naturalise in the country of

[6] S. Rinke, *Latin America and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2017), 43; R. R. Bacca, 'Estudios Sobre La Primera Guerra Mundial En América Latina. Una Mirada Comparada', *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de La Cultura*, 42 (2015), 43-73, 57.

[7] M. Goebel, 'Reconceptualizing Diasporas and National Identities in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1850–1950', N. Foote and M. Goebel (eds), *Immigration and National Identities in Latin America*, (Gainesville, 2014), 1-27, 5.

[8] E. Fernández, 'La Emigración francesa en Chile, 1875-1914: Entre Integración Social y Mantenimiento de la Especificidad', *Amérique Latine Histoire et Mémoire*, 12 (2006).

[9] Goebel, 'Reconceptualizing Diasporas', 15.

[10] Ibid., 11.

residence without sacrificing their ties to their country of origin, thus developing a transnational identity.[11] Transnational identity substitutes singular national loyalties with the advantage of belonging to multiple states. This was the case of the Latin American volunteers of European origin who fought in the War.[12]

Following the approach of Social History, we will explore how the European communities in Latin America responded to Europe's call for potential volunteers, which constitutes a good starting point for the discussion of their motivations. It is important to highlight, as Hernán Otero argues, that there are no precise estimates that would allow us to differentiate between first- and second-generation immigrants and those who were born in Europe.[13] However, both subgroups resided and were well-settled in Latin America. Moreover, many of these 'volunteers' were not volunteers in theory, because they were conscripted by the consulates. However, they were all volunteers in practice, because if they objected to fighting, there would be no practical, legal repercussions; the Latin American states would have considered the extraterritorial application of European laws unacceptable.[14]

The Great War echoed in Latin America, especially among communities of emigrants as their states of origin got involved in the conflict. In cities such as Valparaiso, São Paulo, and Montevideo, the volunteers converged en masse.[15] 'Our streets are now the forum of the war,' reported the Argentinean newspaper *La Nacion*.[16] Waves of mobilisation followed, dictated by the rhythm of the conflict to defend their 'distant homeland'.

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[11] Ibid., 18.

[12] I. Bloemraad, 'Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 34 (2008), 153-179, 164.

[13] Otero, 'Emigración'; J. Ruiz and A. Llosa, 'L'appel de la Patrie : Les Réservistes et les Volontaires Français du Chili Pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale', *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, 270 (2018), 7–23.

[14] Otero, 'Emigración', 14.

[15] Rinke, *Latin America*, 43.

[16] 'La Configuración Europea', *La Nación*, 5 August 1914, 9.

In many countries of Latin America, the European migrants established communities with numerous social institutions such as clubs, churches, and schools. These associations generated a platform which was highly important during the War, as they shifted from a societal nature to one whose main purpose was to foment the patriotic spirit of the migrants, recruit volunteers, and help the families of the combatants.[17] In the case of the French, they set up societies, such as *Le Drapeau, Les Veterans*, and *Patrie* in Argentina and the *Société française de Bienfaisance Valparaíso,* and *Union Nationale des Combattants* in Chile.[18] As for the Germans, they had similar institutions, such as the *Kamenka* in Buenos Aires, the *Deutscher Klub* in Montevideo, and the *Valparaiso Deutscher Klub*, which during the War welcomed Admiral Maximilian von Spee's East Asia Squadron of the Imperial German Navy after they fought the Battle of Coronel in the Chilean coast.[19]

Regarding the British, they used similar organisations and created new ones like the British Patriotic Committee in Argentina (BPCA), which played a substantial role in providing for the needs of the families of volunteers who had embarked for Britain and in assisting other war-affected subjects. For example, it covered the cost of tickets for those eligible for repatriation, as well as raised funds for various solidarity initiatives and promoted war bonds and loans for the direct benefit of the British Government.[20] The BPCA also organised local branches around the country where there was a presence of British people and helped set up The British Women's Patriotic Action, which organised charity events and produced various fabric articles for the front soldiers: from bandages, blankets, scarves, socks, and gloves, to bedclothes and uniforms.[21]

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[17] H. Otero, *La Guerra en la Sangre: Los Franco-Argentinos ante la Primer Guerra Mundial* (Buenos Aires, 2012), 123.

[18] Ibid., 124; Fernández, 'La emigración'.

[19] A. Pellegrino, *La Migración Internacional en América Latina y el Caribe: Tendencias y Perfiles de los Migrantes* (New York, 2003), 11-21, 11; L. Sondhaus, *The Great War at Sea: A Naval History of the First World War* (Cambridge, 2014), 62-94, 77.

[20] Tato, 'El llamado de la patria', 276.

[21] Ibid.

The Italian community was also very important in Argentina. To put it into perspective, 30% of the country's population was composed of immigrants in 1914, 40.6% of whom were Italians.[22] They formed war funding institutions throughout Latin America, the biggest of which was the *Comitato Italiano di Guerra* (CIG) in Argentina.[23] Its main mission was to address the material needs of the volunteers. After the War, the CIG granted life pensions to the widows of combatants killed on the battlefield, as well as other temporary funds for the orphans.[24] In addition to these contributions, the European communities devoted themselves to propagandistic tasks through the ethnic press.[25]

As well as manipulating or withholding news, encouraging the civilian population, and intimidating the enemy, the press, for the first time, systematically strengthened national identification by demonising the enemy.[26] Newspapers such as the Franco-Chilean *Le Journal du Chili* and *La Patrie*, the German-Argentinean *La Plata Zeitung* and *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, the British-Latin American *Los Aliados*, and the Italian *La Nazione Italiana* and *L'Operaio Italiano* justified the position of their countries.[27] These communities also tried to encourage the mobilisation of volunteers through institutional coercion. Those who rejected the call of their 'homelands' were pressured by their employers with threats of dismissals. Such was the case in many workplaces run by the French community, such as restaurants, hotels, and the railway companies.[28] The same can be applied to the case of the Italians and the British, with threats to those who refused to

[22] F. Devoto, *Historia de los Italianos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 2006), 317–18.

[23] Ibid., 318.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Fischer, 'América Latina', 264.

[26] K. Hoffmann, '¿Construyendo una "Comunidad"? Theodor Alemann y Hermann Tjarks Como Voceros de la Prensa Germanoparlante en Buenos Aires, 1914-1918', *Iberoamericana*, 9 (2009), 121-137, 121.

[27] Fernández, 'La emigración'; Hoffmann, '¿Construyendo una "comunidad"?', 122; M. H. Tato, 'An Overseas Trench: Social Mobilisation in Buenos Aires', J. Jessen and K. J. Philipp (eds), *Bellicose Entanglements 1914: The Great War as a Global War* (Münster, 2015), 43-61, 46.

[28] Rinke, *Latin America*, 43.

enrol.[29] These threats also concerned the expulsion from societies and clubs, like the *Circolo Italiano.*[30] Similarly, the French Consulate in Buenos Aires forced the resignation of community leaders in key positions, such as members of the French Chamber of Commerce, for having children who did not volunteer.[31] Moreover, the pressures included moral sanctions on deserters through the publication of lists of their names in consulates and in the ethnic press.[32] It can be argued that these communities played a substantial role in encouraging volunteers to join the war; their strong cohesion and dynamism must have favoured mobilisation by appealing to the migrants' sense of patriotism. However, the mobilisation was inspired by loyalty to the diasporas and, as such, was more a consequence of allegiance to their local peers than of loyalty to their country of origin.[33] Furthermore, one can link the behaviour of these communities to the historic model of the 'British Worlds' for understanding settler societies put forward by historians such as Rachel K. Bridge, Fredorwich, and Gary B. Magee.[34] What drives this concept is social networks and shared identity of people who identify with their country of origin. This did not only apply to the British.[35] However, in their case, the 'British World' is one that is held together by a shared sense of British identity, which was common among the British diaspora.[36] Britishness, in this sense, is best seen as an arena of cultural, political, and symbolic attachments, which inspired the volunteers to fight.

[29] Devoto, *Historia*, 319; Tato, 'El llamado de la patria', 281.

[30] Devoto, *Historia,* 319.

[31] Otero, 'Emigración'.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] R. K. Bright and A. R. Dilley, 'After the British World', *The Historical Journal*, 60 (2017), 547-568, 547–48.

[35] Ibid., 549.

[36] Ibid., 549–50.

More limited in number, but equally important, were the Latin American volunteers who did not have direct premigratory ties with the countries at war.[37] In order to understand their motivations, it is important to consider that the young Latin American Republics, especially Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, adopted cultural models distinctive from those of Spain for the construction of their national identity, shifting towards the 'enlightened' civilisation of Central-Western Europe.[38] Consequently, Latin American society relied upon European cultural and social values and was not indifferent to a war that questioned such values.[39] Among Latin Americans, there was a division between the vast pro-Allies majority and the Germanophile minority. Both groups were represented in newspapers and magazines of the time, which generated a great ideological debate between 'liberal' Allies-supporters and the more 'conservative' Central Powers-advocates.[40] This ideological fight, argues Michaël Bourlet, ultimately inspired numerous Latin American volunteers to fight.[41]

Although it is not possible to know the extent to which it exercised influence on the Latin American combatants, the media can provide us with some insight into the attitudes of the time. Those who had access to the published media in Latin America were members of the more privileged classes. For example, in Chile, only 50% of the population were literate. This number was similar in other countries in the region.[42] In turn, this can be linked with the intellectual profile of the volunteers, who were mainly lawyers, doctors, artists, and students.[43] Fischer notes that many of the published articles were produced by

[37] Otero, 'Emigración'.

[38] O. Compagnon, '1914-18 : The Death Throes of Civilization. The Elites of Latin America Face the Great War', J. Macleod and P. Purseigle (eds), *Uncovered Fields: Perspectives in First World War Studies* (Leiden, 2004), 279-295, 279.

[39] Tato, 'An Overseas Trench', 45.

[40] Fischer, 'América Latina', 263–64.

[41] Bourlet, 'Les Volontaires', 75.

[42] C. Garcia, *Una Historia de Las Revistas Chilenas* (Santiago, 2012), 24.

[43] Compagnon, '1914-18 : The Death Throes of Civilization', 283.

European agencies who defended the propaganda of the nations they represented.[44] The war, in this case, was also considered a battlefield at the level of public opinions. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight that the press was predominately pro-Allies and only a few newspapers like the *Diario Ilustrado* of Chile and *La Union* of Argentina sympathised with the Central Powers.[45] This might be because the British community, in contrast to the German, belonged to the Latin American elite and many of its members were involved with the financial world, industries, and the media.[46] An example of this is the press owned by–British-Chilean Agustín Edwards, who owned the *Corre-Vuelta* magazine and *El Mercurio*, the most-read Chilean newspaper, which were heavily pro-Allies.[47]

El Mercurio illustrates war stories of Chilean volunteers, such as the case written by its war-correspondent, Carlos Silva. Silva interviewed Eduardo Alfaro, a young Chilean who faked his age to join the war when he was sixteen and living in Britain.[48]

> I have a duty to help in this war for civilisation because as a Chilean, I want to repay England for what it did for us during the war of independence … The advantage that we have is that we know that we are fighting for a just cause.

Indeed, this fight for 'civilisation' rhetoric was not an uncommon theme in the press, but to what civilisation does it refer to? The German invasion of Belgium was a theme widely explored by pro-Allies newspapers. It was portrayed as an expression of militarism

[44] Fischer, 'América Latina', 263.

[45] S. Rinke, 'German Minorities in Latin America during the First World War', N. Foote and M. Goebel (eds), *Immigration and National Identities in Latin America*, (Gainesville, 2014), 160-167, 161.

[46] Tato, 'El llamado de la patria', 280.

[47] J. Carrellan, 'Las Imágenes Del Comienzo de La Primera Guerra Mundial En El Mercurio', *Cultura-Hombre-Sociedad*, 27 (2017), 153-173, 153.

[48] C. Silva, 'Soldado Chileno En Las Filas Británicas', *El Mercurio*, 3 November 1918, 3.

and despotism.[49] The Uruguayan writer, José Rodo, wrote in the *Pacific Magazine*: 'Germany's ambition is to restore feudal Europe, this represents a struggle between the principles of liberal governments and the divine right of kings.'[50] This, in turn, was a popular reason among volunteers who enrolled in 'defence of France, the new Athens, and cradle of democratic civilisation.'[51] In other words, it was the defence of the enlightenment and the rights of man that prompted some Latin Americans to volunteer and fight.[52] These same ideals were the ones that inspired a group of Argentine doctors to open a hospital in Paris to treat war-wounded in 1917.[53] The hospital was two kilometres from the Eiffel Tower, and 150 beds were installed on its seven floors.

Regrettably little is known of the Latin American volunteers who fought for the Central Powers.[54] However, this does not mean that there were none. One was the Argentinian Lieutenant Colonel Basilio Pertiné, paradoxically of French extraction, who became Minister of War between 1926 and 1927.[55] Another example were the Chileans, Lieutenant Colonel Arturo Ahumada and Major Juan Perez, who fought in the battlefronts and were decorated with the Iron Cross.[56] This, however, needs further research. War letters should be examined in order to find parallels between those who volunteered without having a direct connection to European countries.

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[49] H. Otero, 'Convocados y Voluntarios de la Argentina en la Gran Guerra', *Ciencia Hoy*, 24 (2014), 28-35, 33.

[50] J. Rodo, 'La Opinión de Rodó Sobre La Guerra', *Pacifico Magazine*. 1915.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Bourlet, 'Les Volontaires', 75.

[53] F. Czubaj, 'Rescatan Del Olvido al Hospital Argentino de París', *La Nación*, 25 May 2017.

[54] Otero, 'Convocados y Voluntarios', 34.

[55] M. Avignolo, 'El Cirujano de Guerra Argentino que Salvó Decenas de Vidas en Francia', *Clarin*, 11 November 2018.

[56] P. Hormazába, 'Oficiales Militares Chilenos Que Participan En La Primera Guerra Mundial', *Revista de Historia Militar*, 4 (2014), 48-53, 51.

In conclusion, this essay attempted to delineate some of the reasons which inspired Latin American volunteers to fight in the Great War. Two types of volunteers were identified: those who were motivated by kinship and their direct relation to Europe, and those who were inspired by ideology. The former group was characterised by their development of a transnational identity, which generated a sense of belonging to multiple states. Added to this, the multitude of institutions created by the different European communities not only fomented a patriotic appeal during the war, but also exercised pressure from within the institutions, inspiring soldiers to fight in allegiance to their local peers. The latter group, which did not have direct premigratory ties to the belligerents, was inspired by mainly ideological reasons, illustrating the highly political and cultural impact the war had on Latin American society, which was depicted in the press. This suggests the need for a comparative analysis with other conflicts in which Latin American volunteers might have been involved, such as the Spanish Civil War or the Second World War. Reconstructing the experiences of these volunteers with a collective biography is a task for future historians. Questions remain unanswered. How significant were these volunteers for the overall results of the War? What expectation did the belligerents place upon Latin America? Furthermore, what was the experience of the various returning volunteers who had to live with the 'enemy' in the Latin American cities where they resided?

‘Against War and Rising Prices’: Petrograd’s Women Workers in the Revolutionary Movement, February – June 1917

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Introduction

Petrograd’s women workers’ involvement in the revolutionary movement during 1917 has largely been ignored, despite the fact that it is generally agreed that women initiated the first protests that sparked the February Revolution. This tendency may well owe to ideas of what traditionally constitutes activism and revolutionary activity, making it ever more important to determine women workers’ contribution to the revolutionary movement in its own right. Key scholars like Tsuyoshi Hasegawa barely mention women’s contributions to the February Revolution.[2] Meanwhile David Mandel emphasises their political backwardness and lack of organisation.[3] On the contrary, Jane McDermid and Anna Hillyar attempt to recover the stories of the women who were involved in the revolutionary movement.[4] Likewise, Moira Donald’s article on Bolshevik activity amongst women highlights the increasingly organised female workforce.[5] The scope of this paper is limited to the women workers in Petrograd between the months of February and June 1917. This is due to the overwhelming change that occurred during this period and the noticeable change in women’s efforts to organise. Thus, this paper argues that Petrograd’s women

[1]* This essay was written for HI304T: World War I: International Perspectives.

[2] T. Hasegawa, *The February Revolution: Petrograd, 1917* (Seattle, 1981).

[3] D. Mandel, *The Petrograd Workers in the Russian Revolution: February 1917 – June 1918* (Chicago, 2018).

[4] J. McDermid and A. Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution: Female Bolsheviks and Women Workers in 1917* (London, 1999).

[5] M. Donald, ‘Bolshevik Activity Amongst the Working Women of Petrograd in 1917’, *International Review of Social History*, 27 (1982), 129-160.

workers were heavily involved in the revolutionary movements of 1917, actively seeking out ways to educate themselves and improve their working conditions.

This article understands the February Revolution as having begun on 23 February 1917, as women workers took to the streets to protest the war, rising prices, and working conditions.[6] Within days, the soldiers stationed in Petrograd had joined the workers' cause, and the Tsar was forced to abdicate in favour of the Provisional Government. Several more months of unrest followed, in which the war continued to tear families apart, food ran ever scarcer, and wage increases had little impact in the face of surging inflation.

