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Letter From the Editors

After the success of this academic year, we are delighted to present the fourth issue of the *Aberdeen Historical Review* (AHR). Our July issue, which was published on our website (<https://abdnhistory.co.uk/published-issues>) has excitedly welcomed more readers than ever! We hope that with each new issue published this engagement with the *Review* will continue to grow. We are also very excited to announce that the *Aberdeen Historical Review* will be opening a call for a new editorial board and a peer reviewer team at the start of the 2023/2024 academic term- so keep an eye out!

The Aberdeen Historical Review began in February 2021 amid the second semester of online teaching when a group of students from the university came together to discuss how they missed the uplifting atmosphere created by being on campus. As a result, the *Review* was established to celebrate the successes of Aberdeen University's students and continue to inspire academic accomplishments throughout the pandemic. Today, we are grateful campus has returned to normal, however, it remains just as crucial to continue celebrating the student body's achievements, which *AHR* aims to support.

The *AHR* is an open-access academic undergraduate journal that publishes first-class scholarship produced by students at the University of Aberdeen. Each paper was written for a history Honours course at the university and thoroughly peer-reviewed by a dedicated board of students. Authors and reviewers partake in an anonymised dialogue, through which authors are challenged to review and develop their papers. In this way, the essays are allowed to reach their greatest potential. Simultaneously, peer reviewers are enabled to take a unique approach to each paper and utilise their creativity, critical thinking, and academic writing skills in advising the author on improvements.

Throughout the 2022/23 academic year, we introduced our project to many Honours students. We were delighted to see students and staff referring to the journal as a continuing source of inspiration and a vital student-led project. Although the *AHR* is part of a global network of undergraduate publications it is primarily intended as a tool for its community in Aberdeen. We hope that students from across the year groups will use the *AHR* as a guiding voice as they write their assessments. This volume includes the course number and title for which each essay is produced, allowing students and tutors alike to refer to first-class essays from a specific history course.

Declan H. Fourrier opens our newest issue with a historiographical review discussing the role of emotions, specifically anger and its expression within medieval society. Following this, Kieran Hutchinson's essay assesses the relationship and treatment of King James I of Scotland and Alexander MacDonald, Lord of the Isles. Continuing the Scottish theme, Kirsten Nicolson discusses the ruling of Mary of Guise and her effectiveness as Queen Regent between 1554 and 1560. Concluding this theme, Eilidh Shrimpton's essay asks why Scottish covenanters refused to accept the Restoration Settlement and the subsequent consequences.

Hannah Lewis analyses the British Holocaust documentary *Night Will Fall*, discussing its impact as a successful piece of public history. Next, Jude Christison's essay focuses on how and why Black Women's contributions to freedom struggles in America have become obscured throughout history. Further, Kathryn Berry discusses the effects of global conflicts throughout the 1940s and 1950s on Black Civil Rights Organisations and analyses the vast impact this had on their effectiveness. Lastly, Cerwyss McKay's essay examines the academic scholarship discussing the dynamic construction of the Middle East.

As the leaving editorial board, we would like to thank everyone who was involved in helping to create the *Aberdeen Historical Review*. Specifically, we wish to thank our peer reviewers who were crucial in the editing process and all the student authors who submitted their essays to the journal. We were honoured to work with many talented and dedicated undergraduate students who

now embark on new paths within academia and beyond. Producing the fourth issue of the *AHR* has been a rewarding experience but we could not have achieved this without the support of our faculty advisors Dr Bradford Bow and Dr Owen Walsh. We also want to thank the History Department for their continuous guidance and support. Finally, thank you to the readers for supporting us, we hope you enjoy reading the journal as much as we enjoyed making it.

Yours Editors

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Anger in the Middle Ages: A Short Historiographical Review

DECLAN H. FOURRIER

Declan H. Fourrier has recently completed the final year of MA English and History (honours), graduating with a First-Class degree. Declan has an interest in medieval and gender history and in the long nineteenth-century. They currently volunteer at Drum Castle in collection care and archives work. They are starting a masters in Medieval History at the University of Edinburgh and intend to do a PhD.¹

Emotions as a meaningful subject in medieval historical studies are relatively recent. Particularly interesting is the role of anger in medieval society, expressed in many different contexts; from religious and lay literature alike to its use in law courts and as a social force shaping interpersonal relationships. Anger was a complex emotion for both lay and religious authors. Understanding how people viewed and expressed anger (and its usual companion, hatred) can help shed light on diverse aspects of the Middle Ages.

In literary and religious texts, authors presented a nuanced understanding of anger. It was not entirely condemned since anger and wrath were commonly attributed to saints and God, both the Father and the Son.² But their wrath had a divine nature and was righteous. In men, anger could easily get out of control, solidify into hatred, and guide them to “a slippery slope leading to homicide.”³ Barbara Rosenwein, in her conclusion of *Anger’s Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, summarises how the definition of anger was twofold.⁴ It could be both unreasonable and reasonable: anger could manifest itself as sinful and hinder a man’s capacity for reasoning, yet at the same time, anger directed against sin or evildoers was understood as just and even useful. The moral dimension of

¹ This essay was written for HI401A: Peacemaking And Bloodfeud In Scotland.

² E. P. Kamali, *Felony and the Guilty Mind in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 124-5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁴ B. H. Rosenwein, ‘Controlling Paradigms’ in Barbara H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger’s Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1998): 233–247, pp. 233-4.

anger and its internal tensions, allowing for specificities varying throughout Europe, inform many features of medieval society.

A particular focus on the language and representations of anger found in different sources is a common approach in many studies on the subject of emotion. Elizabeth Kamali uses the terminology of anger in legal records and compares them with the representations of anger in literary, pastoral, and theological texts to better understand the ambivalence of medieval jurists toward anger.⁵ She focuses on John Gower's texts, as it presents a comprehensive understanding of anger and the related emotions in their multi-layered form, as well as Thomas Aquinas and Seneca's stoical ideas.⁶ For each of these writers, anger and hatred express themselves slightly differently, but their views stay within the paradigm of just anger and sinful hatred. Literary and theological texts informed the cultural understanding of anger, shaping how legal administrators and judges approached anger in their work, which in turn influenced the language used to signify anger.

The semantic fields of anger and hatred often overlap, with words like ire, wrath, anger, hatred, enmity, and rancour, sometimes used interchangeably or in slightly different contexts.⁷ For instance, hatred usually denoted long-held wrath, an interpersonal relationship of mutual hostility. Anger itself was used to describe a temporary state that was easier to dissipate for a return to peace. Thus, in legal sources, both concepts are differentiated by certain phrases and formulaic expressions (both in Latin and in the vernacular), because they could have an impact on the jury's verdict. Daniel Smail notes how "the language of capital enmity [...] can be found in legal documents throughout medieval Europe."⁸ Anger and hatred were not necessarily perceived as extenuating circumstances by courts of law, nevertheless, they were a persistent feature of medieval jurisprudence. Legal documents employed terms and phrasings with specific meanings. Thus, sets of formulaic expressions were used to describe actual

⁵ Kamali, *Felony and the Guilty Mind*, particularly in chapters 3 and 4. See also E. P. Kamali, 'The Devil's Daughter of Hell Fire: Anger's Role in Medieval English Felony Cases', *Law and History Review*, 35.1 (2017): 155–200.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-107.

⁷ Da. L. Smail, 'Hatred as a Social Institution in Late-Medieval Society', *Speculum*, 71.1 (2001): 90–126, p. 90.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

events which might have had slightly different parameters in a standardised way.⁹ However such formulaic wordings can also be found in other types of sources, less legal and more personal.

Hatred and anger were linked to honour. In his study of late-medieval Marseilles, Daniel Smail shows how hatred can be framed as a social institution, with its own behavioural idioms understood by virtually everyone in the locality and its uses in shaping social structures.¹⁰ In highlighting the public display of anger, necessary to establish one's claim for vengeance or compensation, Smail joins with Stephen White's reevaluation of anger's place in the Middle Ages.¹¹ More so than referring to a mere feeling, anger was publicly displayed in a controlled manner and followed clear cultural norms. Indeed, anger and hatred had political and social implications with widely understood mechanisms.¹²

The notion of class is also important in studying emotion in the Middle Ages. To be angry about an offence signified that one's honour was worthy of being fought for, and this anger in turn was the expected response to an offence. Righteous anger was seen as a lord's prerogative in many contexts. Although in Marseilles, as elsewhere, legal records show people from different social backgrounds expressing their anger or mentioning hatred as part of a defence argument, other written sources are rarely so inclusive.¹³ In a chapter focusing on medieval Germany, Paul Freedman analyses peasants' anger as framed by both elite and popular sources.¹⁴ By drawing on other sources about the peasants' revolts in France and England, he shows how the literature written by high-status observers envisioned anger in the peasantry as threatening only in the case of mobs and mass violence. The individual peasant was deemed unrestrained, naturally lacking honour; peasants' anger could only be animalistic. As for the peasants themselves, they seldom mention anger in grievances or denunciations, preferring to frame their motivations in piety and calling upon God's wrath instead of their own.¹⁵

⁹ J. W. Armstrong, *England's Northern Frontier: Conflict and Local Society in the fifteenth-Century Scottish Marches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 274.