Contemporary views of female activism

Women workers are typically portrayed as highly emotional beings in histories of the Russian Revolution, as indicated in the introductory section of this paper. This negates the possibility that women's participation in the revolutionary movement was organised or motivated by political goals. Mandel adds that female factory workers had an extra burden as the 'decent public' saw them as 'little better than prostitutes'.[7] Steve A. Smith attributes little credit to the women who initiated the revolution, and instead describes them as 'angry housewives and women workers'.[8] Hasegawa similarly portrays them as full of 'despair and rage'.[9] It is evident that very little value is attributed to Petrograd's women workers in the major histories of Petrograd's workers in the February Revolution. These stereotypes are mirrored in contemporary accounts, as one witness denotes women as 'the worst' of the protesters.[10] He describes how they 'became like savages, (...) shrieking at the tops of their

[6] This article refers to dates according to the Julian Calendar, since this was used in Russia throughout 1917.

[7] Mandel, *The Petrograd Workers*, 28.

[8] S. A. Smith, 'Petrograd in 1917: The View from Below', in R. A. Wade (ed.), *Revolutionary Russia New Approaches to the Russian Revolution of 1917* (New York, 2004), 16.

[9] Hasegawa, *The February Revolution*, 217.

[10] A quote from recollections of Australian jockey, 'Brownie' Carslake, cited in J. Pinfold, (ed.), *Petrograd 1917 Witnesses to the Russian Revolution* (Oxford, 2017), 119-121, 120.

voices'.[11] Contemporary accounts of this nature inevitably contributed to the negative portrayal of the female revolutionaries in historiography. Thus, it is clear that women workers were largely perceived as emotional and frantic during these first days of revolution.

Women's political 'backwardness' was partially caused by their absence in political spaces, like the male-dominated taverns that functioned similarly to the French salons.[12] While male workers could share and exchange their political visions there, women found that the endless bread queues presented an obvious place for them to do so. Even the tsarist police observed that the women's talk presented a snapshot of reality, while also allowing them to 'articulate and develop their ideas'.[13] However, even this commentary on daily life was dismissed as mere gossip by most. The reluctance to accept women into political spaces while simultaneously dismissing their discussions as gossiping effectively excluded women workers from political life. For example, following the February Revolution, high-ranking female Bolshevik Alexandra Kollontai frequently battled male workers' conviction that women's 'stupidity' meant that, if they were granted the vote, they 'might even want to bring back the [Tsar]'.[14]

Women's perceived incapability of revolutionary activities was to some extent reinforced through their predominantly unskilled labour. According to Smith, skill was closely linked with masculinity and a perceived ability to conduct oneself in political affairs.[15] It would have been particularly difficult for women to obtain political recognition within their factories based on these traditions. Indeed, Mandel argues that women were not politically incapacitated because of their gender but rather as a consequence of the nature of their labour. He argues that while skilled labour allowed the worker to develop

[11] Ibid.

[12] McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives*, 34.

[13] Ibid., 16.

[14] Donald, 'Bolshevik Activity', 136.

[15] S. A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories, 1917-1918* (Cambridge, 1983), 200.

problem-solving and critical thinking skills, unskilled labour 'deadened the mind'.[16] The combination of gender-based stereotypes and the linking of skill to political aptitude contributed to the emergence of the stereotypical woman, who not only failed to engage in organised activism herself but would also exercise her negative influence on her husband.

Petrograd's factories saw a vast influx of new workers as the war industries expanded. Many of these were women. By 1917, the proportion of women in Russian industry had reached one third of the total workforce.[17] Even Kollontai noted that 'now it is not uncommon to find a hundred women for every seventy-five men' in the factories.[18] Consequently, some attempts were made to reach out to women, yet these were met with strong suspicion and soon abandoned. Among others, the female Bolshevik Vera Slutskaia met fierce opposition when suggesting the establishment of a bureau within the Bolshevik party to carry out agitational work among women.[19] This sentiment was not specific to the Bolsheviks. The revolutionary political parties depended on a strong, united proletariat and could not afford to risk fostering a feminist separatist branch within their party.[20] If they were to successfully unite against the bourgeoisie and end the autocracy, they simply could not entertain women's separate demands. According to Smith, labour leaders shied away from these initiatives because they feared being associated with 'bourgeois feminism'.[21] Thus, as waves of women entered the workforce, their needs, beyond those of the proletariat as a whole, were decidedly ignored.

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[16] Mandel, *The Petrograd Workers*, 27, 31.

[17] Donald, 'Bolshevik Activity', 131.

[18] A. Kollontai, 'Our Tasks', I. M. Dazhina, M. M. Mukhamedzhanov, and R.Y. Tsivlina (eds), *Alexandra Kollontai Selected Articles and Speeches*, trans. C. Carlile (May 1917; Moscow, 1984), 119-121.

[19] Donald, 'Bolshevik Activity', 133-134.

[20] K. Turton, 'Gender, Political Culture and the February Revolution', (forthcoming paper, 2020, cited with permission of Professor Anthony Heywood), 1-22, 20.

[21] S. A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories, 1917-1918* (Cambridge, 1983), 195.

The February Revolution

The descriptions of the women's motives in the February Revolution range from bread riots to politically conscious women fighting to extend their rights. Depictions of the February Revolution as a 'spontaneous mass outburst' are common in the general histories of Europe and the First World War.[22] Stevenson similarly describes the severe food shortages in Petrograd in 1917, where women spent 'forty hours a week on top of ten-hour working days' in the food queues.[23] Accordingly, he dismisses the women's strikes as demonstrations against 'food shortages'.[24] This corresponds with the descriptions of angry housewives from the section above. Thus, the women workers' involvement in the outbreak of the February Revolution is disregarded as insignificant. Certainly, none of Petrograd's male Bolsheviks expected the International Women's Day protests on 23 February 1917 to be a 'catalyst for revolution'.[25]

Anastasia Deviatkina, a worker in a military factory, organised and led a demonstration of women workers and soldiers' wives on International Women's Day.[26] This suggests some capacity for organisation among women. Indeed, Rochelle G. Ruthchild argues that women workers were the first to 'lay down their tools', while their male counterparts were 'hesitant'.[27] The stereotypical, angry housewife is not depicted in photographs from the demonstrations either. Instead, solemn lines of women are shown carrying banners encouraging support of the wider workers' movement.[28] While a single

[22] B. Wasserstein, *Barbarism and Civilization: A History of Europe in Our Time* (Oxford, 2007), 82.

[23] D. Stevenson, *1914-1918: The History of the First World War* (London, 2012), 303.

[24] Ibid., 302.

[25] R. G. Ruthchild, 'Women and Gender in 1917', *Slavic Review*, 76 (2017), 694-702, 698.

[26] McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives*, 75.

[27] R. G. Ruthchild,'"Going to the Ballot Box Is a Moral Duty for Every Woman": The Great War and Women's Rights in Russia', in P. Waldron, C. Read, and A. Lindenmeyr (eds), *Russia's Home Front in War and Revolution, 1914-22, Book 4: The Struggle for the State* (Bloomington, 2018), 155.

[28] The second photo shows a procession of women's protesters; O. Figes, 'From Tsar to U.S.S.R.: Russia's Chaotic Year of Revolution', https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/magazine/2017/09-10/russian-revolution-history-lenin/, accessed 15 December 2020.

photograph cannot capture the full story, it nonetheless indicates that some women were making efforts to organise. What is also worth noting is Catherine Merridale's observation that 'bread itself was political', as this suggests there was no clear division between economic and political demands in these demonstrations.[29] This denotes a complex socio-political landscape, in which women workers had a plurality of motivations for participating, but still participated actively in the revolutionary movement.

While it is generally accepted that women led the way in the first wave of protests, historians disagree on when these protests were transformed into a revolution. The same historians who dismissed the initial unrest as bread riots now describe how the addition of 'experienced, conscious' workers transformed the riots into a 'highly political demonstration'.[30] This clearly indicates that women workers were not perceived as capable of carrying out sustained, organised action without men leading the way. Likewise, Ruthchild describes how women are ignored as historians prefer to focus on the 'real actors' in the revolution, generally seen to be the male section of the workforce.[31] Leon Trotsky similarly recalls how calls for bread were 'crowded out or obscured' by more political slogans calling for an end to the war and the autocracy.[32] Despite this perception of events, calls for peace and an end to despotism were heard from the very beginning, and were just as popular as cries for bread.[33] This is evidenced by the photograph of the women protesters mentioned above, in which their banner calls for support from the 'comrades of the workers and soldiers'.[34] This suggests an involvement with the larger workers' movement, as well as the merging of demands for food and workers' rights from day one.

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[29] C. Merridale, *Lenin on the Train* (London, 2017), 98.

[30] Hasegawa, *The February Revolution*, 218.

[31] R. G. Ruthchild, *Equality and Revolution: Women's Rights in the Russian Empire, 1905-1917* (Pittsburgh, 2010), 219.

[32] L. Trotsky, *The Russian Revolution* (London, 2017), 76.

[33] McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives*, 12.

[34] Figes, 'From Tsar to U.S.S.R.'

Women also played a key role in recruiting the soldiers of the Petrograd garrison to the workers' cause. It is generally acknowledged that they were vital in this process, yet the portrayal of the women involved once again is limited to the emotional housewife. Neil Faulkner describes women who grabbed the soldiers' rifles and demanded that they joined their cause.[35] Ruthchild likewise refers to women who confronted soldiers at the barracks or in the streets, 'sometimes threatening' them to disregard their duties.[36] These accounts of women's efforts to convert the soldiers to revolutionaries both depict the women as determined, yet emotional beings edging on hysteria. Women likely used emotional appeals and exploited the gender-based stereotypes, both when appealing to the soldiers and when dealing with the police. The use of emotions to obtain their goals does not necessarily negate the political nature of the women's activities during the February Revolution. Instead, it shows that women were aware of these stereotypes and sought to use them to their advantage. Among other things, they were well aware that they would not be sent to the front as punishment for their revolutionary activities. The impossibility of drafting women into the armed forces paired with labour shortages created conditions that ultimately made women workers far less fearful of the tsarist police, whether 'mounted or on foot'.[37] Evidently, women were treated with 'much greater consideration' compared to 'male strikers'.[38]

Party Affiliation, Trade Unions and Educational Programmes

The Bolshevik women's journal *Rabotnitsa* was finally revived on 10 May 1917, and its editorial board started recruiting women in various ways.[39] Together with other activities,

[35] N. Faulkner, *A People's History of the Russian Revolution* (London, 2017), 120.

[36] Ruthchild, *Equality and Revolution*, 222.

[37] A. B. Astashov, 'Women's Labor on Defence in the First World War: Work and Gender', (forthcoming paper, 2020, cited with permission of Professor Anthony Heywood), 1-40, 22.

[38] Ibid., 23

[39] Donald, 'Bolshevik Activity', 145.

they organised educational groups and meetings with attendance frequently 'surpassing one thousand'.[40] Donald argues that these meetings created strong links between the *Rabotnitsa* correspondents and the factories.[41] In fact, the first meeting on 'The War and High Prices' gathered a crowd of around ten thousand.[42] The attendees consequently spilled into the streets from Cinizelli Circus in Petrograd, where a second meeting was held in the 'open air'.[43] Efforts like these were instrumental in the mobilisation of women workers. But they simultaneously contradict the claim that women had no interest in organising. Indeed, women workers became involved in the Bolshevik party through these educational groups, as they would eventually become agitators and even graduate to write articles for *Rabotnitsa* themselves. One such woman was A. I. Rodionova, a worker at the *Vasileostrovskiy trampark*. She distributed copies of *Rabotnitsa* at her workplace and soon became involved in the journal.[44]

Rabotnitsa was one of very few initiatives catering specifically to women, yet they were still subject to suspicion from other Bolsheviks.[45] Natasha Tolstikova argues that the editors of *Rabotnitsa* 'exercised an ideological balance' between the need to emancipate working women and being associated with bourgeois feminism.[46] In reality, *Rabotnitsa* was intended to 'bring women into the proletarian struggle'.[47] Women made up a significant proportion of Petrograd's workforce, and without them, a successful revolution was unlikely. One *Rabotnitsa* article attempting to do just that is Kollontai's 'Our Tasks' from

[40] Ibid., 135.

[41] Ibid., 147.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., 146.

[45] N. Tolstikova, 'Rabotnitsa: The Paradoxical Success of a Soviet Women's Magazine', *Journalism History*, 3 (2004), 131-140, 133.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

May 1917.[48] Kollontai was one of the most persistent female Bolsheviks, insisting that special efforts be made to carry out agitational work among women. In her article, she urges women workers to 'declare war on war' and links the continuous war effort to the shortage of bread and the 'rising cost of living'.[49]

Women soon became involved in the organisation of trade unions in the spring of 1917, as female workers increasingly joined them.[50] This process was catalysed when previously unorganised industries, such as the laundresses, began to form trade unions. By the beginning of May 1917, three thousand of Petrograd's laundresses had joined their 'Union of Laundresses'.[51] Smith also notes that men encouraged their female colleagues to join trade unions in the metal industry.[52] Despite this, Smith argues that women played a 'passive role' in the labour movement.[53] Barabara E. Clements partially explains this potential passivity as a consequence of the 'punishment' women suffered from men if they participated in politics.[54] Despite Smith's perception of women as passive members of the movement, a few women actually became leaders of their trade unions. One such woman was the Bolshevik Sofia Goncharskaia, who was the head of the laundresses' union.[55] While Goncharskaia's ascendency to leadership did not reflect the majority, it nevertheless reveals a shift in attitudes towards organised revolutionary activity and a growing desire among Petrograd's female workforce to become involved in the workers' movement. This clearly indicated an interest in participating actively in the revolutionary movement, in

[48] 'Kollontai, 'Our Tasks'

[49] Ibid, 119-120.

[50] B. E. Clements, *A History of Women in Russia: From Earliest Times to the Present* (Bloomington, 2012), 183.

[51] Donald, 'Bolshevik Activity', 143.

[52] Smith, *Red Petrograd*, 194.

[53] Ibid, 195.

[54] B. E. Clements, 'Working-Class and Peasant Women in the Russian Revolution, 1917-1923', *Signs*, 8 (1982), 215-235, 229.

[55] McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives*, 9.

which the trade unions played a significant role, as well as a broader tendency to organise among women workers in 1917.

Lastly, the laundresses' strike during May 1917 proved that 'even the most backward sections of the female proletariat' were able to organise and carry out persistent strike activity.[56] Three quarters of Petrograd's laundresses had joined the strike by the second day, as '5,500 women in nearly 200 firms' took part.[57] *Rabotnitsa* played a considerable role, as Kollontai and other female Bolsheviks spoke at the laundry unions' meetings around the city.[58] Kollontai's involvement suggests an organised strike effort. The financial support, reaching nearly sixteen thousand rubles by 21 May from 'district soviets and individual factories', further indicates the women's involvement in a larger, organised movement.[59] The distinction between labour movements and the revolution is blurred due to the trade unions' general engagement in revolutionary activities, as well as the dual nature of strikes as simultaneously economic and political.

The above suggest an organised body of women workers that became well integrated into the revolutionary movement during the spring of 1917. It also poses a powerful contradiction to Smith's claim that while women workers joined the labour movement, they ultimately 'remained passive within it'.[60] One can hardly assert that Petrograd's women workers were passive members of the revolutionary movement by June 1917, as even the service industry, until then considered 'not only dormant but unreachable' began to organise.[61] These industries carried out continuous strikes 'throughout the month of June'.[62]

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[56] Donald, 'Bolshevik Activity', 144.

[57] D. P. Koenker and W. G. Rosenberg, 'Strikes and Revolution in Russia 1917', R. A. Wade (ed.), *Revolutionary Russia New Approaches to the Russian Revolution of 1917* (New York, 2004), 34.

[58] Ibid., 35.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Smith, *Red Petrograd*, 195.

[61] McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives*, 12.

[62] Trotsky, *The Russian Revolution*, 303.

The fact that they also received such a large portion of financial support from fellow workers indicates a strong sense of solidarity across Petrograd’s proletariat, regardless of gender.

Conclusion

Women workers in Petrograd were responsible for the outbreak of the February Revolution and became increasingly immersed in the revolutionary movement during the spring of 1917. Despite their traditionally diminished role in these events, this paper has presented an alternative narrative, in which women workers were absolutely key to the progress of the revolution. The mixing of the political and economic spheres in early 1917 meant that the women’s cries for bread soon mixed with calls for an end to the war and the autocracy. During the following months, women workers increasingly joined trade unions and the agitational groups of *Rabotnitsa* helped them fight for their rights in an organised manner. From all of this, is clear that Petrograd’s women workers were highly involved in the revolutionary movement between February and June 1917. Their presence in demonstrations, strikes, trade unions, and the acceptance of regular workers into *Rabotnitsa*’s group of correspondents means that women workers effectively integrated into the revolutionary network during these months and exercised their influence through these channels.