¹⁰ Smail, 'Hatred as a Social Institution'.

¹¹ S. D. White, 'The Politics of Anger' in B. H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1998): 127–152.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 136–7.

¹³ Rosenwein, 'Controlling Paradigms', pp. 244–5.

¹⁴ P. Freedman, 'Peasant Anger in the Late Middle Ages' in B. H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1998): 171–188.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

Examining anger as a social force and parameter encourages the study and comparison with other populations and societies. For instance, Zouhair Ghazzal looks at anger and forbearance in the context of Islamic medieval literature, which shows another understanding of emotion and its social dimension.¹⁶ Another angle could explore how emotion is gendered, and how masculinity or femininity relates to anger and hatred. When focussing on legal documents for instance, or on male interpersonal relationships of power or on the legal dimension of anger in homicidal cases, women emerge only on the side. They often appear as witnesses but if they are accused of a homicide, it is rarely the result of a heated quarrel.¹⁷ Yet, they clearly had their share of hatred and anger and could use verbal or physical violence in defending their honour.¹⁸

Emotions such as anger and hatred were understood and expressed differently in the Middle Ages. Even more so than anger's functional role in political and social relationships, it is enlightening to explore the emotional dimensions of aspects of medieval society one would perhaps not immediately associate with emotions, like politics or the legal system.

¹⁶ Z. Ghazzal, 'From Anger on Behalf of God to 'Forbearance' in Islamic Medieval Literature' in Barbara H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1998): 203–230.

¹⁷ S. Pohl-Zucker, 'Hot Anger and Just Indignation: Justificatory Strategies in *Early Modern German Homicide Trials*' in *Emotion, Violence, Vengeance and Law in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of William Ian Miller* (Boston: Brill, 2018): 25–48, p. 28.

¹⁸ Smail, 'Hatred as a Social Institution', p. 117.

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Assessing James I's Treatment of Alexander, Lord of the Isles

KIERAN HUTCHINSON

*Kieran Hutchinson is a fourth-year Single Honours History student and has contributed as a peer-reviewer to the AHR for two successive years. He enjoys studying military history, deciding to write his dissertation on battles in the First Scottish War of Independence. Upon graduating, he is unsure of what his next step will be – but history will surely remain a key interest.*¹

Following eighteen years of English captivity, King James I of Scotland (1394-1437) was restored to the Scottish throne in 1424. This event was of huge significance to Scotland's political system, as during James's absence the realm had been governed by Scottish magnates without royal leadership. Their importance, however, would not immediately dissipate upon James's return. As Michael Brown emphasises: "in a de-centralised kingdom such as Scotland, the king's authority depended principally on his relations with a small group of major nobility holding power in the local areas of the realm."² Thus, upon his return, it was critical that James managed to establish successful and effective relationships with his higher nobility. One such prominent figure was Alexander MacDonald – Lord of the Isles from 1423 until his death in 1449. The Lordship of the Isles has been designated "one of the greatest power-centres of fifteenth-century Scotland" by Sonja Cameron.³ Hence, assessing the relationship between James and Alexander, more specifically James's treatment of Alexander, is a crucial part of the overall scholarship of James I.

On the surface, existing historiography has highlighted the clear distinctions between James's treatment of Alexander throughout different periods, suggesting a change in James's opinion of Alexander. However, a more thorough investigation reveals additional factors which suggest less-personal reasons for James's treatment of Alexander. This has resulted in the emergence of a

¹ This essay was written for HI303W: Stewart Scotland 1406-1603.

² M. Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. xiii.

³ S. Cameron, "Contumaciously Absent? The Lords of the Isles and the Scottish Crown", in R. Oram (ed.), *The Lordship of the Isles* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 146-175, p. 164.

historiographical debate concerning the reasons for the period of conflict. For example, it is generally accepted that these developments were caused predominantly by a power-struggle over the earldom of Ross – a view supported by Richard Oram.⁴ Lachlan Nicholson, however, has more recently contended that “concurrent developments in international war and diplomacy” were the crucial factor.⁵ As such, this essay shall assess James I’s treatment of Alexander, Lord of the Isles through a chronological analysis of their relationship. This will be divided into three categories: their alliance from 1424 to 1425; their conflict from 1428 to 1431; and their relatively neutral peace from 1432 until James’s death in 1437. Overall, it is fair to surmise that James’s treatment of Alexander was indeed influenced by external factors.

The first period of relations between James I and Alexander, Lord of the Isles which must be analysed is their alliance between 1424 and 1425. Following his restoration to the throne, James sought to establish his position of power by seeing to the destruction of the Albany Stewarts – his rival kinsmen. One of the steps James took to ensure his success was to gather the support of the Lord of the Isles. For instance, in the sixteenth century the *Book of Clanranald* recorded:

On the return of King James the First from the captivity of the King of England, Donald of Isla obtained the king’s goodwill and confirmation of Ross and the rest of his inheritance.⁶

Despite Donald – the previous Lord of the Isles – being named here rather than Alexander, this is generally considered to be an accurate account of events. For example, Brown notes that “such a confirmation was the likely price for the Lord of the Isles’s personal support in the growing attack on Albany.”⁷ This is particularly important because James could have demanded and coerced Alexander’s support, but instead opted for diplomacy. Thus, this is clearly an example of James treating Alexander positively, which suggests good relations between them.

⁴ R. Oram, ‘The Lordship of the Isles, 1336– 1545’, in D. Ormand (ed.), *The Argyll Book* (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 123-139, p. 133.

⁵ L. Nicholson, ‘From the River Farrar to the Loire Valley: The MacDonald Lord of the Isles, the Scottish Crown, and International Diplomacy, 1428-1438’, in Oram, *The Lordship of the Isles*, pp. 88-100, p. 89.

⁶ A. Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, eds. A. MacBain and J. Kennedy, 2 vols (Inverness, 1892-4), ii, p. 161.

⁷ Brown, *James I*, p. 58.

In 1425, James had Murdoch, Duke of Albany and his two eldest sons executed, and Alexander sat on the assize at Stirling parliament that supported this course of action.⁸ Hence, this suggests that James had successfully gained the full backing of the Lord of the Isles. Oram, who agrees with this view, argues: “[Alexander] was a willing ally of James I in his destruction of the Albany kin” and his attendance at Stirling was “testimony to his closeness to the king”.⁹ It is crucial to note, however, that the MacDonalds and Albany Stewarts had been competing for the earldom of Ross since 1402, the situation climaxing in the battle of Harlaw in 1411.¹⁰ On the other hand, therefore, it is plausible that Alexander’s apparent support for James was in fact a pursuit of his own ambitions. Simon Kingston recognised this possibility: “in assisting him in 1425 Alexander was motivated as much as by a desire to reduce the Albanys as by his support for James.”¹¹ A balance between the two, however, seems most likely, as expressed by Cameron: “in 1424 and 1425, James I’s relations with the Lordship were friendly enough and mutually beneficial.”¹² Overall, then, the 1424-1425 alliance was not born out of James’s love for Alexander. Rather, it represented two ambitious men acting on an opportunity to solidify and widen their positions of power. Regardless of motivations, this was certainly a more positive treatment of Alexander by James than what was to transpire.

It is well-understood that from 1428 to 1431 there was a period of conflict between James and the Lord of the Isles. It is possible, however, that their relationship had already begun deteriorating from 1425. Brown asserts that “a ‘cold war’ had been building up between the former allies since 1425”, in which “James was to find it increasingly difficult to work with the Lord of the Isles.”¹³ Moreover, Brown argues that: “The king quickly realised that the lord of the Isles was neither willing or able ... to show even a limited respect for royal authority.”¹⁴ This view of events, however, has been critiqued by revisionist Cameron as “dubious”, as “no record of their dealings between 1425 and 1428 survives”.¹⁵

⁸ Cameron, ‘Contumaciously Absent’, p. 162.

⁹ Oram, ‘Lordship of the Isles’, p. 133.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 131.

¹¹ S. Kingston, *Ulster and the Isles in the Fifteenth Century: The Lordship of the Clan Donald of Antrim* (Dublin, 2004), p. 56.

¹² Cameron, ‘Contumaciously Absent’, p. 162.

¹³ Brown, *James I*, p.93.

¹⁴ M. Brown, ‘Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland: The Badenoch Stewarts, II. Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar’, *Northern Scotland*, 16 (1996), 31-53, p. 41.

¹⁵ Cameron, ‘Contumaciously Absent’, p. 162.

Additionally, Nicholson criticised Brown's use of the term 'cold war' as "almost inferring a fatalistic inevitability of crown-lordship rivalry".¹⁶ Though, on balance, Brown does cite the lack of a shared enemy, the lordship becoming the "major source of trouble in the north of the kingdom", and "flow of patronage to the earl of Mar" – Alexander's rival in the north – as his reasoning.¹⁷ Thus, Brown's assumption is a fair and logical one, which suggests that James's treatment of Alexander following the destruction of the Albany Stewarts was no longer explicitly positive.

The subsequent events of 1428 were recorded around a decade later by Walter Bower in the *Scotichronicon*.¹⁸ Bower became abbot of the Augustinian abbey of Inchcolm in 1418, hence becoming a magnate of Scotland.¹⁹ This is crucial because he would have been present at the court of James I – thus having direct access to the material which he later wrote down. Therefore, Bower's work is seen a fairly reliable account of events, despite E. W. M. Balfour-Melville stating that Bower's estimation of the size of Alexander's rebel army in 1429 "cannot be trusted".²⁰ Bower recorded that James held a parliament in Inverness in August of 1428, at which the following occurred:

He [James I] had Alexander of the Isles arrested along with his mother the countess of Ross ... and nearly all the notable men of the north ... He craftily invited each of them to come individually to the tower and had each put into close confinement.²¹

Despite a build-up of James-Alexander tensions, this is clearly still a striking series of events. For example, Oram describes the surprise arrest of Alexander as "a breath-taking breach of faith" and a "stunning coup".²² Alexander Mackenzie emphasises the treacherous nature of James's actions: "It is impossible to defend the men and treacherous conduct of the King, however brave or otherwise distinguished".²³ Interestingly, Mackenzie wrote this only the page after describing James as possessing

¹⁶ Nicholson, 'From the River Farrar', p. 96.

¹⁷ Brown, *James I*, p. 93.

¹⁸ Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon: New edition in Latin and English with notes and indexes*, ed. D. E. R. Watt (Aberdeen, 1987), p. ix.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

²⁰ E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, *James I, King of Scots: 1406-1437* (London, 1936), p. 172.

²¹ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, p. 259.

²² Oram, 'Lordship of the Isles', p. 133.

²³ A. Mackenzie, *History of the MacDonalds and Lords of the Isles; With Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Name* (Inverness, 1881), p. 74.

“remarkable energy, decision of character, and unsurpassed personal bravery”.²⁴ This shows, therefore, the extent to which this was an outright betrayal – that even those complimentary of James saw it as undefendable. Nicholson takes a more sympathetic view, interpreting the mass arrest as an “unequivocal display of royal might.”²⁵ Regardless, it is clear that James’s treatment of Alexander had taken a drastic turn. The king now sought to dominate the lord whom only three years ago he needed support from.

Following the arrests, Bower reports that:

Two [chiefs] were beheaded. Then also James Campbell was hanged after being charged and convicted of the killing of John of Isles. The others were dispersed separately to the castles of various lords throughout the kingdom ... Once he [Alexander, Lord of the Isles] had promised good behaviour, the king released him.²⁶

It is important to note that Bower omits significant information regarding the hanging of James Campbell. As Brown details, James attempted to have John Mor of Dunivaig installed as head of Clan Donald in place of Alexander.²⁷ This continued treachery towards Alexander is evidence of their poor relationship at this point – there could be few greater insults than undermining a lord in this way. John Mor refused the offer, however, leading to an attempt by the king’s messenger, James Campbell, to re-arrest him which resulted in Mor’s death. Upon James being informed of this turn of events, he “promptly disowned the killing”, and soon after released Alexander.²⁸ This may suggest that James had not intended for the plot to go this far, learnt from his mistake, and immediately set about improving his treatment of Alexander to re-establish their positive relationship. This is synonymous with MacDonald of Sleat’s record of events, in which Alexander was “released almost immediately from custody as he had done no wrong and thought little of the incident.”²⁹ More likely, however, James was scrambling to avoid a rebellion from the Islemen after a key MacDonald had been murdered by his messenger. Gregory supports this assessment, arguing that Campbell was hanged “as if to show impartiality of the

²⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

²⁵ Nicholson, ‘From the River Farrar’, p. 90.

²⁶ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, p. 261.

²⁷ Brown, *James I*, p. 99.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 100.

²⁹ Kingston, *Ulster and the Isles*, p. 57.

Sovereign.”³⁰ Mackenzie further backs this up, reasoning that the execution was “as if to show the supposed impartiality of the treacherous proceedings of the king and his parliament on that occasion.”³¹ Thus, the execution of Campbell and release of Alexander should not be mistaken for an overly positive upturn in James’s treatment of Alexander.

An additional factor to consider is the reason for James’s decision to imprison Alexander. One interpretation is that the earl of Mar had a significant role in James’s change in attitudes. For example, Cameron notes that Mar “used his connections to turn the king against the Lord of the Isles”.³² Furthermore, Cameron goes on to argue that: “the ‘break’ between crown and lordship was ultimately brought about, not by James’s antagonism towards Alexander of the Isles but by his reluctant endorsement of Mar’s power in the north.”³³ Thus, this indicates that the change in James’s treatment of Alexander was not due to a sudden personal hatred. Another suggestion, put forward by Oram is that competition over the earldom of Ross “proved the flash point” in the degradation of James-Alexander relations.³⁴ Importantly, Oram cites Alexander’s assumption of the style ‘lord of the earldom of Ross’ by early 1428 as a “highly provocative move given that the king had held the earldom since ... 1424”.³⁵ An additional thesis has been developed by Nicholson, who asserts that the “bizarre pre-emptive nature of the mass arrest” can be explained as an attempt to “shore up a perceived breach in James’s international posturing”.³⁶ This weakness derived from James’s renewal of the Franco-Scottish alliance in 1428 – thus breaching the Anglo-Scottish truce of 1424. This is significant as it opened the potential for English collusion with the Islesmen against James’s rule.³⁷ Nicholson’s promotion of the international perspective as an important factor is certainly convincing, and one which had been overlooked up until his contribution. Altogether, these three strong arguments make it abundantly clear

³⁰ D. Gregory, *The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland* (London, 1881), p. 36.

³¹ Mackenzie, *History of the MacDonalds*, p. 76.

³² Cameron, ‘Contumaciously Absent’, p. 163.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³⁴ Oram, ‘Lordship of the Isles’, p. 133.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Nicholson, ‘From the River Farrar’, p. 97.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

that James's treatment of Alexander cannot be explained by personal opinion, rather, external factors such as those outlined above were key.

Upon releasing Alexander from captivity, James likely hoped and expected to have created a loyal servant in the north. This, however, was not the case. As Bower recorded:

Once the said lord of the Isles returned to his part of the country, he followed the advice of his minions and contemptuously burned down the royal town of Inverness. The king was extremely enraged by this, and in 1429 he assembled an army and ... on some marshy land in Lochaber routed Sir Alexander.³⁸

Bower's use of the phrase "extremely enraged" to describe the king's reaction suggests that the attack came as a surprise to him. This in itself is surprising, given the largely unprovoked aggressive action towards Alexander and his clansmen just prior. This view is shared by A. A. M. Duncan, who states: "the king had stirred up what might best have been left alone, and not surprisingly in 1429 Alexander led his men to burn Inverness."³⁹ Following James's victory at Lochaber:

Alexander surrendered himself absolutely to the king's mercy, and ... clad only in shirt and drawers and on his knees, he offered and rendered to the king a naked sword before the high altar of Holyrood at Edinburgh ... The king admitted him to his grace and sent him to Tantallon Castle...⁴⁰

Thus, Alexander had been embarrassed by James in what David Caldwell has referred to as a "humiliating submission".⁴¹ This suggests that James's treatment of Alexander had now turned personal – the humiliation was punishment for Alexander embarrassing the king's decision to release him. Despite this, James once again spared Alexander's life, which Balfour-Melville attributes to the Queen's "calming influence upon the anger of James", and the fact that "a grateful lieutenant might prove useful in the north-west".⁴² Balfour-Melville, however, is also critical of this decision: "to be thus lenient to the rebel leader for the second time within a year must be regarded as doubtful policy."⁴³

³⁸ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, pp. 261-263.

³⁹ A. A. M. Duncan, *James I: King of Scots 1424-1437* (Glasgow, 1984), p. 15.

⁴⁰ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, p. 263.

⁴¹ D. Caldwell, 'The Lordship of the Isles: Identity Through Materiality', in Oram, *The Lordship of the Isles*, pp. 227-253, p. 243.