A Threefold Conflict: The Anglo-Irish War of 1919-1921 as Revolution, Rebellion, and War of Independence

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Between 1919 and 1921, a conflict was fought between the Irish Republican Army and the British armed forces, leading to the formation of the Irish Free State and to the Irish Civil War which lasted up until 1923. This conflict has been defined in many different ways in the historiography, mostly revolving around the concepts of rebellion, war of independence, and revolution.[2] In particular, the classification as a war of independence is preferred in nationalist historiography, where there is a tendency to highlight the national dimension of the conflict and to focus on resistance to the British government, as it was done by historian Charles Townshend.[3] Furthermore, denominations such as 'fight for freedom' or 'Tan War', are used by political parties, such as Sinn Féin, with a clear intent to remind the public of British violence.[4] Among the revisionist historians, however, the most popular definition is provided by Peter Hart, who was one of the first to talk of an 'Irish Revolution', a term that also comprises the 1916 Easter Rising and the Civil War.[5] This aims at detaching the subject from a strictly nationalist framework and at taking a more comprehensive point of view. However, other revisionist historians, such as Liam

[1]* This essay was written for HI304U: The Making of Modern Ireland.

[2] T. Bartlett, *Ireland: A History* (Cambridge, 2010), 401.

[3] C. Townshend, *Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance since 1848* (Oxford, 1984); Idem, *The Republic: The Fight for Irish Independence, 1918-1923* (London, 2013).

[4] L. Kennedy, *Unhappy the Land: The Most Oppressed People Ever, the Irish?* (Sallins, 2015), 189.

[5] P. Hart, *The I.R.A. at War, 1916-1923* (Oxford, 2003).

Kennedy, reject this definition, preferring the more neutral concepts of 'Troubles' or 'Troubled Times'.[6]

These labels advance conflicting claims and implications, for example questioning whether a war even happened or its legitimacy, and promote diverse ideologies, political positions or understandings of the last period of Ireland in the United Kingdom.[7] However, they do not necessarily exclude each other, and none is more valid than another, as they change depending on the perspective examined. Instead, taking all of them into account might provide a more comprehensive view on this event, especially in such a diverse society as the Irish one. In this essay, therefore, these three categories – rebellion, war of independence, and revolution – will be analysed in order, arguing that due to the particular Irish context and Ireland's relationship with Britain, this conflict was at the same time a rebellion, a war of independence, and a revolution. For clarity, the subject of this paper will be referred to more generically as Anglo-Irish War, although even this term is somewhat contentious.[8]

Rebellion

Due to the status of Ireland within the Union, the Anglo-Irish War was considered a rebellion by the British government. In fact, Ireland held an ambiguous position within the Union, being at the same time a constituent nation of the United Kingdom – indeed denominated United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland – but not as integrated as England, Wales, or Scotland, resembling more a colony of the British Empire.[9] In fact, it differed from the other nations both in the governmental administration, with the presence of a lord-lieutenant and a chief secretary, who represented respectively the monarch and

[6] Kennedy, *Unhappy the Land*, 215-216.

[7] Ibid., 189.

[8] Ibid., 200-203.

[9] B. Grob-Fitzgibbon, *Turning Points of the Irish Revolution: The British Government, Intelligence, and the Cost of Indifference, 1912-1921* (New York, 2007), 8.

the prime minister in Ireland, and in policing, with the presence of a national paramilitary police force, the Royal Irish Constabulary, which also had the task of suppressing uprisings and political crimes.[10]

Due to this status the conflict was deliberately deemed as a rebellion, an act of civil disobedience against those in power, like others that happened in the British colonies or in Ireland in the past. In fact, the conflict needed to not be defined as a war because that would have given it legitimacy and validity, as wars are fought between sovereign states rather than against rebels.[11] This is shown by how the situation was portrayed in newspapers, especially in *The Times*, where it was defined as 'open rebellion' or 'terrorism' in 1921, conveying also an idea of brutishness, criminality, and illegitimacy.[12] It is also proved by the fact that the British government did not deploy the army to face the IRA, but rather paramilitary corps, such as the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries, and police, particularly the RIC, that, as mentioned, was in charge of suppressing insurrections.[13]

However, there is also a degree of non-agency in this denomination from the British government. This was mostly due to the way the IRA acted and the very nature of this organisation. Indeed, the IRA engaged the British troops in a guerrilla war, a form of irregular warfare and rebellion that, in the words of an article in *The Times* from 1921, 'has been carried on as no other rebellion had been carried on…in a civilized country before'.[14] It was characterised by attacks from flying columns to police barracks, ambushes,

[10] Ibid., 6-7.

[11] A. McGrath, 'Anglo-Irish War: Just War or Unjust Rebellion?', *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 77 (2012), 67-82.

[12] 'The Cost of Ireland', *The Times*, 21 March 1921, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS218566773/TTDA?u=abdn&sid=TTDA&xid=ac6b811a, accessed 14 December 2020; 'Irish Terrorism', *The Times*, 2 May 1921, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS85790882/TTDA?u=abdn&sid=TTDA&xid=f7aeb66a, accessed 14 December 2020.

[13] A. Dolan, 'The British Culture of Paramilitary Violence in the Irish War of Independence', R. Gerwarth and J. Horne (eds), *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War* (Oxford, 2012), 200-215.

[14] 'Irish Terrorism'.

assassinations, reprisal, and a gradual erosion of the distinction between the civilian and the military. The latter, in particular, occurred through the enrolment of unconventional combatants, such as women and teenagers, and through the performance of military actions in civilian clothes.[15] In this way, the description provided by the London-based newspaper shows how, to the British media, this struggle did not fall under a framework of traditional, legit, and 'civilised' war due to the novelty and brutishness of its methods.

Furthermore, despite its name, the IRA was not a centralised army, but rather an aggregation of local groups that acted from spontaneous initiatives on a local level.[16] Therefore, the nature of the struggle, its local character, with parts of Ireland that were scarcely involved, and the composition of the IRA escaped conventional definitions and rules of war.[17] This gave the British troops the perception of fighting a one-sided war, without field battles, a proper opposing army, or any laid plans.[18] Thus, it is clear that the British defined this conflict as a rebellion partially because they did not have a full understanding of the events that were unfolding in Ireland. This confusion can be also detected from the narration of the events by *The Times*, as recognition that a rebellion and a guerrilla war were happening does not seem to appear in the newspaper until 1920, a year after the conventionally accepted beginning of the war.[19]

Finally, it can be considered a rebellion even beyond a British perspective, especially because of two elements: the outcome of the conflict and the Irish Unionists. Indeed, the term 'rebellion' often indicates an unsuccessful reversive action, which, it could be argued,

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[15] J. Eichenberg, 'Soldiers to Civilians, Civilians to Soldiers: Poland and Ireland after the First World War 1', R. Gerwarth and J. Horne (eds), *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War* (Oxford, 2012), 184-199.

[16] R. English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (London, 2003), 22.

[17] Bartlett, *Ireland*, 401.

[18] D. M. Leeson, *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920-1921* (Oxford, 2011), 130.

[19] 'Guerrilla War in Ireland', *The Times*, 6 April 1921, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS167972486/TTDA?u=abdn&sid=TTDA&xid=5847d2ef, accessed 14 December 2020.

as many anti-Treatyites did during the Civil War was the case with the Anglo-Irish War. In fact, it did not lead to the establishment of the Irish Republic that was proclaimed in Easter 1916, which was the main objective of the IRA, but rather to a dominion status within the British Empire.[20] Most importantly, the Anglo-Irish War was not only perceived as an unlawful rebellion by the British Government and public, but also by a part of the Irish population, especially in Ulster. Irish Unionists, already against the Home Rule Bill that had passed in 1914, expressed their rejection violently by forming paramilitary groups and defined the violent action carried out by the IRA from 1919 to 1921 as a betrayal.[21] This undermined the IRA's claim that they were fighting for all the Irish people and their narrative of a war against a foreign occupier, as many Northern Irish and Unionists in general identified as both Irish and British.[22]

War of Independence

Even though the perspective of the British and Irish Unionists, along with the local character of the IRA and the impact of guerrilla warfare need to be taken into account, one should not overlook the fact that the events still had a national significance in Ireland.[23] From the perspective of Irish nationalists, the Anglo-Irish War was ultimately a war of independence justified and mandated by the Irish people through the elections of 1918. Indeed, the mismanagement of the 1916 Easter Rising by the British administration, which swayed public opinion even in Britain, and the overwhelming Sinn Féin victory at the elections in 1918, gave validity to the portrayal of a repressive government and to the

[20] Bartlett, *Ireland*, 407.

[21] J. Loughlin, 'Politics and Society, 1800–1960', L. Kennedy and P. Ollerenshaw, *Ulster Since 1600: Politics, Economy, and Society* (Oxford, 2012), 228-243.

[22] Kennedy, *Unhappy The Land*, 199-200.

[23] Ibid., 191.

claims of a popular mandate for Independence, although they did not constitute a mandate to war.[24]

Nonetheless, the case for war could be clearly detected in Sinn Féin's programme. After unsuccessfully trying to gain international recognition for their proclamation of independence, especially at the peace talks in Versailles in 1919, where they hoped President Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of self-determination would be applied to Ireland, Sinn Féin leaders proclaimed that they would achieve their objectives by force.[25] Furthermore, before the elections, Sinn Féin politicians had promised that if elected, they would use every means possible to gain independence. Therefore, they considered their landslide as evidence of popular support.[26] This idea of popular mandate and injustice of the denial of self-determination, combined with even stronger ideas of nationalism, posed the foundation for the violence started by what defined itself as the Republican Army, although, at first, the Sinn Féin-dominated *Dáil* did not take responsibility for its actions.[27]

Ireland's claim for self-determination has to be found, again, in its peculiar position within the Union. Indeed, being officially a constituting nation of the United Kingdom provided the nationalists with an argument that Ireland was a sovereign state forced without its consent into the Union, where it was treated as a colony and oppressed. Moreover, nationalists argued that Ireland was never conquered and therefore had never surrendered its sovereignty, and the British rule was thus illegitimate.[28] These concepts can be found first in *Poblacht na hÉireann,* the Proclamation of the Irish Republic in 1916, where it is stated that,

> The long usurpation of that right [to be a sovereign state] by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right,

[24] Townshend, *Political Violence in Ireland*, 325.

[25] B. Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford, 2005), 40-41.

[26] Ibid., 42.

[27] English, *Armed Struggle,* 28.

[28] Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War,* 47-48.

> nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people.[29]

They are then reasserted in the Declaration of Independence of 1918, where it is stressed that 'for seven hundred years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation' and 'English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people'.[30]

The repeated use of the word 'usurpation' and the identification of the British rule as 'English' and 'foreign', as opposed to the Irish right to govern, show how Irish nationalists perceived the Anglo-Irish War not only as a war of independence but also as a war of liberation.[31] IRA members were seen as freedom fighters or, to use an expression coined by Townshend, 'resisters', rather than rebels.[32] Indeed, Ireland presented itself in 1919 as an organised state, with its institutions, represented by the *Dáil*, its army and even its own juridical system, giving the idea that the British were, in fact, an occupying force.[33] At the same time, the method with which this war was carried on, through guerrilla warfare, would also be adopted from the Second World War in many cases of armed resistance or revolution.[34] Thus, this conflict could be compared with wars of liberation fought at the end of the Second World War, and in particular with the Italian case. The Italian Liberation War fought between 1943 and 1945 against the Nazi-fascist occupation of Italy is, perhaps, the most appropriate example, especially due to the fact that it was at the same time a civil war, a patriotic war, and a class struggle, just like the Anglo-Irish War was a rebellion, a

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[29] *Poblacht na hÉireann*, 24 April 1916, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/issues/politics/docs/pir24416.htm, accessed 15 December 2020.

[30] Declaration of Independence, 21 January 1919, https://www.difp.ie/docs/1919/Declaration-of-independence/1.htm, accessed 15 December 2020.

[31] Hart, *The I.R.A. at War*, 9.

[32] Townshend, *Political Violence in Ireland*, 1-49.

[33] K. Allen, *1916: Ireland's Revolutionary Tradition* (London, 2016), 67.

[34] E. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London, 1994), 80.

war of independence, and a revolution.[35] Although the context is different, especially because the Italian Resistance happened during a World War and was fought against dictatorial ideologies that cannot be compared to British rule, the moral issues around the legitimacy of violence and guerrilla warfare are the same.

Finally, although it could be argued that the war was waged by a restricted group of nationalists that did not necessarily represent the whole nation, two elements should be considered. Firstly, even though the 1918 elections were a mandate to independence but not to war, once the conflict started, it received popular support, without which guerrilla warfare could not be successful in the first place.[36] This gave a national dimension to a conflict that might have been started by spontaneous initiative. Secondly, although Sinn Féin leaders failed at gaining international recognition for Irish independence, they still managed to obtain the support of Irish emigrants especially in the United States, but also within the British Empire, for instance in Australia and Canada.[37] This made the issue international, and not simply an internal matter like a rebellion would be.

Therefore, while the scattered nature of the conflict, its outcome, and the response of British and Irish Unionists made the Anglo-Irish War a form of rebellion, the ideas behind it, such as the concept of war of liberation, its share of popular support, and the international dimension it gained, made it simultaneously a war of independence.

Revolution

If the categories of rebellion and war of independence apply particularly for either side of the conflict – British and Irish Unionists, and Irish Nationalists – the impact of the Anglo-Irish War was revolutionary for both.

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[35] C. Pavone, *Una Guerra Civile: Saggio Storico sulla Moralità della Resistenza* (Torino, 1991), X.

[36] Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, 82.

[37] M. Campbell, 'Emigrant Responses to War and Revolution, 1914-21: Irish Opinion in the United States and Australia', *Irish Historical Studies,* 32 (2000), 75-92.

As Hart himself admitted, the Anglo-Irish War was not a revolution in a traditional sense, as there was no social or institutional transformation, as, for example, in the Russian or French revolutions. There was no establishment of a new political system, as a revolution may entail, with the new Irish state being only slightly different from the former British rule. Moreover, there was not even a new form of government in the immediate sense, as the Irish Free State would not be a Republic until 1949, officially remaining a British dominion until then.[38] The actual results, rather, were self-determination and sovereignty.[39] Even these, however, are somewhat rebutted by historians such as Kennedy, who stresses the dependency of the Irish Republic and its relations with Britain long after the formal end of the Union.[40]

Nonetheless, it did present some revolutionary dynamics. As already mentioned, the strong mass support and involvement, the guerrilla techniques, and the popular boycotts against British rule represented revolutionary elements that would set the model for revolutions in the twentieth century.[41] Furthermore, it constituted a revolutionary change for the whole Irish people. On the one hand, it led to the partition of Ireland, with the creation of a separate Northern Ireland in 1920, that would not become part of the Irish Free State at the end of the Civil War in 1923, with impacts lasting as long as the years of the Troubles and today.[42] The War also caused, directly or indirectly, a new wave of Irish emigration, especially among Protestants, from both Southern and Northern Ireland, with Britain and the newly formed Northern Ireland as preferred destinations.[43]

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[38] Bartlett, *Ireland*, 477.

[39] Hart, *The I.R.A. at War*, 21-22.

[40] Kennedy, *Unhappy The Land*, 216.

[41] Allen, *1916*, 60-65.

[42] Bartlett, *Ireland*, 405.

[43] A. Bielenberg, 'Exodus: The Emigration of Southern Irish Protestants During the Irish War of Independence and the Civil War', *Past and Present*, 218 (2013), 199-233; D. M. MacRaild and M. Smith, 'Migration and Emigration, 1600–1945', L. Kennedy and P. Ollerenshaw, *Ulster Since 1600: Politics, Economy, and Society* (Oxford, 2012), 140-159.

On the other hand, the War constituted the climax of a longer revolution that concerned not only Irish Nationalists but Irish Catholics in general, as these terms can often overlap. Indeed, this conflict had also an ethnic, other than political, character, as republicanism was an ideology strictly linked to the Catholic majority, making it part of their ethnic identity.[44] Therefore, it could be argued that self-government was not only the accomplishment of long-fought republican campaigns that can be traced back to Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen. It was also the accomplishment of a much slower revolution for the majority of people in Ireland, that, from the first turning point of Catholic Emancipation to the establishment of the Free State, brought Irish Catholics to be fully in charge of an independent Irish government since the institution of the Penal Laws. What was revolutionized, then, was not the form of government, but through whom this government was exercised, as Hart indeed points out.[45]

For these reasons, the Anglo-Irish War is best understood as a revolution only if it is also considered as a rebellion and a war of independence. Indeed, both experiences merge in this narrative through revolutionary changes – the partition of Ireland and self-government in the South – making this event a revolution for both sides, rather than a revolution on its own.

Conclusion

Therefore, the years of conflict that characterised Ireland between 1919 and 1921, that, for the clarity of this essay, have been put under the name of Anglo-Irish War, actually cannot be restrained to a single and exclusive definition, as nationalist and revisionist historiographies tend to do. To do so would be to ignore the complexity of Irish society and history and limit it to a view that promotes an ideology or a political position, or that is incomplete. Indeed, defining those events as a rebellion would be overlooking the popular

[44] Hart, *The I.R.A. at War*, 22.

[45] Ibid.

involvement and the long-held ideas and struggles that led to that moment, reducing it to an illegitimate rising and diminishing its importance. At the same time, the definition of war of independence does not encapsulate the faceted composition of Irish society, as a part of it was violently opposed to independence and tends to simplify the complex nature of the Anglo-Irish relations, for example by merging two concepts – independence and liberation – that can be connected but are fundamentally different. Finally, the events cannot be understood as a revolution, even with all the limits outlined, without considering the other two definitions. Therefore, this essay has argued that a better and more comprehensive way to understand the troubled years that led to the birth of the Irish State is by considering them as simultaneously a rebellion, a war of independence, and a revolution. These three terms are intertwined in a way that, in order not to impose a certain reading on the events, a single one of them does not explain the full narrative without the others.

Literary Sources as Historical Evidence: Problems, Virtues, and Subjectivity

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When, in 1949, Vilhelm Moberg published the story of a destitute family's struggle for a new life in America, he not only reshaped the collective memory of the Swedish emigration era, but also provided a fascinating historical document on his own time. Literary sources can offer multiple levels of historical analysis, yet they are often seen as deficient. Historians seeking the 'truth' have repeatedly regarded their usage as a methodological failure.[2] This paper aims to challenge this widely held view by analysing the issues of using literary sources as historical evidence, arguing that they can indeed be fruitful for the historian. This will be done by first exploring the possible problems, and then scrutinizing their logic, before looking more closely at Moberg's tetralogy *The Emigrants* as a case study. The plethora of different types of literary sources can, however, make it difficult to define what is actually meant by them. For the sake of brevity, we will primarily focus on novels, with contemporary and past settings, as well as discuss older historiographical works.

The literary source, regardless of its type, undoubtedly poses several issues for the historian using it to derive knowledge about the past. Whether fiction or an observation of the 'real world', the author has made a subjective interpretation of the reality around them. Many would argue that in the pursuit of the objective and undistorted truth, the literary source is rarely a useful one.[3] Yet there are those who hope to discover facts and details

[1] This essay was written for HI356J: Thinking History.

[2] H. White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (London, 1987), 26.

[3] H. Bagerius, U. Lagerlöf Nilsson and P. Lundqvist, 'Methodological Reflections on Fiction in Historical Research', *Historisk Tidskrift*, 3 (2013), 389.

described in a work that is set in its contemporary world. Literary historian and author Stephen Greenblatt has introduced the concept of New Historicism (as opposed to New Criticism): an approach to reading literary sources which focuses on finding the historical details in them.[4] The nineteenth-century literary genre Realism, which aspired to represent the world as it was 'objectively', appears to be particularly useful here. The problem with this approach, however, is that it runs the risk of disregarding the elements that distinguish the work as literary fiction. The novel is, after all, an art form. Thus, simply selecting bits of history from literary works without considering the whole context is inappropriate.

The problem of subjectivity does, of course, also apply to past literature that claims to recount historical events. In the literary source, the author creates a narrative and ascribes meaning to past events - a meaning that is subjective and individual to the author. Even if the events recounted are 'true', the fact remains that there are many different versions of the truth. Even if we can, by reading a work closely, hope to discover alternative narratives between the lines, it will still provide a limited perspective on a story. Furthermore, the literary form allows the author artistic freedom to embellish the facts to create a good story. This, however, as could be argued, renders the literary work unable to provide trustworthy historical evidence.

It is also important to recognize that the very idea of what 'history' is, has changed with time, and so has historiography. When in the age of Enlightenment, Voltaire, often regarded as one of the founding fathers of modern historiography, wrote on the history of epic poems, he emphasized the importance of their truth.[5] However, what was 'true' to him did not constitute an 'objective' truth in our understanding of the word, but rather that the material was part of a widely accepted tradition. When he attempted to write his own modern history based on 'scientific evidence', the fundamental fact remained that history

[4] S. Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Modern Culture* (New York, 1990), 197.

[5] L. Gossman, *Between History and Literature* (London, 1990), 233.

was to be written and composed into a coherent work of literature - a successor of the epic.[6] Similarly, when the Icelandic sagas were written, no real distinction was made between history and a story.[7] And so the question arises: can modern historians, with their perception of how history is written, reasonably derive information about the past from sources whose authors had a different perception of history?

While this type of literary source, as we have seen, poses serious problems for the historian who looks for an objective truth, this does not make them useless. Perhaps the first step in problematizing the aforementioned critique is to make a clear and necessary distinction between the nature of the sources. How can they be used, and what kind of information can we draw from them? A piece of literature can only serve as a primary source for its contemporary world. Voltaire's works on history are a secondary source for the time which they describe, but they can nonetheless be used as a primary source on, for instance, eighteenth-century historiography. Similarly, the Icelandic sagas can be used as a primary source for the thirteenth-century, when they were written, but not for the Viking age. Past literature on history can thus still provide valuable information for the historian.

To further understand how and what information can be derived from a work of literature as a primary source, we have to investigate how it interacts with its historical context. For example, literature can convey more abstract information about the time in which it is written, such as thought patterns. This is not only true for literature with a contemporary setting. Historian Alain Besancon argues that all historical research can, to some extent, be seen as '*recherche de soi-même*': introspection.[8] The narrative created by the historian is shaped by their imagination, experiences, and concerns as a social being.[9]

[6] Ibid., 235.

[7] M. Cormack, 'Fact and Fiction in the Icelandic Sagas', *History Compass*, 5 (2007), 201-17.

[8] Ibid., 247.

[9] Ibid.

But they are in turn 'created', or at least influenced, by their surroundings. Hence, it can be argued that, to some degree, historical literature also reflects its contemporary world.

Studying a work in its context reveals valuable information about both the work and the context itself. Regardless of its form, how a piece of literature has been received by society says a lot about contemporary ideological, moral, and political norms.[10] What is regarded as progressive, and what as reactionary? How popular was it, and what does this tell us about the time in which it was written? This approach can also shed further light on literature set in the past. How people of a certain period imagine and narrate their history can teach us about its 'collective memory'. This concept, introduced by Maurice Halbwachs, can be defined as the way in which a group remembers its past.[11] A contextual approach will naturally reveal important information about a society's collective memory to a larger extent than an analysis solely focusing on the work and author itself.

Some would argue that even contemporary literature cannot act as a reliable source for its own time. There might be metaphors or idioms that can be missed or ways of expression that are foreign to the modern reader. Language changes, and so does the use and meaning of certain words.[12] Lionel Gossman has further argued that the constructed objects of history, being objects of language, are described by a set of 'signs' and therefore not a mirroring of a solid reality. The historian, moreover, has their own sign system with which they understand history.[13] These systems are thus built-in layers of interpretation, and thereby a reality that was never truly reflected in the first place is distorted. Reality is, ultimately, human.

The issue of subjectivity is, however, a very complex one and not as straightforward as one might initially think. The critique against the literary source, that the author is

[10] Bagerius, Lagerlöf Nilsson, and Lundqvist, 'Methodological Reflections', 392.

[11] M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1992)

[12] A. Brett, 'What is Intellectual History Now?', D. Cannadine (ed.), *What is History Now*? (New York, 2002), 117.

[13] Gossman, *Between History*, 248.

subjective, is based on a separation between the true and the untrue, and the assumption that there is an objective history. But the narrative exists in all accounts of history, regardless of its form. This is still true if one were to adopt Gossman's reasoning, where the interpretation of a literary source would constitute a secondary narrative based on an already existing narrative. These narratives may operate on different 'levels' but they exist nonetheless. The critique of the literary source is furthermore based on the assumption that all non-literary sources operate on the primary level of interpretation and offer an objective set of evidence. Even if we take this to be true for archaeological evidence, it does not apply to annals, for example, in which a clear selection of events has been made, a kind of narrative created, and is subject to the same problems of language as literature is.

American historian Hayden White has taken this one step further. In questioning the existence of objective historical facts, he has blurred the lines between history and fiction, both of which share a strong reliance on narrative for meaning.[14] What is conventionally thought to separate them is that history is based on 'evidence'. However, a historian might derive different narratives from the same evidence and employ the same events in different stories. Just like the novelist is bound by genre or ideas of plausibility, the historian can, within a set of limits, construct their own story.[15] This analysis is not aspiring to be an epistemological discussion. Certainly, most scholars would agree that facts exist, and that some kind of objective reality exists that is then subjectively interpreted by the human mind. Yet, questioning the actual difference between 'real' history and fiction poses an interesting problem for the critics of the literary source. Once that distinction is less clear, so is the one between the objective and the subjective, and consequently the view that literature is subordinate to 'real' historical evidence appears less convincing.

So far, an attempt has been made to question the critique against the literary sources based on arguments of subjectivity versus objectivity. Much of the critique, however, rests

[14] White, *The Content of the Form*.

[15] Gossman, *Between History*, 249.

on a suspicion against the story, the narrative, itself. A purely historicist approach would attempt to reduce the text to a set of 'truths' by peeling away elements of the story that are thought to be irrelevant.[16] But instead of viewing this format - the *story* with a beginning and an end - as a weakness that may or may not contain bits of truth, it could be seen as a strength in itself. Firstly, it contextualises information that could otherwise be easily misinterpreted. Perhaps more importantly, with the story, the author has created a *meaning* - an essence that can only be fully appreciated if the artwork as a whole is considered. For example, the multiple meanings that Charlotte Brontë inscribed in *Jane Eyre* in its story about love, freedom, and equality is historically valuable in itself. Themes and struggles in contemporary society emerge, which can be further understood by analysing how the work was received and thought of at the time. It can even be argued that the narrative has the power to convey meaning more effectively than other types of sources. Roland Barthes states that the narrative is translatable and thereby 'transcultural'.[17] As a certain period in the past can be regarded as a foreign culture to us, even if it is part of the history of our native land, this would make literature in some ways transhistorical.

Vilhelm Moberg's classic book series *The Emigrants*, written in the 1940s and 1950s and set in the mid-nineteenth century, offers many interesting points of analysis. By using this case study, we can exemplify how a piece of historical fiction still holds valuable information for the historian, and how it can interact with its context in multiple ways. *The Emigrants* is about a group of peasants in the poor Swedish county of Småland. The story revolves around the farmers Karl-Oskar and Kristina and their family. Years of bad harvest from their rocky land have led to destitution. When their daughter dies from having eaten too much food after a long time of starvation, they decide to leave Sweden for a better life in America. With them travels the religiously oppressed Daniel, socially excluded Ulrika,

[16] Bagerius, Lagerlöf Nilsson, and Lundqvist, 'Methodological Reflections', 379.

[17] R. Barthes, *Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives* (New York, 1977), 79.

and several villagers. The books are about their struggles as emigrants, immigrants, and eventually settlers in the new land.[18]

We must start by separating what kinds of information we can derive from this source. Few historians would use this piece of fiction purely as a reliable source about life in the nineteenth century. However, seen in the context of mid-twentieth-century Sweden, it becomes more fruitful. In Scandinavia, the Cold War was fought on a purely intellectual plane. In the 1950s. there was an increased interest in America and ideals such as freedom were dominant. A great fear of the deviant and what did not fit in, most notably Communism, characterised the cultural climate. At the same time, the end of the Second World War had given rise to a radicalisation of Swedish socialism, which Moberg viewed as highly oppressive.[19] He himself was an active liberal who emphasized freedom above all else and was highly critical of the Soviet Union, which he at one point equated to the Nazi regime.[20]

Author and literary scholar Jens Liljestrand has made an intriguing interpretation of *The Emigrants* as a story about the Cold War. He argues that it is more than a story about emigration; it is the story about a journey from the East to the West, from oppression to freedom, from humiliation to self-fulfilment, and from poverty to wealth.[21] Written in a time of strongly opposing ideals and movements, the story of the struggle for freedom highlights contemporary fears of political oppression and a fear of the Cold War. *The Emigrants* can be seen as a cultural expression of this. Consistently throughout the novel, Moberg makes comparisons between American and Swedish authority, where the latter is portrayed as almost tyrannical. The American sheriff, for example, is described as an equal to the citizens, while Karl-Oskar at one point remembers the Swedish sheriff as a proud

[18] V. Moberg, *Utvandrarna* (Stockholm, 1949).

[19] J. Liljestrand, *Mobergland: Personligt och Politiskt i Vilhelm Mobergs Utvandrarserie* (Falun, 2009), 117.

[20] Ibid., 113.

[21] Ibid., 125.

man who thought himself better than those beneath him.[22] The way his characters describe authority bears significant similarities to how Moberg himself and many other Swedes perceived the authority of the socialist government: as one of dangerous bureaucracy and oppression. Considering the context can thus help us understand the source better, and also makes the novel shine further light on the contemporary world in which it was written. Moberg, in writing the history of the Swedish migration era, in some regards also wrote the history of his own time. Liljestrand further argues that the novel can be seen as an expression of nationalism. Between the mid-nineteenth century and the early 1920s, about 1.2 million Swedes emigrated to America - more than a fifth of the entire population.[23] Moberg, even though he was highly critical of Sweden, changed the image of the emigrant, from being previously viewed as someone who failed their country, to someone who was brave and quintessentially Swedish. The will to abandon their country and integrate into a new world was portrayed as a virtue instead of a defect.[24] What makes this story particularly interesting is its immense popularity and the sheer impact it has had. Upon publication, it became an immediate success, and even today it is one of the most read books in Swedish literature, constantly reinterpreted in plays, musicals, and films.[25] The enthusiasm with which it was received and regarded suggests that it was, and still is, something that society wanted, or perhaps even needed. The era of mass emigration, still very fresh in Sweden's collective memory, had deeply negative connotations at the time.[26] Perhaps *The Emigrants* became a way of processing what can in some ways be thought of as a national trauma and be turned into a story with a different *meaning* - the story of the struggle for survival, for a better life, and for fulfillment.

[22] V. Moberg, *Sista Brevet till Sverige* (Stockholm, 1959), 15.

[23] Liljestrand, *Mobergland*, 113.

[24] Ibid., 220.

[25] Ibid., 16.

[26] Ibid., 32.

Unlike other pieces of historical fiction that provide its audience with an image of a certain period, *The Emigrants* stands alone in its representation of the emigration era in Swedish history. The public's perception of this time seems to be completely based on Moberg's novels. Curiously, it has almost come to be regarded as 'actual' history, and its characters as real. Karl-Oskar and Kristina are often spoken of as if they have actually existed.[27] Historical fiction, with its strong narrative, can generally reach a much wider audience than other ~~types of~~ works on history, and can consequently be seen as having a larger impact on a society's collective memory.[28] The impact of Moberg's story has been so strong that it has in many ways shaped the Swedish collective memory of the past and even blurred the lines between fiction and reality. That a single narrative completely dominates the memory of an era can be problematic, especially since a society's collective memory impacts its identity.[29] Studying this phenomenon is nonetheless useful, as it sheds light on the social mechanisms which made it happen, and teaches us about the past as well as the present.

We have so far discussed *The Emigrants* mostly as a source for the 1940s and 1950s. Finally, let us return to the argument that a format can be valuable in itself. Previously, this discussion concerned the drawing of information about contemporary society. Here the same argument could be applied, as the novel with its coherent story can, as we have seen, capture something about mid-twentieth-century Sweden (oppositions in the political climate, the contemporary view of their history, and so on). Additionally, its narrative has proven to be a valuable and clearly effective *illustration* of the emigration era. It has been

[27] See for example L. Raider, 'Han Balanserar Mellan Starka Känslor', *Sydsvenskan*, 24 July 2006, https://www.sydsvenskan.se/2006-06-24/han-balanserar-mellan-starka-kanslor, accessed 14 March 2021. In this Newspaper article, in which Mustafa Can compares Moberg's character Kristina and his mother, no explicit distinction is made between fiction and reality. This is just one example of something that happens repeatedly in the media.

[28] W. Laqueur, 'Literature and the Historian', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2 (1967), 13.

[29] J. A. Barash, *Collective Memory and the Historical Past* (Chicago, 2016), 140-151.

argued that the novel concerns itself with the private as opposed to the public.[30] This very well-researched story, while fictional, illustrates and exemplifies the private and the personal experience of the emigrants instead of them being viewed as mere numbers.

Literary sources can, in conclusion, be incredibly useful for the historian. While simply 'mining' them for historical details may be problematic, they can offer many useful points of analysis from which we can draw information about the past. This has to be done with care. Liljestrand's intriguing analysis of *The Emigrants* in relation to the Cold War highlights and exemplifies how a piece of literature can be situated in its own time. But this also raises the question of whether an artwork can truly be seen simply as a product of its time. The author, to some extent, must be considered as an autonomous person in a dialogue with their context, actively making their own artistic choices.[31] Similarly, just because Moberg had an expressed political view, this does not mean that everything he wrote was imbued with, or can be seen as an expression of, said view. With careful considerations of these issues, we can nonetheless trace ideas and contemporary social and political climate, its disagreements as well as emotions. In cases like this, studying past literature can shed light on the present, on the nature of collective memory, and on how literature is used in different ways and interpreted in today's society.

[30] S. Connor, *The English Novel in History, 1950 to the Present* (London, 1995), 129.

[31] Bagerius, Lagerlöf Nilsson, and Lundqvist, 'Methodological Reflections', 388.