⁴² Balfour-Melville, *James I*, p. 173.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

In 1431, while Alexander was still imprisoned, his kinsman Donald Balloch defeated the earl of Mar, the king's lieutenant, at Inverlochy.⁴⁴ Resultingly, as Brown notes: "defeat in the north transformed James's position" as his war against Clan Donald no longer had the crucial financial backing of the three estates.⁴⁵ This led to a total reversal of policy from James, when in October 1431 "the king at his parliament at Perth forgave the offence of each earl (namely Douglas and Ross [Alexander])."⁴⁶ Accordingly, James's treatment of Alexander had come full circle. This was done, of course, out of necessity rather than any change in opinion towards the Lord of the Isles. As Cameron surmises: "the king could not cope with the conditions his actions had brought".⁴⁷ Subsequently, "from 1431 he [Alexander] was certainly more careful about his relations with the king ... and for the next four years, Alexander's interests rested firmly in the west."⁴⁸ This marked a period of relative peace between the king and lord of the Isles, with the earl of Mar "able to secure unchallenged dominance in the north" against "a quiescent lordship of the Isles".⁴⁹ Following Mar's death in 1435, however, the king lacked the resources and political leverage to assert authority in the north, and in 1436 "James sought to come to terms with Alexander".⁵⁰ Hence, the earldom of Ross – and therefore the balance of power – shifted to Alexander.⁵¹ Brown notes that there "had been a dramatic swing in political fortunes in the north".⁵² According to Nicholson, "for the remainder of James I's reign the king seems to have left MacDonald unchallenged".⁵³ This period of peace and positive treatment of Alexander can, once again, be attributed to James acting out of necessity. Cameron supports this line of argument: "If peace was maintained for the rest of the reign, this can by no means be considered the result of mature royal policy".⁵⁴

In conclusion, James I's treatment of Alexander, Lord of the Isles varied greatly from the king's restoration in 1424 until his death in 1437. Initially, the two were mutually beneficial allies against the

⁴⁴ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, p. 265.

⁴⁵ Brown, *James I*, p. 139.

⁴⁶ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, p. 265.

⁴⁷ Cameron, 'Contumaciously Absent', p. 165.

⁴⁸ Brown, *James I*, p. 146.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁵¹ Nicholson, 'From the River Farrar', pp. 97-98.

⁵² Brown, *James I*, p. 160.

⁵³ Nicholson, 'From the River Farrar', p. 98.

⁵⁴ Cameron, 'Contumaciously Absent', p. 166.

Albany Stewarts. Following the destruction of the Albanys, however, James and Alexander were in conflict from 1428-1431 – though the king did show leniency on more than one occasion. Finally, from 1432 onwards, a period of peace existed in which Alexander was able to establish himself as the earl of Ross without intervention from James. This series of events is summarised by Nicholson: “Alexander enjoyed a remarkable turnaround”.⁵⁵ It is important to note, however, that this variance in treatment can be largely attributed to external factors. In almost every interaction – perhaps with the exception of the humiliation of Alexander at Holyrood – James either acted irrationally, with other factors in mind, or out of necessity. For example, this is demonstrated clearly by the three reasons for James imprisoning Alexander in 1428 given by Cameron, Oram and Nicholson. Though, as Nicholson notes, “the king’s treatment of Alexander MacDonald differed from ... other political opponents”: his life was spared in a period when the king often did not hesitate in ordering executions.⁵⁶ This, then, can be attributed to the extent to which James was externally influenced – as well as the importance of the Lordship of the Isles.

⁵⁵ Nicholson, ‘From the River Farrar’, p. 89.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

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The “Subversive” Queen: The Regency of Mary of Guise, 1554-1560

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Mary of Guise, queen dowager to King James V, was thirty-nine years old when she became Queen Regent of Scotland in 1554. She was politically very experienced and committed to advancing the interests of her only surviving child, Mary, Queen of Scots. Her “effectiveness” as regent rested principally on her skills as a political manager in a kingdom at risk of political instability, but she was also a highly divisive figure. As a Catholic regent and leader of the French faction in Scottish politics, Mary of Guise was reliant on French support to curtail both English royal influence and pro-English enemies among the Scottish nobility. Her daughter’s French royal marriage in 1558 cemented the Auld Alliance at the zenith of the Guise family’s power in Scotland and France. Mary of Guise’s principal achievements as regent were to avert a full-scale Scottish civil war, while sustaining her daughter’s claims to three kingdoms: as queen consort of France, as queen of Scotland, and as heir presumptive to Elizabeth I of England. But at her death in June 1560, these schemes were already failing: the Protestant rebellion was well underway, and, with English support, the reformers seized power. The tempestuous rule of Mary, Queen of Scots, perhaps overshadows her mother’s political success, yet neither gathered sufficient political support to withstand anti-French opposition or the Reformation.

Historians’ criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of Renaissance regents and regent councils are broader than political management. First, regents were expected to administer justice and maintain peace in the name of the monarch, second, to ensure monarchical succession, third, they were duty-bound to protect the realm from foreign invasion, and fourth, to command the royal army, either

¹ This essay was written for HI303W: Stewart Scotland 1406-1603.

personally or by proxy. In all these respects, regents were expected to preserve the security of the realm before their personal interests. Stewart monarchs were ultimately dispensable in the eyes of noble regents with dynastic ambitions such as the Hamiltons, the Douglasses, or the Stewarts themselves; the stability of the Scottish kingdom was not. But the ultimate test of any regent's success was the transition of power to the succeeding monarch. This, Mary of Guise achieved, although the transition was anything but smooth.

All regents, Guise included, were vulnerable to intrigue, assassination, rebellion, and domination by male nobles. Mary of Guise was one of only three queen regents of Scotland between 843 and 1807; aside from Mary of Gueldres (1460 to 1463) and Margaret Tudor (1513 to 1515), all the other forty-one regents were male. Since the law of royal succession prioritised males, contemporary expectations for female regency were not defined by any "manual" of queenship. However, even a minor regent such as Mary Tudor (1496-1533), sister of Henry VIII of England and briefly queen regent of France, read the influential court writings of Christine de Pizan (c.1360-c.1430) on female leadership. "Multiple models of queenship", Sadlack argues, guided Mary Tudor to "negotiate stronger agency" within the "limits of queenly authority."² Even queens ruling as monarchs with full regnant authority, such as Mary I and Elizabeth I of England, deferred to nobles in many aspects of governance. Moreover, dowager queen regents were expected to continue ruling the kingdom in the same way as their royal husband, as political "peacemakers" rather than kingmakers.³ But continuity in policy could also be disrupted by nobles, as happened to Mary of Gueldres.⁴ Mary of Guise, however, like the powerful English queens, was a major political player after James V's death and learned statecraft in defiance of conventions.

Mary of Guise's regency is characterised by three distinct features. First, her dynastic ambitions defined her political aims, as Ritchie argues, to which her religious commitments were subordinate.⁵ That meant that Guise pursued a power struggle with James Hamilton, second earl of Arran, himself

² E. A. Sadlack, 'Literary Lessons in Queenship and Power', in S. Broomhall (ed.), *Women and Power at the French Court, 1483-1563* (Amsterdam, 2018), pp. 117-38, p. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴ R. K. Marshall, *Scottish Queens, 1034-1717* (East Linton, 2003), p. 66.

⁵ P. E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548-1560: A Political Career* (East Linton, 2002), pp. 125-26.

heir presumptive to Mary, Queen of Scots, who was appointed lord governor of a council of regents in 1543 and masterminded Guise's exclusion from power, as Blakeway relates.⁶ Understanding that contest is vital to understand the politics of her own regency following Arran. Second, when crowned queen regent in 1554, she became sole regent although her powers to govern were less extensive in practice, Blakeway argues, and "limited" by the expectation that her absentee daughter's tacit "consent" was required once she was declared an adult.⁷ But surely that also would have meant approval by the French king. Third, as Marshall's seminal biography revealed, Guise was widely mistrusted more because of her reliance on French financial and military support than her Catholicism before the opposition from Protestant reformers culminated in rebellion in 1559.⁸

The Guise family's top priority was to ensure the safety of the direct heir to James V's crown against other Stewart claimants. This they managed by dispatching the infant Mary to France in 1548. But they already failed to acquire control of the council of regents. When queen consort, Mary of Guise had no formal role in royal government yet was attentive to the factionalism of the court and country. Her status as dowager queen did not entitle her to titular headship of the council of regents appointed by the nobles in 1543 to govern in the name of the infant monarch, her daughter Mary. Guise, consequently, pressed Arran for admission to the council, following the English invasion of 1543-44. Although supported by anti-English nobles on the council, she was unable to unseat the lord governor, who compromised by admitting her to the council in 1545. Her actions at that time were consistent with the "peacemaker" role of a de facto queen regent continuing her royal husband's pro-French strategy. This had been endangered by Arran's negotiation of the treaties of Greenwich in 1543 which "signalled a massive break with the policies of James V" by committing Scotland to a union of Crowns with England, through the marriage of Guise's daughter Mary to Henry VIII's heir, the future Edward VI.⁹ Parliament's

⁶ A. Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2015) pp. 76-8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸ R. K. Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (London, 1977), pp. 265-66.

⁹ M. Merriman, 'Hamilton, James, second earl of Arran, and duke of Châtellherault in the French nobility', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2014), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12081?rskey=Gmc3Gn&result=2>> [accessed 14/10/21].

repudiation of the treaties and Arran's about face conversion to Catholicism and rejection of English overlordship had triggered the English invasion.