‘We Know Our Boys’: White Supremacy and the Mau Mau Emergency

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The Conservatives won the 1951 election under the slogan ‘Set the people free!’ which disparaged Labour austerity.[2] This was an emotive catchphrase as it played on Churchill’s wartime rhetoric of British sovereignty and promotion of free democracy. However, the irony of this slogan is not lost in the fact that Churchill, the man who defeated Hitler’s fascism, stood remote from one of the most brutal campaigns of repression in the British Empire’s history. The Mau Mau Crisis began on October 20, 1952 in response to a group of Kikuyu insurgents who were rebelling against colonial land possession. This land grab long predated the inception of the crisis. The Kikuyus, an ethnic group largely native to the Central Province of Kenya in the lush highlands, had been displaced from their ancestral lands in order to make way for British agricultural projects. This displacement led to much anger and resentment which precipitated the Mau Mau movement, also known as the Kenya Land and Freedom Army. The Mau Mau did not represent the entire Kikuyu community and was incredibly divisive, splitting the Kikuyu between the rebels, empire loyalists, and innocent bystanders. Nevertheless, the British did not appreciate this distinction between the three, and instead targeted all Kikuyus with force. The multiplicity of the force used was not only through discrimination by law but also through endemic violence. However, British violence was nothing new in Kenya. White settlers were inclined to take matters into their own hands when it came to disobedience and insolence within a perceived

[1]* This essay was written for HI303Q: Decolonisation: The British Experience.

[2] J. Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830-1970* (Cambridge, 2009), 566.

'servant-master' hierarchy.[3] When the British position became threatened by rebels, the colonists fought brutally against their enemy based on their perception of racial superiority. They saw an untrue universality to Mau Mau based on racist ideologies which propelled their preservation into oppression. This paper will delve into the causes of this ideology and how it manifested itself as brutality through the white settler's own self-image and the misinformation they spread through their colonial government.

A leading history of 1950s Kenya was composed by a novelist called Robert Ruark, who wrote of his personal experiences in Kenya. According to Ruark, the predominant justification for the British detainment of Kikuyus was to regain colonial authority and continue the civilising mission of triumph over 'impulsive savagery.'[4] Post-war Kenya saw a doubling of settlers who arrived with an intent of utilising East Africa as an agricultural powerhouse for the empire. Land in the highlands was therefore stripped from Kikuyus in order to expand British interests.[5] This was representative of the conservative settlers' psyche, who not only felt a right to ownership of the land but also of the top position in the hierarchy of race for their own self-interests. At the outbreak of the crisis, the whites identified their violent tactics to be the work of a few rogue operatives due to many white settlers being ex-military and from areas where corporal punishment was still prevalent, such as South Africa and Britain.[6] The repressive measures of the emergency period were to be a swift retribution which would quell the menace and restore civility to *their* paradise. What Ruark's assessment fails to address is the reason why the scale of the retribution was so brutal. British actions resulted in seventy thousand Kenyans being incarcerated at the peak of the struggle alongside an estimated death toll of twenty-five thousand, including one thousand and ninety hangings. In comparison, only thirty-two whites were killed in the

[3] B. L. Shadle, *The Souls of White Folks: White Settlers in Kenya 1900s-20s* (Manchester, 2005), 109.

[4] R. Ruark, *Something of Value* (London, 1955), Foreword.

[5] M. F. Hill, 'The White Settler's Role in Kenya', *Foreign Affairs*, 38 (1959), 638-645.

[6] Shadle, *White Folks*, 117.

entire crisis.[7] This is less than the amount of white deaths by car accident during the same period, for some perspective. What this suggests is that the British response was more a systematic destruction of Kenyan resistance to the empire and a preservation of white superiority, rather than simply isolated incidents of swift retribution to restore peace.

The importance of Kenya to the empire, especially in terms of its geography, cannot be understated as a cause of this extensive systematic oppression. By the inception of the crisis, the British Empire was in a state of decline. Its global influence was diminishing, its economic position was in a state of total disrepair with colossal loans owed to the USA, and there was a growing nationalist call from Britain's colonies with some already having obtained their independence by this time. Therefore, Kenya was of vital importance, as it was seen as a springboard into the Middle East and essential for British influence in Africa. This spurred Britain to invest in infrastructure. Trade flourished from the fertile highlands, which were crucial agricultural areas to the empire.[8] Investment in railways enabled a growing trade in commodities such as tea and coffee and the movement of authorities throughout the colony and into wider East Africa. However, the importance of Kenya to the empire does not alone explain the extensive use of violence. The promise of economic growth, coupled with government propaganda, attracted settlers to make a purportedly easy profit in Kenya. The settlers had an image of themselves as the epitome of affluence, which was sustained by daily rituals of paternalism over the African community. This is exhibited in Karen Blixen's *Out of Africa* through references to the African 'barbarian' and the trivialisation of their customs, such as burial rites and clothing.[9] The only threat to white prosperity was the 'African Peril' which would overthrow white supremacy and turn Kenya

[7] D. Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London, 2006), 4.

[8] Darwin, *Empire Project,* 613.

[9] I. Dinesen, *Out of Africa* (New York, 1938), 305.

'back to the bush.'[10] By framing Mau Mau as a regressive movement against prosperity, the settlers could justify their extensive use of violence as a protection of British interests and Kenya's strategic importance could, theoretically, be protected.

It was the intensity of this framing that gave way to the endemic violence of the 1950s. The pervasive myth of Mau Mau was that it was a 'mental instability' and a disease created by the clash between barbarism and civilisation.[11] The prevalence of this myth twisted the settler perception of the crisis. They viewed it as a relapse into savagery, rather than the reality of it being a political movement based on land grievances. The movement was also presented as a universal sickness of the Kikuyu mind, not limited to the rebels.[12] The myth not only found its legitimacy in the deaths of the thirty-two whites but also in the vilified Mau Mau Oath, which was rumoured to have found its origins in magic due to emotive symbols such as the drinking of goat's blood.[13] The resulting dehumanisation of the Kikuyu and the mythos surrounding their oath crafted a fear in the British, which influenced their response to the insurgency. In his book, *Histories of the Hanged,* David Anderson describes the 'psycho docs' of the 'Committee to Enquire into the Sociological Causes and Remedies for Mau Mau' who sought to establish a 'cure' of 'counter-oathing' and the necessary force used for rehabilitation.[14] This discourse of cures and diseases, within the already paternalistic idea of a civilising mission, established an exoneration for the settlers to enact whatever means necessary to administer these cures to the rebels. What developed from this was torture, mass incarceration, and lawful discrimination.

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[10] F. Klose, *Human Rights in the Shadow of Colonial Violence: The Wars of Independence in Kenya and Algeria,* (Philadelphia, 2013), 68.

[11] R. Buijtenhuijs, *Mau Mau Twenty Years After: The Myth and the Survivors* (Leiden, 2016), 44.

[12] Ibid., 46.

[13] R. W. Blunt, 'Kenyatta's Lament: Oaths and Transformation of Ritual Ideologies in Colonial Kenya', *Journal of Ethnographic Theory,* 3 (2013), 93-167.

[14] Anderson, *Histories*, 280-282.

A key weapon for the settlers to exploit was the judiciary. Preferring to use the noose, 1090 men were hanged by the British on accounts of murder, sedition, or simply suspicion. Numerous trials took place based on insufficient evidence and a lack of any real crime, besides hearsay. The government even expanded the crimes for which suspects could be detained and allowed for sentencing without trial.[15] The use of the law to penalise insurgents was part of a long line of policies aimed at criminalising the rebels and delegitimising the insurgency as a whole. In an effort to dehumanise the rebellion and its members, the British declaration of an 'emergency' rather than ~~a~~ war or uprising gave allowances of harsh policies which were not under the control of international law, hence exacerbating the British response through not allowing Mau Mau political prisoner status.[16] This 'emergency' status gave way to Operation Anvil, a crackdown in the city of Nairobi to detain any Kikuyu and Mau Mau insurgents, and Operation Jock Scott, which sought to arrest Mau Mau leaders to destabilise the movement alongside the hasty persecution of rebels.[17] This use of law by the government was seen as a means of breaking up Mau Mau swiftly and, therefore, could be justified. However, this task of swift retribution was prolonged and extorted to extremes as British oppression continued well beyond Operations Jock Scott and Anvil.

The settlers' crucial link to influence the colonial government was Evelyn Baring, the Governor of Kenya during the Mau Mau Emergency. Born from imperial stock, Baring seemed the ideal figure to head Britain's interests in Kenya. Nevertheless, reports of Baring revealed him to be weak, as he preferred to delegate on the policy which often relied on settler influence.[18] The settlers shared a great deal of social and economic ties within the

[15] B. Berman, 'Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence: Colonial Administration and the Origins of the Mau Mau Emergency, J. Lonsdale (ed.), *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London, 1992), 227-264.

[16] M. Shipway, *Decolonisation and its Impact: A Comparative Approach to the End of Colonial Empires*, (Oxford, 2008), 140-41.

[17] Klose, *Human Rights*, 71.

[18] C. Elkins, *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya* (London, 2014), 34.

administration, particularly with Baring, alongside shared racially extremist views.[19] When General Erskine arrived in Kenya to take control of the army as a trusted and famous imperial officer, he remarked on how widespread the brutality was a result of poor discipline and control - something he could not change due to direct opposition from settlers and concurrent inactivity from Baring.[20]

A key example of Baring's weakness came from his initial moves to arrest Jomo Kenyatta, the moderate leader of the Kenya African Union (KAU) and eventual first President of Kenya, and other suspected rebels in Operation Jock Scott. The operation did not bring about the rapid end to the crisis that Baring had intended. This was due to his miscalculation of Mau Mau's structure. He mirrored prejudices from the settlers, as they envisioned the insurgency to penetrate the entire Kikuyu community. Kenyatta, in fact, was vocal about his disdain for the insurgents and instead sought more political means of self-determination. Settlers had a great deal of influence over Baring due to extra-judicial concessions from the early twentieth century that supposedly gave settlers more influence than Kenya's magistrate, according to Brett Shadle.[21] The arrests of members of the KAU, a legitimate political party, demonstrated Baring's 'universal' notion and also the patronisation of valid politics. More of Baring's tactics conveyed a perceived universality of Mau Mau, such as mass taxation of Kikuyus, collective punishment of villages, and the use of 'necessary force' in order to permit rehabilitation.[22] The force used included torture within concentration camps around Kenya, which was not unique but an intrinsic part of incarceration. Many apologists for the camps, including colonial district officer Terence

[19] Ibid., 49.

[20] H. Bennett, *Fighting the Mau Mau The British Army and Count-Insurgency in the Kenya Emergency* (Cambridge, 2012), 194.

[21] Shadle, *White Folk*, 108.

[22] Bennett, *Fighting*, 86.

Gavaghan, saw no links to systematic violence and blamed the 'humane' force used on a handful of British soldiers.[23]

Reality could not be further from this. The Hanslope Files, released in 2011, contained 1,500 records on violent tactics.[24] This included the 'dilution' technique, known to and sanctioned by Baring, which involved torture and starvation to receive a confession of the oath, which would suffice as 'rehabilitation'.[25] However, certain Mau Mau testaments claim that these acts sometimes never even had the purpose of obtaining confessions, and were part of a wider trend of brutality.[26] Baring was fully aware of this violence, showing British brutality to be systematic. He gained his stance from the settlers he surrounded himself with, who took advantage of his weakness to propagate violence due to their fear of Mau Mau's universal savagery, which had to be cured by any means necessary.

All of this is not to say the European vision of savagery was unfounded. There is certainly evidence of Kikuyu brutality in the conflict, but its level did not justify Britain's excessive violence. The conflict can be characterised more as a civil war between the rebels and loyalist Kikuyus; the crisis was never a race war against the Europeans.[27] Brutal clashes such as the Lari Massacre, in which as many as seventy-four loyalists died alongside 150 Mau Mau, who perished in a retaliatory massacre, lay as evidence to this.[28] An account by a Police Superintendent described a '[mass] cry throughout the colony' demanding retribution against the massacre. However, the report failed to cite the retaliatory massacre committed by empire loyalists, only accounting for any retribution being due Kikuyu

[23] C. McGreal, 'Shameful Legacy', *The Guardian,* 13 October 2006.

[24] D. Anderson, 'Mau Mau in the High Court and the 'Lost' British Empire Archives: Colonial Conspiracy or Bureaucratic Bungle?', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 39 (2011), 699-716.

[25] Klose, *Human Rights,* 181.

[26] J. Kariuki, *Mau Mau Detainee* (Oxford, 1963), 56.

[27] J. Lonsdale, 'Mau Maus of the Mind: Making Mau Mau and Remaking Kenya', *Journal of African History,* 31 (1990) 393-421.

[28] Anderson, *Histories*, 132.

tendencies of 'cruelty.'[29] British propaganda saw to the suppression of the second massacre. This indicates a subversion of truth in order to paint the Mau Mau as a ferocious enemy to Europeans, which vindicated the use of excessive force to quell it.

John Lonsdale's conception of the Mau Mau Crisis as a civil war is certainly worth noting. When one talks of 'British Forces', the loyalist Kikuyus must be considered within these. What this conception could suggest is that the rampant British brutality came from the loyalists more so than the settlers. Indeed, the role of loyalists in the violence perpetrated against the insurgents has been noted by the likes of Caroline Elkins, who wrote on the cruelty of the loyalist forces within the Mau Mau camps, including methods of torture and public humiliation.[30] This treatment was due to the promises of gaining land and wealth made by the colonial government as an incentive to split the Kikuyu up, thereby using a version of the hackneyed phrase 'divide and conquer'.[31] The role of loyalists in the perpetration of the violence, whilst certainly a key part in the system, was a creation of colonial indifference to the needs of the wider Kenyan population. Conflict and anger between the loyalists and insurgents, as seen in cases such as Lari and the torture of inmates, was certainly endemic. However, it was a problem of British design in order to divide subjects to make the uprising difficult. And indeed, the violence enacted by the loyalists was under the instruction of the camp commandants, who were largely British. What was therefore clearly lacking in settler understanding of the crisis was the acceptance of the conflict as a civil war about land grievances. To call it a fight against European dominance would be a misrepresentation of the issues at play in this conflict. In the trial of Jomo Kenyatta this same misunderstanding can be heard when the magistrate Ransley Thacker states, 'Mau Mau has nothing whatever to do with grievances' in response to Kenyatta's

[29] J. H. Barker, 'The Lari Massacre', *The Police Journal,* 27 (1954), 224-232.

[30] Elkins, *Britain's Gulag,* 184.

[31] Anderson, *Histories*, 147.

explanation about the nature of the crisis.[32] Settlers appreciated neither the discrepancies in Kikuyu society nor the grievances this community faced. Instead, the racist ideology that *all* Kikuyu sought a return to 'the bush' ushered in a fear of Mau Mau and an urgent need for preservation of white supremacy in Kenya.

This same universality can be further evidenced in the policy of 'villagisation'. Between 1954 and 1955, over one million Kikuyus were moved from their homes into 'barbed-wire villages' as a means of both rehabilitation and containment.[33] This central theme of rehabilitating a diseased mind was intrinsic to the idea of 'villagisation', as the focus was on the introduction of British values in order to bring about social change.[34] The resultant severing of any ties people had to Mau Mau cut off rural support for the rebels. Whilst the pretence of the villages was to protect and civilise Kikuyus, it was in essence a detention camp with forced labour, constant surveillance, and punishment.[35] This was a product of the propaganda in place instigating the misconstruction of Kikuyu identity. Those who were incarcerated were men, women, and children who were considered lesser Mau Mau and were either suspected of having taken an oath or simply had some connections to insurgents, regardless of any actual activity.[36] This inexorably came from the white settler mindset of containing and destroying the endemic savagery that 'threatened' their way of life. Settler 'Hawks' pressured the colonial government to politicise the Lari Massacre and other Mau Mau atrocities to demonstrate the 'evil' of Mau Mau and thus justify the use of sterner measures to defeat this 'detested' enemy.[37]

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[32] J. Lonsdale, 'Kenyatta's Trials: The Breaking and Making of an African Nationalist', P. Cross (ed.), *The Moral World of Law* (Cambridge, 2000), 196-239.

[33] O. Okia, 'Emergency Communal Labour and Gender in Central Province during the Mau Mau War in Kenya 1953-1960', *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa,* 11 (2020), 25-50.

[34] Blundell, 'Michael Blundell Press Conference', 11 November 1954, Bodleian Archives and Manuscripts, MSS, Brit. Emp. s. 365.

[35] Lonsdale, 'Mau Maus of the Mind', 393-421.

[36] Elkins, *Britain's Gulag,* 237.

[37] Anderson, *Histories*, 177-78.

'Villagisation' provided a means to act on the collective identity. The enactment of this policy supported the notion of a misinterpretation of Kikuyu nuances, as huge swathes of the population were incarcerated either in the detention camps, which became synonymous with systemic violence and mistreatment, or the villages which provided neither safety nor rehabilitation.

In a *Daily Mirror* article in 1952, journalist James Cameron spoke of 'trigger-happy settlers' whose 'loss of moral order' and 'violence and racism' were a disgrace to the British Empire.[38] Whilst certainly an exemplary piece of emotive tabloid writing, Cameron identified the dangers of the settler community being allowed to take advantage of the Mau Mau situation to expand their own interests long before the crisis capitulated. Before the emergency had ended, Britain had already granted independence to other African nations, yet the crackdown in Kenya persisted. The difference in Kenya was the settlers who took the crisis to extremes. They witnessed what was essentially a civil war between loyalists and rebels and took it as a personal attack on their right to rule in Kenya. Historians now largely agree on this conception of British violence being a result of rigorous propaganda of the savage Mau Mau, which the settlers crafted as their excuse for violence. Their fear of submitting to majority rule infected the weak colonial government, leading to a perversion of the rebel cause. However, it has become commonplace in Britain's colonial history to try and address its brutality through referencing colonial frameworks and an obsession with maintaining power. What this paper ~~has~~ aimed to demonstrate is a different interpretation: this brutality exhibited by the British was nothing short of racism and white supremacy. As seen in other settler colonies, European grip on minority rule led to those countries being amongst the last to decolonise in Africa. Yet, whilst this conception is now widely agreed upon amongst historians, it has taken a long time for Mau Mau to be understood in John Lonsdale's understanding of the crisis as a political civil war, and it will take even longer before it is understood in wider society at all. Mau Mau is,

[38] J. Cameron, 'An Open Letter to Sir Evelyn', *Daily Mirror*, 12 December 1952.

uncompromisingly, one of Britain’s greatest atrocities and shames which must be confronted. It must be understood that this is the settlers’ legacy: a breed of anti-modernists and racists fighting against the winds of change.

The Not So New 'New Political History'

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A common discourse in the study of political history is the perceived difference between 'New' and 'High' Political History. Debate has ensued as to whether New Political History (NPH) was actually new or a harbinger of changing intellectual fashions provoked by unease with the existing explanatory framework, a changing political landscape, and a view that High Political History (HPH) was 'narrow, insular … and empiricist traditionalism'.[2]

Many early twentieth century political historians aligned with John Seeley's (1834-95) assertion that 'history is past politics, and politics is present history'.[3] This broadly framed political history ('High') within narrow, self-limiting ordinances comprising the historical study of the state, relations between states, and elite politicians. Historians in the 1960s and 1970s, however, questioned this established methodological framework with the emergence of NPH, where proponents called for a history-from-below and a greater social account of the past. The 'New' largely emerged out of electoral sociology, popular politics, and labour history studies, which were transformed by the impact of the linguistic turn.[4] NPH drew the historian's focus towards the people and more to the constitution of identities

[1]* This essay was written for HI356J: Thinking History.

[2] S. Macintyre, 'The Rebirth of Political History', *Australian Journal of Politics and History,* 56 (2010), 1-5, 3.

[3] Cited in J. Lawrence and A. Campsie, 'Political History', S. Berger, H. Feldner, and K. Passmore (eds), *Writing History: Theory and Practice* (London, 2020), 323-342, 323.

[4] D. Craig, '"High Politics" and the "New Political History"', *The Historical Journal,* 53 (2010), 453-475, 454.

and meanings.[5] Social science concepts were adapted to explain historical phenomena.[6] By broadening the conception of the political and the abatement of traditional boundaries, it was hoped NPH would accommodate a range of historical perspectives within a single methodological framework and rebut HPH's monolithic status. Towards the end of the twentieth century, some historians emphasised the importance of the cultural turn and postmodernism, bringing about a New, New Political History.[7] The question remains, however, just how new was NPH? This paper examines this inquiry.

In spite of aspirations for discipline interconnectivity, friction between the 'New' and 'High' practitioners grew with unconstructive vitriolic and personal attacks against each other. New political historians called the traditionalist's work 'irrelevant to the drama of everyday lives'.[8] Traditionalists branded the new political historians 'topical faddists' and voyeurs uncovering unnecessary elements of human behaviour, and claimed their 'quantitative methods' tended to make 'history bloodless' and more political science than history.[9] The debate was ultimately theoretical in nature. High political historians maintained that their discipline was being maligned and had more in common with the 'New' than many perceived.[10] Intellectual misunderstandings surrounded elitist arguments concerning the 'closed' nature of the political environment, and reductive arguments regarding the unimportance of 'ideas' to political behaviour.[11] Despite the reserved nature

[5] S. Fielding, 'Looking for the "New Political History"', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 42 (2007), 515-524, 516.

[6] P. Kleppner, 'Beyond the "New Political History": A Review Essay', *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 6 (1972), 17-26, 17.

[7] C. Beneke, 'The New, New Political History', *Reviews in American History*, 33 (2005), 314-324.

[8] M. Leff, 'Revisioning U.S. Political History', *The American Historical Review*, 100 (1995), 829-853, 829.

[9] P. Stearns, 'Social History and History: A Progress Report', *Journal of Social History*, 19 (1985), 319-334, 325-326;W. Shade, 'Déjà Vu All Over Again: Is There a New New Political History', J. Pasley, A. Robertson, and D. Waldstreicher (eds), *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic* (Chapel Hill, 2004), 387-412, 392.

[10] Craig, 'High Politics', 454.

[11] Ibid., 453.

of HPH and the frustration of NPH, many political historians sensed the growing need for their subject to become more inclusive.

A transition from issues with the body politic to an engagement in the politics of the body and the movement from the public to the private found place. It undoubtedly highlighted significant forgotten interests, irrespective of the perception that a change may diminish the importance of the state and other political institutions.[12] The desire to 'draw together competing historical approaches to better understand political history [was] nevertheless anything but novel'.[13] Many high political historians were not shortsighted in their attempt to make political history more inclusive. Before the advent of the 'New', some doyens of HPH showed discontentment with the discipline's established framework, and voiced the need to embrace a wider vision. This was despite some traditionalists stubbornly maintaining the view that what mattered in the historical narrative was the 'condition, reconstruction, and gradual moulding of a state – the history of a nation and its leaders in political action'.[14]

Nevertheless, an enlightened caucus of political historians encouragingly called for a broader analytical approach. One such approach was the stimulus gained from social science, even before NPH appeared on the horizon. This was seen in the early political and social history studies of Sydney (1859-1947) and Beatrice (1858-1943) Webb on the British Labour movement.[15] Moreover, Marc Bloch (1886-1944) and Lucien Febvre (1878-1956), in their journal *Annales d'histoire sociale et économique* (1929), requested historians to broaden their awareness of other disciplines, especially the social sciences.[16] Even Geoffrey Elton (1921-1994), an exponent of the then orthodoxy, reflected that all types of history that have existed belong to the political historian's world, and all things

[12] S. Fielding, 'Political History', https://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/, accessed January 2021.

[13] Idem, 'New Political History', 516.

[14] G. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1957), v.

[15] J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (London, 2015), 53.

[16] Ibid.

are relevant to politics.[17] Similarly, George Macaulay Trevelyan (1876–1962) offered the view that social history might be defined as 'the history of a people with the politics left out'.[18] He saw it as the link between economic and political history, reflecting that without social history 'economic history is barren and political history unintelligible'.[19] Trevelyan later called for a new study approach that would incorporate studies of formal politics with a closer appreciation of social life.[20] In spite of such comments, early historical prose often retained a rather elegiac tone with more descriptive detail than coherence.[21]

Some political historians, like Lewis Namier (1888–1960), looked to account for the social foundations of politics. Less interested in significant political issues or leading actors, Namier sought to appreciate why and how people became elected and what considerations drove their political conduct. Thus, an analysis of motive and manoeuvre was provided.[22] By conceding that politics was not only about personalities, but also about competing economic interests and rival ideologies, society outside Parliament gained importance.[23] Arguably, political history was becoming more interesting.

Other traditionalists, like Maurice Cowling (1926–2005), also considered sociological issues in their work, although they may not have had the necessary source materials to consolidate authentic insight.[24] NPH's focus on a politician's electoral vision, linguistic manipulation, and production of social alliances was not new and had been known to the traditionalists, including Cowling.[25] Cowling clearly reflected these issues in

[17] G. Elton, *Political History* (London, 1970), 177.

[18] G. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (London, 1946), vii.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Idem, *An Autobiography and Other Essays* (London, 1949), 184.

[21] Tosh, *Pursuit*, 56-57.

[22] Ibid., 50-52.

[23] Ibid., 52

[24] Craig, 'High Politics', 474.

[25] P. Williamson, *The English Historical Review*, 113 (1998), 1023-1024, 1024.

his book, *The Impact of Labour 1920-1924*, particularly in his introduction.[26] He openly admits that the study of politics is 'not a simple matter', and that the world of high politics is not 'entirely monastic'.[27] When viewing 'total history', Cowling illuminated the link between political thought and societal history as a whole. He suggests that historians should explain what political activity is like when looked at within the framework of the whole of existence.[28] His rationale can be positioned into the same interpretative approach to social science, as he recognised that sociological procedures applied to all political actions and operated in all societies.[29] Even Edward Carr (1892-1982) in his book *What is History?* pleaded for greater intellectual exchange between history and sociology.[30] Such examples, amongst others, clearly reflect a loosening of the narrow methodological framework that framed early HPH studies, and a growing acceptance to appreciate ideas within their social and political context.[31] However, the speed and need to loosen the reins of orthodoxy clearly did not suit all political historians.

What is apparent is that high political historians had cognisance of other disciplines which aligned with the 'New'. Thus, perceptions of the high political historian's intent were possibly misplaced, as well as any perceived theoretical differences. Therefore, the 'New' was not entirely new. Despite the clarion call and the aspirations of respected traditionalists, some remained stubbornly wedded to the principles of their statecraft and docilely confined to their bailiwick. They believed that only high politics mattered because other realms of politics were not relevant.[32] This led to misconceptions. Traditionalists, like

[26] M. Cowling, *The Impact of Labour 1920–1924: The Beginning of Modern British Politics* (Cambridge, 1971), 1-12.

[27] Ibid., 9, 10.

[28] Fielding, 'New Political History', 516; M. Cowling, *The Nature and Limits of Political Science* (Cambridge, 1963), 52.

[29] Craig, 'High Politics', 470, 474.

[30] E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (London, 1987), 61.

[31] Lawrence and Campsie, 'Political History', 327.

[32] Craig, 'High Politics', 457.

Cowling, were merely focusing on those political figures who had 'ostensible power'.[33] He was, however, aware that politicians talked of public opinion as a factor which guided them and 'were affected by what they took it to be'.[34]

Seeley's outmoded dictum, however, was becoming confined to the annals of history itself. Enlightened traditionalists clearly realised that the political, the social, and the economic were inextricably linked, and depended on the vitality of a closer relationship, and a clearly defined central theme and working methodological framework. With the exception of a political autocracy, all political systems are by nature social systems that require agents to act with each other.[35] Politics are the result, rather than the cause, of social change.[36] Therefore, the traditionalist's approach represents one of the more thorough applications of social science '*game theory*' in the historical discipline.[37]

Despite its lineage, HPH did not negate the need for connectivity with other well established history disciplines (such as social and cultural), irrespective of any justification for ring fencing. The interconnectedness of the whole of politics was deemed desirable to avoid any further political history reincarnation in another 'New' political history. The advent of the 'New' was essentially a plea, as well as the harbinger for changing intellectual trends. The traditionalists were called upon to be less focused on their own interests and draw competing approaches and methodologies into political history to enhance understanding. In other words, they were encouraged to 'think comparatively'.[38] From this

[33] Cowling, *Impact of Labour*, 11.

[34] Ibid., 4.

[35] Ibid., 460.

[36] Trevelyan, *English*, x.

[37] Lawrence and Campsie, 'Political History', 325.

[38] S. Pedersen, 'What is Political History Now?', D. Cannadine (ed.) *What is History Now?* (London, 2002), 36-56, 49.

wake-up call, political history has not merely survived but actually profited from recent theoretical ferments.[39]

It has been remarked that 'new political history is not altogether new, and that high politics need not always be high'.[40] The political origins and affiliations of the 'New' were, therefore, aligned to those of the high political historians.[41] This poses the question as to whether the two approaches should be seen as discrete. Or is the distinction between them merely one of the historian's personal temperament rather than any historical substance?[42] Undoubtedly the 'New' created a welcomed focused impetus for discussion, which enhanced political historical thought. The 'New' sought to reconcile established concerns of HPH with more innovative interests in the culture of politics and how this was associated with people at large.[43] What was different, therefore, was the degree of synthesis that the 'New' represented given the nature of the change that it described and the diversity of its principles.

So, what were the perceived differences between the 'New' and the 'High'? When contrasting HPH with the discursive 'New' approach, new political historians tended to focus on principally two subjects. These were the nature of the political system as expressive of relations of power and the political ideas and culture, which were, ironically, both aligned with the traditionalists.[44] Other historians have identified preoccupations of the 'New' with labour history, popular politics, and electoral sociology, which were areas of interest known about and studied prior to the 'New' era (such as Webb's study of the British Labour movement).[45] Such observations have led historians to inevitably question

[39] Ibid., 40.

[40] Craig, 'High Politics', 475.

[41] Pedersen, 'Political History', 40.

[42] Lawrence and Campsie, 'Political History', 334.

[43] Fielding, 'New Political History', 515.

[44] Pedersen, 'Political History', 41.

[45] Craig, 'High Politics', 475.

the premise of the newness of the 'New', and to argue that the boundary between the two disciplines was so thin that many contemporary historians often crossed it.[46] Ironically, the 'New' practitioners have differed in their delineations of NPH's characteristics.[47] Historians have also found common ground in the studies of political discourse and culture, and hoped for a greater open acknowledgement and engagement.[48]

Aspects of the 'New' evidently complemented the high political tradition.[49] A rapprochement between the two schools has been observed despite differing intellectual heritages, methodological convictions, and political affiliations.[50] However, such claims are questioned against the actuality of the 'New' and its newness.[51] It has also been questioned whether the 'New' laid a basis for a new era in political history or whether the issue was the requirement for it to complement social history, and, therefore, create an artificial barrier between the 'New' and the 'High'.[52] Early social historians have openly admitted the need to engage with politics.[53]

Outwith the endemic internal conceptual machinations on the future of political history, the early twentieth century historian's intellectual landscape began to shift. This was due to the political realities of two World Wars, western European decolonisation activities, the changing conceptualised ideal of the nation-state, electorate behaviour and demands, global social and economic upheaval, and greater societal enfranchisement. The

46 Pedersen, 'Political History', 43; H. Pemberton, 'Sink Together, or Swim Together? Contemporary British Political History and British Politics', 2016, n.p., 1-17, 13.

47 A. Bogue, J. Clubb, and W. Flanigan, 'The New Political History', *American Behavioral Scientist,* 21 (1977), 201-220, 201.

48 Pedersen, 'Political History', 45.

49 Lawrence and Campsie, 'Political History', 334.

50 Pedersen, 'Political History', 42.

51 Craig, 'High Politics', 453.

52 E. Zaretsky, 'What is Political History? The Question of the Public and the Private', *Reviews in American History,* 41 (2013), 557-562, 559.

53 Stearns, 'Social History', 331.

high political approach became less suited to the analysis of twentieth century politics.[54] Political history, for example, became aligned more in domestic and especially electoral terms. This turned political parties into a research interest, and, as the parties were the fulcrum at which society and formal politics met, a review of their relationship seemed appropriate.[55] Such change inevitably required the leverage of different study approaches and attitudes to facilitate a better understanding of political history. This reorientation was helped by the advent of the 'New' and its refreshing insight.

Although many of the basic concepts and interests of NPH were not new, they still lack a clearly defined central theme and framework within the fabric of political history. The innovation was in quantitative applications and techniques, a gratifying impetus for improved interdisciplinary co-operation and an innovative form of historical inquiry. The 'New' captured the causation of history-from-below and the intention to engage popular experience.[56]

The process, therefore, became unpersuaded of the explanatory power of societal class.[57] The refocusing and reorientation of political history, together with its growing eclecticism, has reinvigorated our appreciation of politics. It has reminded historians that politics has always engaged with actors beyond the elites and the institutions with which political historians have traditionally focused upon.[58] Political history has not been abandoned so much as rediscovered and redefined.[59] Perhaps political history has been on a tortuous, and at times tedious, journey of reconceptualisation to enable it to embrace issues both concerning 'popular mobilisation and policy formation, popular beliefs and

[54] Lawrence and Campsie, 'Political History', 329.

[55] Fielding, 'Political History'.

[56] As reflected in the Indian sub-continent *Subaltern Studies* by R. Guha, 'On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India', *Subaltern Studies*, 1 (1988), 35-44; Macintyre, 'Rebirth', 5.

[57] Pedersen, 'Political History', 45.

[58] Pemberton, 'Sink Together', 12-13.

[59] Pedersen, 'Political History', 37.

elite beliefs'.[60] It was not until the renaissance of the 'New' that people's politics became more integrated in the political historical debate. Political history has gained new interests and attracted new scholars.

In conclusion, ultimately the 'New' and the 'High' are both engaged in the historical study of politics and its actors. The outcome has seen political history diversify and extend its study boundaries and has engaged with the acquisition and exercise of political power and the daily management of political systems. It has opened itself to the consideration of new factors and not remained in a hermetically sealed box, to eventually facilitate a better understanding between politicians and people. The future of HPH and NPH is a symbiotic relationship - called Political History. Placing personal temperament to the side, the practitioners are all political historians and bedfellows at heart with a shared interest and responsibility in the utility of political history, and its future. Subject realignments are inevitable, but calling a subject 'New' should be done with caution to avoid acquiescing to a trendy pseudo-novelty.

[60] Lawrence and Campsie, 'Political History', 334.