Mary of Guise's and Arran's interests were not incompatible when defending the kingdom against the English incursions between 1543 and 1548 but Arran's unreliability risked her plans for a Catholic succession. Questions about Arran's motivation also might explain Guise's reactions. Arran's primary motivations were probably money, land, reputation, and power, and because Arran himself was second in the line of succession to the throne, his ambitions could be a threat.¹⁰ There was always a possibility he might seek the throne with English support. In 1551, the discovery of a plot to poison the young Queen Mary indicated the perpetrator had powerful backers, without implicating Arran himself, who had been the queen's tutor.¹¹

Guise devised an effective strategy to neutralise Arran. Early on was an unkept promise of marriage to Arran's rival, the earl of Lennox, that brought Lennox into the pro-French faction of Scottish nobles. The second step was to cultivate an alliance with Cardinal David Beaton until his assassination in 1546. The third step was for Guise to buy the loyalty of Scottish nobles with her own money and persuade them to accept French military support under the treaty of 1548. Arran himself negotiated the arrival of French soldiers and ships in 1550 with the envoys of Henry II, King of France, which ended English incursions. He was rewarded by his creation as the French Duke of Châtellerauld and an income from the French civil list, paid by the French government in return for his services. He also was obliged to support King Henry's plan to unite the crowns of France and Scotland through the marriage of the dauphin Francois to Mary, Queen of Scots.¹² Regardless of these manoeuvres, Marshall writes, it was

¹⁰ R. K. Marshall, 'Mary [Mary of Guise]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18250?rskey=iXrK6K&result=2>> [accessed 12/10/21].

¹¹ While Robert Stuart, "an archer of the guard", was found guilty of the plot it is still unclear "at whose instigation, the murder was supposed to take place". A. Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 1969), p. 66. There is no conclusive evidence of Arran's involvement, but it would not be unreasonable to suppose Arran to be capable of regicide given that he would then become king himself. Indeed, Marshall emphasises this possibility frequently when considering Arran's motivations. Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, p. 109-11.

¹² J. E. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488-1587* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 172-75; Merriman, 'Hamilton, James', *ODNB*.

always apparent to Mary of Guise that “she could trust no one in Scotland” and that it was necessary for her to assume sole regency to ensure an “untroubled” succession for her daughter.¹³

Mary of Guise’s coronation as Queen Regent in 1554 was the culmination of her struggle with Arran, but her seizure of power was prompted by changing political and diplomatic circumstances. Plans that Guise made with King Henry during a visit to France, 1550-1552, may have been advanced because of fears of a coup by Lennox, but were certainly pressed by King Henry when Mary I of England entered into a marriage agreement with Phillip II of Spain.¹⁴ Guise’s regency would protect French interests in Scotland and young Queen Mary’s claims in three kingdoms. Working through the French ambassador, Mary of Guise and Henry II persuaded and bribed Arran to retire in her favour.¹⁵ The diplomatic price exacted by King Henry upon young Mary’s marriage to the dauphin, however, was a secret treaty promising the Scottish and English thrones to the French king – should she die childless – and reimbursement for the cost of military aid. The legal justification ending Mary’s minority was but a “carefully constructed fiction” that probably fooled no-one and revealed King Henry as Guise’s puppet-master.¹⁶

Deciphered diplomatic correspondence between Mary of Guise and the French ambassadors in 1553 do not reveal Guise’s exact intentions as to how she would become queen regent. However, the existence of the letter itself confirms that Guise partook in secret diplomatic negotiations with Henry II and her brothers – the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duc de Guise – to attain her goal. While many of the details of the correspondence are obscure (the majority of the letter cannot be deciphered), it provides clear evidence of Mary of Guise as an adept political manager of foreign affairs. The letter does not reveal that her seizure of power was a French plot – since she had already commenced negotiations with Arran – but that the scheme was planned in cooperation with the French leaders.¹⁷

¹³ Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, p. 142.

¹⁴ Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, pp. 175-82.

¹⁵ Marshall, ‘Mary [Mary of Guise]’, *OBND*; Merriman, ‘Hamilton, James’, *ODNB*.

¹⁶ Blakeway, *Regency*, p. 83.

¹⁷ V. Nacet, J. Patarin, A. Dubois-Nayt, ‘Mary of Guise’s Enciphered Letters’, *Springer Verlag* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 3-24 (pp. 15-20).

Now Queen Regent, Guise quickly replaced Arran's supporters in key crown offices with her own. But she incited discontent among the nobility by advancing French courtiers and annoyed the lairdly class by proposing financial reforms to increase crown revenue. It would be easy to side-line her effectiveness in government's day to day affairs and focus on politics. But, short of money, she proved to be a good administrator, which historians seem to have forgotten, according to Blakeway; the next regent, the earl of Morton (during James VI's minority), also ran an "efficient" administration, Hewitt writes, despite political turmoil.¹⁸ Attempts to extend royal authority in the Highlands alienated clan chiefs and her powerful ally, the Earl of Huntly.¹⁹ Three of her principal supporters on the council were Protestants: the Earl of Cassillis, James MacGill, and Donald Campbell, the Abbot of Coupar. Cassillis was potentially the most dangerous, having taken an English pension for secretly supporting Henry VIII's plans for the marriage of Edward VI and Mary, Queen of Scots.²⁰ MacGill and his wife Janet Anderson were followers of the preacher John Knox, the regent's most prominent critic, and because of that could not be trusted.²¹ Campbell was a reluctant protestant who had "sided" with Cardinal Beaton in rejecting English requests for the custody of Mary, Queen of Scots, but remained open to the overtures of Protestants and other political dissidents.²² While it is unlikely these men and other Protestant allies actively betrayed Mary of Guise to the English, they were extremely susceptible to any bribes that might be offered by Elizabeth I.

Mary of Guise's regency would neither have happened nor continued as long as it did without French financial and military assistance, and she had few, if any, alternatives to ensure her daughter's succession. But diplomatically, she compromised the independence of the kingdom of Scotland. Treaty obligations to France required Mary of Guise to raise an army to invade England, which, when aborted,

¹⁸ Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, pp. 183-84; Blakeway, *Regency*, p. 145; G. R. Hewitt, *Scotland Under Morton, 1572-80* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 206.

¹⁹ Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, pp. 194-95.

²⁰ M. Merriman, 'Kennedy, Gilbert, third earl of Cassillis', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15368?rskey=8pY4M8&result=3>> [accessed 24/10/21].

²¹ M. Lynch, 'MacGill [Mackgill], James, of Nether Rankeillour', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-17612?rskey=1j1I13&result=5>> [accessed 24/10/21].

²² J. Kirk, 'Campbell, Donald', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4492?rskey=xDoKf8&result=1#Seealso>> [accessed 24/10/21].

exposed the deep unpopularity of French influence and brought Scotland to the brink of civil war in 1559. The dominance of the pro-French faction ultimately made it very difficult for any Catholic queen to govern peacefully a religiously-divided kingdom, even though only a minority of nobles in the late 1550s identified as Protestant reformers.²³ Guise's role in military preparations resembled those of Catherine of Aragon in Henry VIII's absence during the Flodden campaign of 1513: these were "unusual moments of political power and responsibility and traditional extensions of their careers as queen consorts", writes Beer.²⁴ But without French backing, the Queen Regent was vulnerable to insurrection.

The greatest challenge came not from the pro-English faction, but the Reformation. Unlike Mary I of England, Mary of Guise could not rely of the full support of fellow Catholics and government institutions in combating Protestantism. In response to the growing Protestant disaffections with her government, Guise "adopted an accommodating position", Pamela Ritchie argues. Guise's primary concern, until the end of her regency, was "dynastic interests", not her "religious convictions", even though difficult relations with the Protestants were undermining her authority as regent in Scotland.²⁵ The accession of the Protestant Elizabeth I to the English throne emboldened Scottish Protestants to risk a military uprising at Perth and Edinburgh in 1559. Arran and Guise negotiated a settlement, in return for freedom of worship, but news of King Henry's death and the absence of a French relief force probably convinced Mary of Guise to renounce the regency in favour of Arran on 21st October 1559 and accept a new council drawn from the Protestant lords of the congregation.²⁶ While the Protestants negotiated English military intervention under the Treaty of Berwick of February 1560, and laid siege to Leith, Guise and her supporters were confined to Edinburgh Castle, where she died that summer.²⁷

In the months prior to her death, Mary of Guise again corresponded in secret with the French ambassadors. A deciphered letter from Mary to the French ambassadors in London, dating from January 1560, reveals Guise's last desperate attempts at regaining political control as well as the accusations

²³ Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 214-15.

²⁴ M. L. Beer, *Queenship at the Renaissance Courts of Britain: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503-1533* (Woodbridge, 2018), p. 151.

²⁵ Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 200, 249.

²⁶ Marshall, 'Mary [Mary of Guise]', *ODNB*.

²⁷ Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 188-220.

made against Elizabeth I for fomenting war. While much of the letter concurs with accepted historiography, it also reveals the political errors made by Guise, writing “in haste”. The crisis unfolded, with eight English warships attacking Scottish shipping and towns along the Forth estuary. Guise urged the ambassadors to intervene with Elizabeth I (since Guise was no longer regent and was unable to do so) citing testimony obtained voluntarily from an “English-vice admiral” on one of the vessels “that he had been ordered by the queen” and was aiming to “rescue those of the Congregation from the French” in Leith.

It is easy to see behind this masquerade that a mere subject and office could not have the will and even less the power to wage war without the expressed order and wishes of the queen [Elizabeth I of England] and that war cannot happen at the expense of a prince without his knowledge.

These actions, she continued, were “a clear breach” by the English of the Treaty of Boulogne with France and Scotland of 1550 that had ended the “Rough Wooing”. Looking to the future, Mary of Guise also sought to protect the Scottish Kingdom from English domination. In effect, Mary of Guise made it clear that Elizabeth I had committed an act of war; but without French support the former queen regent was powerless. In a final act of desperation, Mary of Guise pleaded with Elizabeth I to renounce the lords of the congregation and to “punish the law-breakers if, as she claims, they did not act at her command”.²⁸ By January 1560, Guise’s health was already in decline, and this letter shows a last desperate attempt at protecting her legacy as leader of Scotland’s pro-French party. A month after her death, the Treaty of Edinburgh (6 July 1560) ended the English invasion and effected the withdrawal of French forces. It was the end of the Auld Alliance and the beginning of the Protestant domination.

Mary of Guise was uppermost in preacher John Knox’s mind when in 1558 he delivered his “blast” at the “Monstrous Regiment of Women” set to “beare rule, superioritie, dominion or empire”. Neither Guise, nor any other female queen or regent, were ever as powerful as Knox’s notorious condemnation of queenship suggested. But to Scottish Protestants enraged by her reliance on Catholic

²⁸ Nachet et al., ‘Enciphered Letters’, pp. 15-20.

France, her regency likely seemed the “subversion of good order, of all equitie and justice” that Knox’s propaganda declaimed.²⁹ Arran’s “inconstancy” was probably a better measure of the political skill required of any regent to govern independently, as both Dawson and Blakeway concluded, a fact that scholarly focus on Mary of Guise has probably obscured.³⁰ Guise’s position was never independent because of her reliance on France and was never secure because of her French heritage. Her religion and her gender legitimised hostility among Scottish nobles, suspicious that she was but a pawn of the King of France. In fact, she was an adept political manager as a member of Arran’s council of regents. But as queen regent from 1554, she nonetheless required French support to realise dynastic ambitions for her daughter Mary; with Mary’s marriage to the dauphin in 1558, Dawson concluded, Guise’s “main task had been accomplished to her great satisfaction and relief”.³¹ Thereafter, Mary of Guise was as effective as any queen regent could be when facing down civil war and insurrection with dwindling domestic support. She surrendered the regency without renouncing the French allegiance, and “died during a rebellion founded upon the idea that she had forfeited legitimate authority”. Without moral authority, by then she had no means of acting effectively.³²

²⁹ J. Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (2nd edition, Geneva, 1558), p. 9.

³⁰ Blakeway, *Regency*, pp. 6-8; Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, p. 157.

³¹ Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, p. 197.

³² Blakeway, *Regency*, p. 88.

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Unsettled Covenanters: Why Scottish Covenanters Did Not Accept The Restoration Settlement After 1662

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The end of the Reformation period in Scotland, according to Margo Todd, left a people convinced of their position as ‘an elect nation distinct from a pitiably half-reformed neighbour infected by popish ceremony and corrupted by sin undisciplined’.² However, after the union of the crowns, the Stewart line was determined to enforce its divine right of supremacy over both state and church, and increasingly tried to bring Scotland into line with that half-reformed neighbour.

After a long conflict, Charles II’s Restoration settlement allowed Scotland to return to traditional forms of worship, mostly in line with Knox’s *Book of Common Order*, under an Episcopalian form of church government. However, many Scots were unwilling to accept prelacy. Ministers gave up their charges and livings, some fleeing to Holland while others travelled through Scotland preaching in illegal conventicles. Lay people risked their reputations, their social and financial security, and even their liberty by absenting themselves from their parish churches in favour of attending those conventicles.³ This essay will consider why these people, known as Covenanters, refused to accept the religious situation as it stood in 1662. A number of reasons motivated nonconformity, all of them flowing from the Covenanters’ understanding of their duty to God. Firstly, breach of the Covenants was perjury. Secondly, many Presbyterians believed that that form of church government was divinely ordained, which led to great loyalty to their ministers. Thirdly, Presbyterians frequently disagreed with the

¹ This essay was written for DR402F: Christianity in Scotland: History and Theology of the Church in Scotland.

² M. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London, 2002), p. 403.

³ A. Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660-1714* (Suffolk, 2012), pp. 185–86; I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688* (London, 1976), pp. 120–24.

burgeoning Episcopalian theology, and objected to the *Book of Common Prayer*. Finally, anti-Erastian views were strongly held in Scotland.

The National Covenant of 1638 was a binding oath to uphold ‘the true reformed religion’ as practised by the Scots Kirk before the ‘innovations’ brought in by the Stewart monarchs.⁴ These were held by many to include Episcopacy: the 1643 Solemn League and Covenant was more explicit on the ecclesiology of the true religion, promising to ‘endeavour the extirpation’ of Prelacy.⁵ The acceptance of Episcopacy in any form therefore represented perjury.⁶ The unsuccessful nature of attempts by royalists to absolve the people of the covenants is perhaps unsurprising in view of the National Covenant’s explicit condemnation of the Pope’s claimed authority to absolve people of their oaths: ‘we detest and refuse... his dispensations with solemn oaths [and] perjuries’.⁷ The views of an English author refuting the arguments for absolution from the Solemn League and Covenant may stand for Covenanters on both sides of the border. He held that the oath, whether it ought to have been taken or not, had been taken and was therefore binding. At a fundamental level, if oaths could be abjured so easily, then they would be useless, which would have a negative impact on the working of society.⁸ Moreover, this was a solemn religious oath, an oath to serve God by preserving the reformed religion in Scotland, and by reforming religion in England. Even more seriously, it was made ‘with our hands lifted up to the most High GOD’: it called on God as witness.⁹ Perjury of such an oath was a serious matter indeed.

Further, although the Covenant did make allowance for the limitations of ‘human infirmity’, there was a clear indication throughout the document, and in other writings of the Covenanters, that their upholding of the Covenant was a duty to God, and that they would answer for their failures in that regard

⁴ ‘National Covenant’, 1638 <https://reformationhistory.org/nationalcovenant_text.html> [Accessed 31 October 2022].

⁵ A. Raffe, ‘Presbyterians and Episcopalians: The Formation of Confessional Cultures in Scotland, 1660-1715’, *The English Historical Review*, 125.514 (2010), 570–98 (p. 575); ‘The Solemn League and Covenant (1643)’, <<https://www.rpcscotland.org/what-we-believe/the-solemn-league-and-covenant-1643/>> [Accessed 3 November 2022].

⁶ Raffe, ‘Presbyterians and Episcopalians’, p. 575.

⁷ C. Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690* (Suffolk, 2003), p. 67; ‘National Covenant’.

⁸ T. Timorcus, *The Covenanters Plea against Absolvers*. (London, 1660), paras 1–3, 6, 9–14; Timorcus, pp. 68–70, 86–87.

⁹ ‘The Solemn League and Covenant (1643)’.

on the Day of Judgement.¹⁰ For this reason, they were, in principle, willing to suffer martyrdom for their beliefs.

Beyond mere obligation to uphold a sincerely-taken oath, many believed that Presbyterianism was divinely ordained for the correct government of the church.¹¹ Christ had expressly forbidden the apostles from seeking preference over one another; the Presbyterians applied this in their day as forbidding church hierarchy.¹² Against this, the proponents of Episcopalian government could only answer that Presbyterianism was less suitable to the monarchical government than Episcopacy (they would soon develop more theological arguments, but these were not common in 1662).¹³ Whilst convenience and social order were valid reasons for ordering indifferent matters, the Presbyterians did not consider church government to be indifferent. In their view, the Episcopalian claim that it was indifferent was merely an excuse for their decision to prioritise monarchical convenience over obedience to God.¹⁴ The absence of hierarchy in Presbyterianism forbade the acceptance of the king as supreme head (under Christ) of the church, making it inherently anti-Erastian, which will be discussed later.

A 1662 Act required any minister in the Church of Scotland (appointed after 1649) wishing to retain his charge to seek presentation from the relevant patron and also collation from the relevant bishop.¹⁵ Whilst most ministers accepted these terms, some 200 from the west of Scotland refused.¹⁶ For these men, seeking a bishop's permission to preach was tantamount to accepting the Episcopal government of the church. Although they might have tolerated the existence of bishops, not having left at the introduction of the same, they would not forsake their Presbyterian principles to the extent of acknowledging the authority of the bishops.

¹⁰ 'National Covenant'.

¹¹ Raffe, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalianism', p. 574.

¹² *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, Authorised King James Version* (London), Mark 9:33-35; Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*, pp. 33–36.

¹³ Jackson, pp. 110–16.

¹⁴ Raffe, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalianism', p. 574.

¹⁵ E. H. Hyman, 'A Church Militant: Scotland, 1661-1690', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26.1 (1995), 49–74 (p. 54).

¹⁶ F. Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland: From the Restoration to the Present Time* (London, 1951), pp. 15–16.