Revolt Like an Egyptian: Drawing Comparisons Between the Urabi Revolt and Egyptian Arab Spring

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From the conquests of Alexander the Great in 332 BC, to the founding of the Muhammad Ali dynasty in 1805 following the ejection of French forces by the Ottoman Empire, Egypt has had age after age of strife and revolution, and the early modern period and contemporary periods of Egyptian history are no exception. There have been two main incidents of rebellion that stand out. Firstly, the Urabi Revolt of 1879-1882, in which the Egyptian military officer Ahmed Urabi led a revolt with the intent to remove the Khedive[2] Tewfik Pasha. This took place at a time when the influence of Europe on the domestic affairs of Egypt was rampant, and many Egyptians, including Urabi, saw the Khedive as a mere puppet of the European powers.[3] Secondly, the Arab Spring of 2011, which was a series of protests and revolts that shook both the Middle East and North Africa to its core, with Egypt among them. These protests differed from country to country in terms of the goals and grievances held by the people, but what was consistent across those affected was the demand for a genuine democratic process. The widespread protests in January of 2011 saw the ousting of the then incumbent president, Hosni Mubarak, who had been in power for nearly thirty years and who had ruled as an authoritarian autocrat rather than a democratically elected president.[4] Although these two revolts occurred over a century apart from one another and under different circumstances, there are similarities between the two.

[1]* This essay was written for HI707B: The Making of the Modern Middle East.

[2] The Ottoman equivalent of Viceroy.

[3] M. Pinfari, 'The Unmaking of a Patriot: Anti-Arab Prejudice in the British Attitude Towards the Urabi Revolt (1882)', *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 34 (2012), 92-108.

[4] C. McGreal and J. Shenker, 'Hosni Mubarak resigns – and Egypt celebrates a new dawn', *The Guardian*, 11 February 2011.

This paper will compare the Urabi Revolt and Egyptian Arab spring terms of class mobilisation, and the roles and religion and nationalism, and will argue that while there are some obvious and more subtle differences between the two, the core goals of these revolts were the same: further freedom.

In the nineteenth century, Egypt had been an administrative province of the Ottoman Empire, but it was unofficially ruled by the Muhamad Ali dynasty. This came as a result of a power struggle between the Ottomans and their non-Arab forces stationed in Egypt, with one Albanian commander, Muhamad Ali Pasha, the dynasty's founder, coming out on top in the power struggle. Soon after, the Ottoman Sultan recognised Muhamad Ali as the Ottoman Viceroy in Egypt. Since the dynasty's founding, Egypt had become a modernising nation that was heavily invested in by European powers. However, the Egyptian economy could not keep up with the sweeping waves of reforms that were brought to the country by Muhamad Ali and his descendants. By 1876, the country was massively indebted to its European benefactors, having to go as far as to sell off their shares in the Suez Canal to Britain to curb some of the accumulated debt.[5] To avoid further financial ruin, the Khedive Ismail Pasha, grandson of Muhamad Ali, was forced to cede much of Egypt's control over its economy to Britain and France as a payback, which greatly eroded the independence of the Egyptian state.[6] Furthermore, Europeans and other non-Egyptians were involved in much of everyday Egyptian society, taking on many jobs with power and influence such as ones in the government or European controlled industries, while many Egyptians were in poverty. Europeans only made up 2% of the ranks of the Egyptian bureaucracy, yet accounted for 16% of the payroll, mainly due to the cost of translators. In addition, Turks, Albanians, and Circassians represented the bulk of military officers in a dramatically

[5] E. Stanton, *Consolidation of Egypt's Debts*, 17th April 1876, 'Egypt, 1882', The National Archives, FO 78/2502 f.11, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/battles/egypt/popup/consolidation.htm, accessed 3 November 2020.

[6] D. M. Reid, 'The Urabi Revolt and the British Conquest, 1879-1882', M. W. Daly (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt, Vol. 2 Modern Egypt, From 1517 to the End of The 20th Century* (Oxford, 1998), 217-238.

diminished Egyptian army.[7] This weight on an already overburdened Egyptian society, with so many non-Egyptians in positions of power, led to great resentment amongst the population towards foreigners, mainly towards Europeans. This was at a time as well when European Imperialist powers such as Britain and France had partitioned the African continent amongst themselves for its resources, Egypt itself being vital for the Suez Canal which was used as a key trade route between Europe and Asia, a trade route the Europeans already largely owned due to Egypt selling its shares. The biggest manifestation of the grievances held by Egyptians was when indigenous army officers, led by Urabi, held protests over army officers having their pensions halved as well as the decree from Ismail's son, Tewfik, that peasants could no longer become officers in the army.[8] Urabi was an enticing and charismatic voice of dissent for the native Egyptian population due to his lower class background as well his image as a son of Egypt. Concessions were made by Tewfik to appease Urabi and those that followed him; however, the changes were dropped. Urabi pressed his political advantage and formed the Egyptian Nationalist party in 1879 with the goal of furthering a strong sense of Egyptian national identity, which strongly contrasted and clashed with the status quo that was sustained by Tewfik and the European powers. The goodwill was short-lived. Events reached a boiling point in the summer of 1881 when Tewfik ordered Urabi to leave Cairo, but Urabi, with military backing, refused and instead demanded the creation of a new government, which Tewfik conceded to. Urabi and his allies formed a new government, with Tewfik as the minister of war.[9] However, Tewfik had the support of Britain, who demanded that Urabi secede from power.[10] Events

[7] A. Mestyan, *Arab Patriotism: The Ideology and Culture of Power in Late Ottoman Egypt* (Princeton, 2017), 179.

[8] Reid, 'The Urabi Revolt', 220.

[9] Ibid., 224-225.

[10] S. Huffaker, 'Representations of Ahmed Urabi: Hegemony, Imperialism and the British Press, 1881-1882', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 45 (2012), 375-405.

transpired quickly, which led to the riot and the British bombardment of Alexandria – the final nail in the coffin for the revolt.

The reason for the British to get involved militarily was the worry that Egypt would no longer be able to continue paying its debts to Britain, which had a vested financial interest in the country. At the same time, the Ottoman Sultan was hesitant to provide support to Tewfik, as Urabi had been paying the Sultan patronage in his new government. Thus, British warships made their way to Alexandria, a northern port city that was adjacent to the Mediterranean Sea. In Alexandria, the long-held resentment of common Egyptians revealed itself, and many attacked the Europeans in the streets. At the same time, Egyptian forces under the command of Urabi were reinforcing their coastal forts in Alexandria due to the rising tensions. The British saw this as a valid threat to their ships, and when their ultimatum of surrender was refused, they began to bombard the city on 11 July, which continued into the next day.[11] As a result, the revolt failed and the Urabi government quickly surrendered. The British began their occupation of Egypt. They disbanded the Egyptian army, jailed any suspected Urabi collaborators, and Urabi himself was exiled from Egypt.[12]

Historiographically, the Urabi Revolt can be categorised in many ways. Some historians argue that the revolt was a push for liberalism in the country, which is something this paper does not agree with. Meanwhile, other scholars maintain that the main drive of this revolt came from the upper classes of society, such as officers like Urabi and merchants who were seeking to simply gain more power within the state.[13] Some historians would argue that the revolt was not a unified front either. What is agreed upon, though, is that its ideology was proto-nationalist in nature. Additionally, it is generally accepted that the revolt itself was one that was supported by various types of people in Egyptian society and

[11] A. Schloch, *Egypt for Egyptians! The Socio-political Crisis in Egypt 1878-1882* (Oxford, 1981), 260.

[12] Reid, 'The Urabi Revolt', 231-234.

[13] J. Chalcraft, 'The Arab uprisings of 2011 in historical perspective', A. N. Ghazal and J. Hanssen (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Middle-Eastern and North African History* (Oxford, 2015), 500-517.

was not confined to one class or role, even if there were different goals and reasons for revolting. This paper strongly concurs with this view. Ironically enough, European interference, the very thing that the Urabi Revolt had attempted to stop, only further exacerbated the problem due to the British occupation of Egypt from 1882 to 1956.

In December 2010, a Tunisian shop vendor named Mohamed Bouazizi stood in front of a local Tunisian government office and set himself on fire in protest of government corruption. This act of self-immolation sparked uprisings across multiple Middle Eastern countries, including Egypt. Within weeks of this fatal protest, Tunisia's president had fled the country, and Egypt was soon to follow. The country's fourth president, Hosni Mubarak, had been in power since 1981. Under his leadership, corruption and the suppression of religious groups, as well as other human rights abuses, flourished in the country.[14] In the run-up to the protests, Egyptian society had been put under immense pressure. Around 40% of the population lived in poverty and survived on as little as $2 a day.[15] In addition to these hardships, there was a growing perception in Egyptian society that Mubarak's son was supposedly set to inherit the mantle and power of the President after his father, similar to how Bashar al-Assad inherited the presidency of Syria from his father in 2000.[16] Finally, in December of 2010, Egypt held parliamentary 'elections' in which Mubarak won 424 out of the 508 seats in parliament.[17] It came as no surprise to Egyptians that these elections were rigged, which shattered what little illusions the Egyptian people had about their 'democratic' process. Historically, Mubarak had tolerated other political parties in Egypt

[14] E. E. Shahin, 'The Egyptian Revolution: The Power of Mass Mobilisation and the Spirit of Tahrir Square', Ricardo R. Laremont (ed), *Revolution, Revolt and Reform in North Africa* (London, 2014), 53-74.

[15] France 24, 'Egypt Braces for Nationwide Protest', *France 24,* 25th January 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20110201013309/http://www.france24.com/en/20110125-egypt-braces-nationwide-protests, accessed 11 July 2021.

[16] A. Muhammed and Y. Hussein, 'The President, the Son, and the Military: Succession in Egypt', *Arab Studies Journal* 9, 10 (2002), 73–88.

[17] M. Tardos, *The Muslim Brotherhood in Contemporary Egypt* (London, 2012), 23-24.

as long as they did not challenge the status quo of his presidency.[18] Through the power of journalists and social media, the events in Tunisia received global coverage, and the events resonated with the Egyptian people. They quickly rallied to protest on 25 January 2011. The main goal of the protest was to demand democratic reform, due to the rigged election.[19] The protests were largely organised by the youth of Egypt. However, when the protest became real on 25 January, people from all parts of society joined in, despite the violent crackdown from Mubarak's government. Other powerful social actors such as the Egyptian military, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the Sunni Islamist organisation that had strong ties to Egypt and was suppressed under Mubarak, also played a role in Egypt's Arab Spring, which further solidified the idea of it being a nationwide protest. This is not to say, however, that organisations such as the Muslim Brotherhood did not have ulterior motives or that they were always in favour of outright protest.[20] After several weeks of relentless protest and the lack of support from the military, Mubarak was forced to concede his presidency and resigned in disgrace. This allowed for democratic reforms to briefly flourish.[21]

The Islamic faith is a key cornerstone of most, if not all, Middle Eastern and North African countries, and Egypt is no exception to this. Both in the Urabi Revolt and the Arab Spring, the Islamic faith was crucial to various extents. In the nineteenth century, the Ulama played a key role in Egyptian society as keepers, transcribers, and interpreters of religious knowledge. The Ulama were viewed as representatives of a traditional Muslim society and that of Islam itself. Typically, the Ulama and the al-Ahzar, their institution and one of the most significant for Islamic learning in the Muslim world, would not generally have their

[18] Shahin, 'The Egyptian Revolution', 57.

[19] S. Ghabra, 'The Egyptian Revolution: Causes and Dynamics', L. Sadiki (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of the Arab Spring* (Oxon, 2015), 199-215.

[20] Tardos, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, 31.

[21] A. Ghafar, *Egyptians in Revolt: The Political Economy of Labor and Student Mobilizations 1919–2011* (Oxon, 2017), 178.

theological views opposed, at least not openly. That was, until Muhamad Ali came. These traditional Islamic ideals were challenged by the European influenced, modernising reforms of Muhamad Ali, and these reforms chipped away at the influence the Ulama had on Egyptian society. It did not eliminate the vital role they played in Egypt as religious leaders and Islamic intelligentsia.[22] However, this changed during the reign of Isma'il, as secular intelligentsia began to have a stronger position in Egypt due to a greater European influence, dwarfing the importance of al-Azhar as a centre of intellectualism.[23] Eventually, Ulama of various ranks threw their support behind Urabi, even before the rioting in Alexandria. It is undeniable that the Ulama were critical in mobilising the citizenry of Egypt through their religious influence. This will later be touched upon again when we look at class mobilisation.[24] Furthermore, while some Ulama did not support Urabi, the vast majority did, as they saw Urabi as a better option than the further erosion of their influence by the European powers. In addition, the Ulama were so convinced of this that they were willing to break the Sunni Muslim taboo of rebelling against a Muslim leader, and, in extension, the Ottoman Sultan.[25] In the opinion of this paper, this demonstrates the widespread religious support for the Urabi revolt. The Ulama who supported Urabi were consistent in their support at all stages of his opposition to the Khedive. And their willingness to break, or at least bend, religious tradition in support of a greater cause resonated greatly with the Egyptian population, who supported Urabi as he, again, gave them religious justification for their cause.

In contrast to this, the role of religion in the Arab Spring is not as clear cut. The 25 January protests had a strong theme of secular overtones rather than religious, as the main religious actor in the Arab Spring was the Muslim Brotherhood. However, it could be

[22] M. Hatini, *Ulama, Politics, and the Public Sphere: An Egyptian Perspective* (Salt Lake City, 2010), 29-31.

[23] Ibid., 33.

[24] Ibid., 45.

[25] Ibid., 52.

argued that, once upon a time, only the Brotherhood had the social influence to mobilise the people on mass like this. And the Brotherhood did have cause to do so, as after the 2010 parliamentary elections, Mubarak snubbed other parties from any sort of power sharing deal and the Brotherhood's pacts with the government, both formal and informal, gradually dissolved. Only some opposition parties, mainly left-wing parties, supported the 25 January protests.[26] The Brotherhood attempted to beseech its members not to join in on the protest. Other key religious leaders, such as the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Sufi orders, Greek Orthodox and Muslim respectively, condemned the protest. However, despite this call from the Brotherhood, many of its youth did show up to protest in a personal capacity, rather than a religious one. While the Brotherhood gave its reasoning for withholding from protest as one of an ideological difference, it was instead more of a pragmatic approach of waiting to see which way the wind would blow before throwing their lot in behind the protests.[27] This was in part due to an extensive pressure from their Youth members.[28] One interpretation of this is that the youth members of the Brotherhood best echo the role of the Ulama and other religious figures in the Urabi revolt, who were consistent in their support of the revolt. Ironically, as well, both the Patriarch of Alexandria and some Sufi leaders also supported the Urabi revolt much more than their counterparts did during the Arab Spring. In addition to this though, whereas the Urabi revolt had a fairly consistent unified front in terms of ideology, the alliance of the youth and Islamists only worked until Mubarak was ousted.

Secondly, nationalism was a strong factor in both revolts. While the Urabi revolt did have a strong sense of nationalistic overtones, it was a proto-nationalist one with the intent of having an Egypt that could have the ability of self-determination.[29] However, some who

[26] Tardos, *Muslim*, 30-31.

[27] Ibid., 32.

[28] Ibid., 33-34.

[29] S. Deringil, 'The Ottoman Response to the Egyptian Crisis of 1881-82', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 24 (1988), 3-24.

supported Urabi were simply content with being subjects of the Ottoman Empire, which at the very least shared similar religious ideals. To some extent, the Urabi revolt was both Egyptian nationalist and Ottoman nationalist. With that being said, though, it is believed by those in the Sultan's court that Urabi was only paying lip service to the Sultan.[30] With the shrunken influence of native Egyptians in their own country, as previously mentioned, Urabi was an ideal leader to follow: he was a native son of Egypt from a peasant background and this made him appealing to the vast majority of Egyptians who were, if not impoverished, reasonably close to it.[31] The idea of a strong sense of proto-nationalism is further reinforced with slogans from the revolt, most primarily 'Egyptians for Egyptians', which was an idea that slotted in comfortably with the religious-political appeals of the revolt, as well as those that were Ottoman nationalists.[32] These ideas of nationalism can be contrasted with the Arab Spring in numerous ways. Firstly, the protest on the 25th took place on a nationalistic holiday to honour the police that opposed the British in 1952.[33] Furthermore, there was an agreement amongst the Islamists and other protesters that the only flag that would be waved at the protest was the Egyptian flag. Additionally, any religious slogans shouted during the protest were drowned out by secular and nationalist protests.[34] However, unlike the Urabi revolt, no one single person or organisation could take credit for the January protest, despite a coherent message of Egyptian nationalism yearning for democratic reform to their country.

Finally, class mobilisation played a massive role in both revolts. For example, in the Urabi revolt, a wide variety of social actors from merchants to the intelligentsia played a well-documented factor. In addition to this, while the Urabi revolt started with just military officers, it reached much of Egyptian society. It was not just one class or ethnicity, it was

[30] Ibid., 15.

[31] P. J. Vatikotis, *The History of Modern Egypt from Muhamad Ali to Mubarak* (Baltimore, 1991), 149.

[32] Reid, *Urabi*, 218.

[33] Tardos, *Muslim*, 29-30.

[34] Ibid., 33.

all Egyptians, thus giving strong emphasis to the revolt's multiclass character.[35] Furthermore, there were other forms of resistance that took a strong class overtone, mainly in the form of strikes.[36] And again, as previously mentioned, there was a strong sense of cohesion amongst the military and civilian factors of the revolution, despite the class differences, all in favour of autonomy away from European Powers.[37]

Similarly, with the Arab Spring, while the youth of the country were the one that began the revolt, the wider society joined in. This is best observed in Tahir square, where protestors invited everyday people going about their daily lives to join them in protest, and many of them did.[38] Furthermore, while the military did not take as active a role as in the Urabi revolt, they did facilitate the ousting of Mubarak by acting as a protection between protestors and the riot police.[39]

In conclusion, there are, to an extent, strong similarities between the revolts in regard to these factors. While, on the one hand, the role of religion was less important in the Arab Spring compared to the Urabi revolt, there was a strong sense of nationalism and class mobilisation in both. The first was achieved through a unified nationalist front with a common enemy during revolts, and the latter - through the consistently wide variety of societal elements that inspired protest and revolt. Overall, it can be said that the Urabi Revolt and Arab Spring are comparable in class and nationalism as both had the goal of furthering freedoms for the Egyptian people.

[35] J. Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1993), 239.

[36] Schloch, *Egypt*, 249.

[37] Vatikos, *History*, 143.

[38] Tardos, *Muslim*, 23.

[39] Moustafa, *Egypt*, 13.

A Review: Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe

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The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, situated in Berlin-Mitte, has been the subject of debates and controversies since its lobby in 1988.[2] In 1999, after two amendments to the original proposal, the Bundestag accepted Peter Eisenman's concept for the memorial, which consists of a 'field of stelae' covering the near five-acre area. After a decade, the project was unveiled in 2005 to a significant range of opinions, and is now considered a popular tourist spot in the capital. The memorial has been both criticised and applauded for its ambiguous take on such a catastrophic event in history. It was first proposed by Leah Rosh and Eberhard Jäckel in 1988, but Rosh spearheaded its development and ultimate completion in 1999. When the lobby for its erection was first established, there was a sense that a unified Germany needed a commemorative site in its capital to be big, bold, and unavoidable, similar to its past. The memorial was to serve as not only an honouring of those it is named after, but also for a particular political purpose. The reunification of Germany brought with it its own social, political, and cultural challenges, and this monument was to create a bedrock for Germany's future and set the tone for how it would deal with its past. The overarching theme during initial discussions was how this country, now unified and able to share the perpetrator trauma, was going to acknowledge its complex history and build a new nation from it.[3]

[1]* This essay was written for HI4518: History in Practice.

[2] J. Åhr, 'Memory and Mourning in Berlin: On Peter Eisenman's "Holocaust-Mahnmal" (2005)', *Modern Judaism*, 28 (2008), 283-305, 289.

[3] Ibid.

The definition of public history is a contested one. The National Council on Public History defines it as a history 'applied to real-world issues'.[4] An older description, offered by Robert Kelly, simply states it is 'the employment of historians and the historical method outside of academia'.[5] Broadly, the term describes how history is used rather than what history is; how history is told, consumed, and learned is all public history. Public history is not specific to any medium and can range from exhibitions and commemorations to TV shows. Like all history, public history is not without its challenges and criticisms, and it matters how historians present history through media to the public whilst avoiding bias, narrative, and over-simplification. Similar questions arise regarding commemorations and memorials, and controversy often stems from their direct engagement with communities and governments dealing with a problematic past. Memorials, in particular, deal with an emotional side of history. Depending on how long ago the event occurred, the memorial has the power to shift the narrative of the event, victims, and perpetrators.[6] Holocaust memorials contend with an exceptionally troubling period in history and carry an enormous responsibility with them: how can a memorial signify the terror, pain, and immense loss of the Holocaust? As time passes and there are no longer witnesses or survivors alive that can visit memorials and monuments, the purpose of the memorial shifts. It starts as a site of grievance and reflection that then must shape and inform public memory and opinion of an event the audience did not witness. Historians challenge memorials by questioning their purpose and if the commemorative responsibility is carried out entirely. As Ludmilla Jordanova states, 'history as consciousness-raising uses the past for political ends'; hence, a memorial's intention is essential.[7] There is great power in creating memorials. Their ability to influence public perception of events makes them inherently political symbols

[4] Anonymous, 'About the Field', *The National Council on Public History* (2021). https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field, accessed 19 March 2021.

[5] K. Robert, 'Public History: Its Origins, Nature, and Prospects', *The Public Historian*, 1 (1978), 16-28, 16.

[6] L. Jordanova, *History in Practice* (New York, 2016), 132.

[7] Ibid., 130.

that can be seen as remorseful or even apologetic symbols even if they are, in fact, an indifferent token.[8]

The process of deciding on the Berlin memorial was long and laborious. Before Eisenman's design was elected as the final plan, Germany held two competitions, formed multiple committees, and rejected five hundred entries. James E. Young served as spokesman of the *Findungskommission*, a five-member committee tasked with presenting the ultimate advice to the Bundestag to help decide on a design and bring the project near its end. At the beginning of the process, Young found himself doubting the need for the completion of any memorial in Berlin. 'Better a thousand years of Holocaust memorial competitions in Germany,' he said, 'than any final solution to Germany Holocaust memorial problem.'[9] Here, Young refers to Germany's Holocaust memorial problem, which he defines as the country's complex relationship with acknowledging its complicated past. This problem demands two things: that Germany take responsibility for its part in the murder of six million Jews (amongs other victims) and honour the deceased. The complexity of memorials requires contemplation on how the memorial is seen at its completion and in its future. This change of its perception through time is significant. Lisa Murray states that memorials have two distinct audiences: 'the private memories of those intimately associated with the memorialised activity … and [the] collective memory of the general public.'[10] The dual challenge of historians, then, is to present a commemorative site of grievance and reflection whilst also shaping and informing public memory and opinion of an event the audience did not witness or live through.

[8] C. M. Campanini-Fleer, 'Holocaust Memorials: The Politics of Perception', *A Journal of Orthodox Jewish Thought,* 28 (1994), 19-33, 19.

[9] J. E. Young, 'Berlin's Holocaust Memorial: A report to the Bundestag Committee on Media and Culture 3 March 1999', *German Politics and Society,* 17 (1999), 54-70, 54.

[10] L. Murray, 'Comparing Criteria: Assessing the Significance of Memorials', *Public History Review*, 15 (2008), 135-152, 136.

Young was the only Jew and foreigner on the committee and the sole expert on Holocaust memorials. The rest of the committee were members affiliated with museums of art and history, an architect, and one other historian, Werner Hoffmann.[11] As the priorities and focus of museum collectors are far removed from those of a memorial specialised historian, the perspectives available to the committee were far-reaching. This diverse committee allowed the *Findungskommission* to demand different things of the project and its architect and see several possibilities and meanings within one memorial. Commemorative pieces are concerned with answering and asking specific questions.[12] Why should we have a memorial? Who benefits from it? What does it symbolise? Young addresses these issues in his discourse with the Bundestag Committee on 3 March 1999, following Eisenman's design. His speech helped direct the decade-long struggle to decide on an appropriate memorial. When pondering why the memorial should be constructed, he states,

> though still suspicious of the monument as a form, I also began to see how important it would be to add a space to Germany's restored capital deliberately designed to remember the mass murder of Europe's Jews.[13]

Young goes on to distinguish this memorial's purpose compared to others in Germany, such as the concentration camps, which he states are a 'memory designed by the killers themselves'. The need for a sole memorial in Berlin itself was deemed to be palpable. The camps' historical sites are far outside public life in the city. This physical distance allows for an emotional one between the population and the memory of the

[11] J. E. Young, 'Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem – and Mine', *The Public Historian*, 24 (2002), 65-80, 72.

[12] G. Ó. Tuathaigh, 'Commemoration, Public History and the Professional Historian: An Irish Perspective', *Estudios Irlandeses*, 9 (2014), 137-145, 142.

[13] Young, 'Berlin's Holocaust Memorial', 55.

Holocaust. The memorial provides a space that connotes the loss and absence of the Jews murdered in the Holocaust, unavoidable in the centre of the country's capital.

The memorial is a field of 2,711 grey stelae that gleams a sandy colour in the sun, with each pillar differing in height. Creating a square in Berlin's centre, the labyrinth has no guided entrance or exit. As one walks towards the centre of the court, the ground waves up and down ever so slightly, disorientating the visitor. Once in the centre, the exit is no longer clear, and sight beyond the pillars is obscured, as well as surrounding traffic and noise. The effect is isolating. As one becomes crowded by tall pillars in a waving path, a sense of loss, obscurity emerges, along with overwhelming sensations of anxiety from a feeling of entrapment.The design evokes different methaphors: the slow disappearance of visitors into this feeling has been compared to Germany's descent into the Holocaust during Nazi Germany, disconcerting for both victims and perpetrators. The pillars have been compared to headstones and evoking an image of a cemetery.

Public reception was conflicting upon its unveiling, the field of blank slades both denounced and celebrated. Nicolai Ouroussoff shared an American perspective on the memorial prior to its presentation in his *New York Times* review, stating that it shows 'how abstraction can be the most powerful tool for conveying the complexities of human emotion.'[14] The possibility to walk into the labyrinth and allow visitors to convey their unique meaning from the experience is one of the memorial's unique feats. Something so simple yet so interactive, the memorial enables visitors to think and feel what they want about whatever they want.[15] Eisenman states: 'I have heard people say that they were in awe and felt a sense of speechlessness; their hands got moist, and I am pleased with this kind of reaction.'[16] Any reaction to him seems to be a good reaction.

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[14] N. Ouroussoff, 'A Forest of Pillars, Recalling the Unimaginable', *The New York Times*, 9 May 2005, https://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/09/arts/design/a-forest-of-pillars-recalling-the-unimaginable.html?searchResultPosition=1, accessed 18 March 2021.

[15] Campanini-Fleer, 'Holocaust Memorials', 23.

[16] Åhr, 'Memory and Mourning in Berlin', 285.

The notion that the memorial can allow for such a range of emotion within its parameters is extraordinary, but are all reactions to it appropriate? During an interview, Eisenman states: 'Am I thinking about the Holocaust when I go to memorial? Not me!'[17] This seems to be a common feeling for visitors due to the memorial's vagueness. The criticism has never entirely disappeared. In 2012, Richard Broody wrote 'The inadequacy of Berlin's "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe"' in *The New Yorker*. Within it, he details his dissatisfaction with the memorial's vagueness for both its visitors and who it memorialises; if not for the structure's title, 'it would be impossible to know what the structure is meant to commemorate'.[18] Alongside this, he adds, the title conceals who murdered the Jews in Europe, its desolate appearance offers no solace or immediate mournfulness, and the blank slabs have no inscriptions and no inherent meaning. This opinion is not uncommon, with others criticising its obscurity and overly artistic nature. This was a concern for the committee, and so, before the design's approval, they requested that an information centre be located underneath the memorial. Unwilling to change the core of his design above ground, Eisenman reluctantly agreed to both amendments. The addition of an information room chronicling the Nazi regime of terror and the Holocaust led to the downsizing of the pillars' height and the area each pillar consumed. The broadening of the aisles allowed for wheelchair access and allocated spaces for busses to drop off and pick up visitors on the memorial's perimeter.

These compromises in the design provided a balance of education and entertainment within the memorial. Above ground, as Broody correctly points out, there is little to distinguish the blocks as a memorial aside from a discreet sign on the East entrance, which is easily missed by the public. Tourists and children alike often climb atop the blocks and run amongst them. A simple Instagram search of the memorial's location will bring

[17] Ibid., 284.

18 R. Broody, 'The Inadequacy of Berlin's "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe"', *The New Yorker*, 12 June 2012, https://www.newyorker.com/culture/richard-brody/the-inadequacy-of berlins-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe, accessed 18 March 2021.

thousands of tourists' selfies posing inside the labyrinth. Christopher Bareither explores this form of interaction with the memorial in a digital age. Bareither references the interactions as part of the 'tourist gaze', a phrase coined by sociologist John Urry.[19] This can be described as the phenomenon of social media and the increase in travel and everyday photography. Taking pictures whilst on holiday is seen as an essential part of the experience, as is posting these online to various sites such as Instagram. Travel photography allows tourists to interact with sightseeing and monuments through a camera lens. Urry suggests that this makes cultures and, by extension, memorials, into a two-dimensional and purely picturesque aesthetic.[20] Berlin's official guide to tourism states the memorial as 'one of the city's most impressive sights' on its website, further positioning the memorial as an advertised tourist attraction.[21] Whilst Urry is critical of this practice, Bareither suggests that interaction with the memorial by picturing it is still crucial and emotional.[22] This can be taken further if the action of photographing the memorial is viewed as an extension of the memorial itself; capturing it in a photograph to reminisce on later in life is parallel to the purpose of the memorial: to capture the past in physical form to be viewed in the present.

'Yolocaust', a project beginning in 2017 by Shahak Shapira, explores this idea further in a striking online photography exhibition.[23] Shapira took selfies and pictures of people at Holocaust memorials, including Auschwitz-Birkenau and the Memorial of the Murdered Jews of Europe, and photoshopped the background, teleporting the individuals

[19] J. Urry and J. Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London, 2011).

[20] J. Urry, 'Tourism, Culture and Social Inequality', Y. Apostolopoulos, S. Leivadi, and A. Yiannakis (eds), *The Sociology of Tourism: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations* (New York, 1996), 115-133, 115.

[21] 'Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe', *Berline.de,* 7 December 2020, https://www.berlin.de/en/attractions-and-sights/3560249-3104052-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.en.html, accessed 19 March 2021.

[22] C. Bareither, 'Difficult heritage and digital media: 'selfie culture' and emotional practices at the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe', *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 27 (2021), 57-72, 70.

[23] Ibid., 63.

into historical photos taken during the Holocaust. The result was grotesque images of tourists standing atop piles of bodies, jumping over mass graves, and juggling in front of decaying corpses. Shapira's point was that the sites themselves should be treated with respect and dignity as they were linked directly to the horrors of the Holocaust and should prompt 'reflection and remembrance'. Contrastingly, Eisenman strongly rejects the idea that the memorial is 'sacred ground.'[24] He even states: 'I like the fact that people go lunch there…make love.'[25] The memorial's duality makes it unique; some love it, some hate it, some treat it as a site of a massacre, some picnic within it. By creating a space for so many feelings, the memorial is engaged with in a multitude of ways. Its importance is perhaps best concluded by Eisenman himself: 'There were a lot of people who would have liked this thing to go away.'[26] The memorial is inescapable, similarly to the past it represents, but it also creates a division between the people who like it and those who do not. Young was apprehensive of deciding on the memorial as he believed the constant debate around it best kept the memory alive. This discourse is part of the monument, part of its purpose. Eisenman believes that the discussion surrounding it and the behaviour within it are crucial to the piece. He comments,

> I was against the graffiti coating from the start. If a swastika is painted on it, it is a reflection of how people feel. And if it remains there, it is a reflection of how the German government feels about people painting swastikas on the monument.[27]

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24 J. Gunter, '"Yolocaust": How should you behave at a Holocaust memorial?', *BBC,* 21 January 2017, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-38675835, accessed 18 March 2021.

25 Åhr, 'Memory and Mourning in Berlin', 286.

26 J. Marshall, 'Controversial memorial carved out of German guilt: Living near history', *National Post,* 13 July 2002.

27 C. Hawley and N. Tenberg, 'How Long Does One Feel Guilty?', *Spiegel Online International*, 9 May 2005, https://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel-interview-with-holocaust-monument-architect-peter-eisenman-how-long-does-one-feel-guilty-a-355252.html, accessed 18 March 2021.

Eisenman here reduces the monument to just that - a monument. It neither says nor represents anything to him and others, but it takes up space in the city, classrooms, articles, academia, and the minds of tourists who all discuss it. Architect Andrew Benjamin summarises this idea,

> The object has to be sustained as part of the present. Therefore, the monument's work cannot be completed and as such there cannot be a point of closure. Rather than this being a prescriptive point to be fulfilled by the work, it is, on the contrary, a description of the work's own operation.[28]

The work is never complete, as the conversation and interaction with it constitute the memorial as much as the slabs themselves.

In conclusion, the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe offers a new perspective on what a memorial should be. It is a gleaming example of public history in physical form, and it intersects with many disciplines and worlds of art, emotion, and memory. Using such a simple design with no inherent meaning inscribed, the monument opens up a space for everyone regardless of their connection to the Holocaust, Germany, or Judaism. Some may mourn and reflect; others simply sightsee and picnic. While these are not mutually exclusive, they provide an example of a memorial that allows viewers to interact in their own way and decide for themselves what the space means to them. The information centre underneath offers historical data that viewers have the option to engage with. Having the memorial in such a sizable, unmissable space in Germany's centre shows the country's dedication to not forget or skip over such a devastating part of its history. Instead, they have met the challenge head-on, and committed to remembering their role and mourning the loss.

[28] A. Benjamin, 'Now Still Absent: Eisenman's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe', *Architectural Theory Review,* 8 (2003), 57-62, 60.

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ABERDEEN HISTORICAL REVIEW