Whether or not the lay congregations cared about the roles of prelates and presbyteries, they could be very loyal to their own ministers.¹⁷ Indeed, the curates who replaced Presbyterian ministers were sometimes so unwelcome that they required military support to be inducted into their new charges. Once they were placed, it could still be difficult to force the parishioners to attend official services.¹⁸ One reason for this was their perceived, covenanted, duty to adhere to the minister lawfully ordained by presbytery. Some nonconformist writers encouraged their readers to abstain from worship led by Episcopalian clergy, arguing that those who attended such services implicitly supported the deposition and even persecution of Presbyterian ministers.¹⁹ Another motive may have been the relational bonds already created by the minister's service in the community.²⁰

It is impossible to suppose that the secular authority's treatment of ministers and lay Covenanters failed to impact people's response to the Restoration settlement. At least the people close to those who were executed for their support of the cause must have wished to achieve the end for which so much had been lost. Robert Baillie, a Presbyterian minister with an inclination towards moderate Episcopacy, described to his cousin the courage and dignity with which the Duke of Argyle had faced his execution.²¹ Of the execution of James Guthrie he wrote: 'Though few approved of his way, yet many were grieved to see a minister so severely used.'²² Given such a reaction from those who disagreed with him, those who did approve his way, and his parishioners, must have reacted strongly indeed.

The men who replaced the expelled Presbyterian ministers were 'a disgrace to the orders... indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts', according to Gilbert Burnet.²³ Whilst this is a harsh description, finding sufficient qualified men to replace the outgoing ministers had proven to be impossible. The limitations of individual ministers were not held to be sufficient reason to desert the

¹⁷ Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*, pp. 183–84, 188–89.

¹⁸ Cowan, pp. 56–57.

¹⁹ Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*, pp. 183–84.

²⁰ Hyman, pp. 56–57.

²¹ A. D. Campbell, 'Episcopacy in the Mind of Robert Baillie, 1637–1662', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 93.1 (2014), 29–55 (p. 33); R. Baillie, *Letters, and Journals: Containing an Impartial Account of Public Transactions, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military, in England and Scotland, from the Beginning of the Civil Wars, in 1637, to the Year 1662: A Period, Perhaps, the Most Remarkable and Interesting in the British History.*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1775), II, pp. 451–53.

²² Baillie, II, p. 453.

²³ Cowan, p. 56.

established church. However, the Erastian intrusion of Episcopalian ministers was, and the new ministers provided little reason for parishioners to change their loyalties.²⁴

The settlement of 1662 created a divide between Episcopalian and Presbyterian sympathisers which had not hitherto existed in quite the same way, so significant theological differences were not immediately apparent.²⁵ However, over time different attitudes and predilections manifested themselves in varying theologies, as Presbyterians held to, and Episcopalians diverged from, the earlier consensus. Episcopalians began to question traditional Calvinist views on predestination, and objected to the Presbyterian emphasis on a personal relationship with God.²⁶ They also discouraged excessive emphasis on theology and faith in sermons, preferring simpler morality, and were more inclined than the Presbyterians to encourage tendencies towards mysticism.²⁷ The Episcopalians produced few texts of systematic theology in this period, which, combined with the information that is available, suggests that Episcopalian theology did not so much represent a unique interpretation of Scripture as a rejection of the dogmatics of the Westminster divines.²⁸ Although theological disagreements were unlikely to cause ministers to leave the established church, they may have made the decision easier, and certainly encouraged polemics between conformists and nonconformists. Episcopalians claimed that Presbyterians taught faith without morality; meanwhile, Presbyterians pointed to the moral scandals of individual high-profile Episcopalians as evidence of their failures in that line. Further, they associated the looser public morals encouraged by Charles II's court with the Episcopalian church supported by the king.²⁹

As early as 1605 perceptive – or polemical – authors had noted the theological separation from Scots Calvinism implied in the *Book of Common Prayer*. They complained of Episcopal commitment to the authority of the church over the authority of Scripture. They commented on the implications of the book's teaching on justification, grace, and the sacraments. They concluded that Episcopalians had

²⁴ Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*, pp. 182–83.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–51.

²⁷ Raffe, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians', pp. 582–83.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 583.

²⁹ Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*, p. 155.

a different creed, a different baptism, and a different Eucharist. In short, there could be no real communion between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians: rather, ‘*We thank God we are none of you.*’³⁰ In the early 1660s, these differences were not obvious as Episcopalians did not necessarily hold to the *Book of Common Prayer*, but they would become more noticeable in later decades as Scottish Episcopalians drew closer to Anglicans in their theology, and further from the Presbyterian Covenanters.

Both the broad consensus and the early divisions are visible in the impact of the settlement on the administration of the church. Historians have tended to consider the settlement as offering Presbyterianism under an almost nominal Episcopalian prelacy.³¹ However, meetings of presbyteries and kirk sessions were banned unless called by the diocese’s bishop; so whilst a Presbyterian style of government may have been possible, it was possible only with the blessing of the bishop.³² It would be extremely naïve to rely on pro-Presbyterian bishops being selected by an anti-Presbyterian crown. In addition, many committed Presbyterian ministers would not even have considered accepting a bishopric. As Cowan pointed out the ‘vestiges of power left to synods and presbyteries in no way compensated’ for the ‘fundamental changes’ in church governance.³³

The similarities in worship have likewise been overstated (as by Bruce Lenman, who described the differences as ‘minimal’) as historians have typically relied on the defensive writings of Episcopalians after the Revolution.³⁴ In reality, there was considerable diversity in worship throughout Scotland, as little effort was made to enforce uniformity of any sort, allowing ministers to lead their congregations as they saw fit. For many, this meant a continuation in the style of the no-longer-compulsory Westminster Directory, though a number of Presbyterians omitted the use of the Lord’s

³⁰ Anonymous, *The Old Non-Conformist Touching the Book of Common-Prayer, and Ceremonies: Unto Which Is Annexed the Reasons Why Scotland Refused the Book of Common-Prayer*. (London, 1660), pp. 33–34.

³¹ G. Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation Through Sixteen Centuries* (Edinburgh and London, 1972), pp. 87–88.

³² Goldie, p. 15.

³³ Cowan, p. 49.

³⁴ B. Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746*, (London, 1980), p. 56; Raffe, ‘Presbyterians and Episcopalians’, pp. 581–93.

Prayer recommended by the Directory.³⁵ Donaldson argues that this variety meant that divergent liturgical practices were not among the reasons for secession in the early 1660s.³⁶

Hintermaier takes a different angle. He persuasively demonstrates that in the seventeenth-century Scottish mindset ‘Bishops and Books’ were inextricably intertwined.³⁷ Certainly, one nonconformist author considered that the situation in 1660 called for the publication of a summary of an earlier objection to the *Book of Common Prayer*.³⁸ Therefore, the introduction of bishops must have seemed to many merely the prelude to the introduction of a prayer book: and certainly there were those, such as Bishop Leighton of Dunblane, who did wish for a return to the use of a prayer book.³⁹ Although no prayer book was introduced in this period, it is important not to minimise concerns that Charles II would continue in the direction taken by his father, whose imposition of a prayer book and other changes had led to the creation and signing of the National Covenant.⁴⁰ Without requiring a set liturgy, the bishops did encourage the use of certain set prayers, notably the Lord’s Prayer. Despite the significance of the contemporary debate around this subject, Hintermaier admits that it did not have a noticeable impact on the established Kirk because ‘those who would have protested’ had already ‘removed themselves’ because of the Erastian nature of the Restoration Kirk.⁴¹

A few of the objections of ‘The Old Non-Conformist’ to the *Book of Common Prayer* are worth noting, though there are too many to enumerate them all here. Firstly, the book is seen as too close to Roman Catholicism. Regarding method of prayer, then much debated, the author strongly objects to set prayers. He considers responses from the people to be unnecessary, the minister being the people’s mouth to God. The author objects to the ‘ill-translation of the psalms’. He also condemns the theology implied by the book’s prescriptions for baptism and the Eucharist. Episcopacy, according to the author,

³⁵ Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*, pp. 50–51; TheWestminsterStandard, ‘Directory for the Publick Worship of God – The Westminster Standard’ <<https://thewestminsterstandard.org/directory-for-the-publick-worship-of-god/>> [Accessed 4 November 2022].

³⁶ G. Donaldson, ‘Covenant to Revolution’, in *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*, ed. by D. B. Forrester and D. M. Murray (Edinburgh, 1984), p. 59.

³⁷ J. M. Hintermaier, ‘Liturgical Reform during the Restoration: The Untold Story’, in *Scottish Liturgical Traditions and Religious Politics: From Reformers to Jacobites, 1560-1764*, ed. by A. I. Macinnes, P. Barton, and K. German (Edinburgh, 2021), p. 0 (sec. I).

³⁸ Anonymous.

³⁹ Hintermaier, sec. II.

⁴⁰ J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 214–19.

⁴¹ Hintermaier, sec. II.

demands 'blind obedience to all the Commandments of the Church', which is at once a return to the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, and a usurpation by the church of the rights of Christ.⁴² Anglo-episcopacy, then, encourages misplaced priorities and poor theology, making it less conducive than Presbyterianism to the true religion referred to in the Covenants.

Perhaps the most important reason why the Covenanters did not accept the religious situation in 1662 was anti-Erastianism. Although there those who would support whichever church was established by law, and those, primarily landowners, who did support the king's authority, to a large extent the people of Scotland simply did not believe that the king had supremacy over the church.⁴³ As one minister expressed it, 'all who have any knowledge of the Judgment of Presbyterians, know that they own Christ for the alone head of the Church'. The king was usurping authority which belonged only to God.⁴⁴ However much licence might be allowed with regard to worship or even theology, the Covenanters would not give to Caesar what was due only to God.

Although by no means universal, that anti-Erastianism was both widespread and deeply held in Scotland is demonstrated by an incident during the meeting of the Parliament, or Estates, of Scotland in 1661. Robert Baillie wrote to his cousin that care had been taken to ensure that those involved were 'absolutely for the King'. Even so, 'sundry did scruple' about taking an oath of allegiance which stated that 'the King was supreme governor over all persons in all causes'. Most of them were satisfied by the assurance of the Commissioner and Chancellor that this did not refer to ecclesiastical matters, and took the oath. However, two men still refused, as they did not think that the wording of the oath justified that interpretation.⁴⁵ That even men specifically chosen for their loyalty to the king objected to any assertion, however ambiguous, of his authority over the church shows the importance of this objection to the Restoration settlement.

The simplest, clearest attack on Scots religion in the settlement lay in its Erastian nature, which was, in the view of the Covenanters, a blatant attack by the king on God's authority. Closely related to

⁴² Anonymous, pp. 2, 34.

⁴³ Cowan, pp. 45–47.

⁴⁴ Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*, pp. 33–36.

⁴⁵ Baillie, II, p. 449.

Scottish anti-Erastianism was the support of many Scots for Presbyterianism, and uncompromising loyalty to Presbyterian ministers, who taught strongly Calvinist interpretations of Scripture and led worship without a liturgy. Further, Covenanters refused to abjure oaths which they had taken in God's name. Ultimately, the Covenanters believed that God had complete authority over their lives, and that they were obliged to live in accordance with his commands, as expressed in Scripture. Their refusal to accept the religious situation in 1662 stemmed from this, and their belief that the Restoration settlement was contrary to God's will.

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Evidence of Evil Captured Through the Lens: *Night Will Fall* (2014)

HANNAH LEWIS

Hannah Lewis is a recent History graduate of the University of Aberdeen. In September 2023 she will continue her studies at the University of Edinburgh, completing her MSc in Contemporary History. She will extend her knowledge of themes covered in this essay such as genocide, human rights and public history throughout the MSc. Hannah intends to apply her studies to a career as a documentary researcher.¹

The Holocaust produced some of the most harrowing images presented on film as evidenced in *Night Will Fall* (2014), a British Holocaust documentary about the making of the British government documentary *German Concentration Camps Factual Survey* (1945). The 1945 documentary featured original footage captured by British troops upon the liberation of the various camps. The film taken by the soldiers depicted the brutalised bodies of the murdered men and women in intricate detail, the human rights abuses committed upon those who had survived, as well as the reaction and viewing of the camps by German locals and Nazi officials. The footage taken was deemed by the British government themselves to be too graphic to show public audiences and by the end of the war, new political tensions with the Soviet Union meant that the British now saw Germany as a potential ally in a post-war world. Thus the project was left unfinished and locked in the archives for almost seventy years until archivists from the Imperial War Museum took the original footage to restore and complete the abandoned documentary.²

The final result of the work by the Imperial War Museum along with interviews from survivors and the soldiers that liberated and filmed the camps make *Night Will Fall* a moving and successful piece of public history. In addition, *Night Will Fall* aired on the British television channel, Channel 4 as part of International Holocaust Remembrance Day where it received critical acclaim with film critic Peter

¹ This essay was written for HI4518: History in Practice.

² *Night Will Fall*, dir. by A. Singer, (British Film Institute, 2014).

Bradshaw stating that “Once seen, these images cannot be unseen”.³ Therefore, highlighting that the footage remains shocking and uncomfortable to the audience today. The documentary received multiple nominations and won several FOCAL International Awards including Best Use of Footage in a History Production.⁴ Industry and critical praise demonstrate that *Night Will Fall* is a valued piece of public history especially as it contains survivor and liberator testimony. The humanisation of the victims and survivors is particularly important as living memory of the Holocaust is lost in time and therefore holds increased significance in an era of misinformation, which has led to neo-Nazism and Holocaust denial.

Night Will Fall makes exceptional use of survivors’ testimony. Various survivors are filmed in the present day, all now elderly and rewatch the footage taken in 1945. Some of those interviewed, are seen in the liberation films including Eva Mozes Kor. Kor’s story of survival is particularly rare. She, along with her sister, lived through the twin experiments conducted by the infamous Nazi, Josef Mengele who was responsible for the deaths of 1,500 individuals.⁵ Mengele was the physician at Auschwitz concentration camp, his actions would go on to become some of the most notorious Nazi horrors. He used the prisoners of Auschwitz as human lab experiments and had a particular interest in twins. Without the constraints of medical ethics, he could test his human subjects and inject them with unknown substances and continue to study them after their deaths.⁶ Even before his experiments began, Mengele used deceptive and cruel tactics to gain access to his human test subjects. Under Mengele’s orders, Nazi medics were to inform mothers that handing over their twin children was a good thing to do, this led Kor’s mother to give her twin daughters to the Nazis. As a result, Kor and her sister fell victim to the hand of Mengele under his serological studies where they were injected with dangerous substances against their will. At one point Eva experienced infection which put both her life and her sisters at risk as Mengele saw his

³ P. Bradshaw, ‘Night Will Fall review – unflinching footage reveals true hell of the Holocaust’, *The Guardian*, 18 September 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2014/sep/18/night-will-fall-review-holocaust-documentary-hitchcock-liberation-belsen-auschwitz> [Accessed 07/03/23].

⁴ FOCAL International Awards, *2015 Archive*, ‘Best Use of Footage in a History Production’ <https://focalint.org/awards/archive/2015?category=2013> [Accessed 07/03/23].

⁵ *Night Will Fall*, A. Singer.

⁶ H. Friedlander, ‘Physicians As Killers In Nazi Germany: Hadamar, Treblinka, and Auschwitz’, in F. R. Nicosia and J. Huener (eds.), *Medicine and Medical Ethics in Nazi Germany: Origins, Practices, Legacies* (New York, 2002), p. 71.

test subjects as non-human, thus deaths held no emotional bearing.⁷ Remarkably both sisters survived experimentation and *Night Will Fall* shows footage of the girls, along with other surviving twins leaving Auschwitz upon liberation. The footage reveals that the girls were young children at the time the atrocities were committed upon them, When recounting her liberation Kor remembers that the Soviet soldiers “gave us chocolate, cookies and hugs, this was my first taste of freedom”⁸. By telling her story in the documentary Kor adds to the importance of *Night Will Fall* as a piece of public history, in talking directly to the camera she is looking straight at the viewer. When she tells her story she is composed and factual, yet the emotion of her ordeal is made clear when her liberation experience is remembered in the excitement of receiving sweet treats. In this simple act she has been humanised again to enjoy the childhood pleasures of chocolate and kindness, therefore emphasising that this documentary reveals to the audience the extent of the horrors faced by children, the most vulnerable members of society, during the Holocaust.

In modern times the Holocaust is recognised as a period of extreme emotional and physical suffering. However, until the twentieth century, the term ‘trauma’ was used to refer to only physical wounds, the mental toll of suffering was not widely accepted by the medical establishment. As the century wore on, the term was expanded to include psychological pain after lengthy studies conducted by the medical establishment on veterans discovered that they experienced what became known as post-traumatic stress disorder. Using the term ‘trauma’ to refer to the experiences of other groups of victims such as those who suffered from physical and sexual abuse was not popularised until 1992 with Judith Herman’s *Trauma and Recovery*. Herman applied trauma to everyday events experienced by an individual which could lead to them developing flashbacks, panic attacks, phobias, insomnia and anxiety. In time, historians began to use Herman’s analysis and applied it to historical periods of intense violence and suffering. This served as the foundation of what we know today as Trauma Studies.⁹ Shoshana Felman theorised that by studying loss, the experience of witnessing an event or incident and the memory of it in a therapeutic nature the traumatised individual could experience a healing process

⁷ P. Weindling, *Victims and Survivors of Nazi Human Experiments: Science and Suffering in the Holocaust* (London, 2014), pp. 160-207.

⁸ E. Mozes Kor quoted in *Night Will Fall*, dir. by A. Singer, (British Film Institute, 2014).

⁹ Y. Di-Caputa, ‘Trauma and Other Historians: An Introduction’, *Historical Reflections*, 41 (2015), pp. 1-13.

where they find methods of ‘working through’ their ordeal to find peace and utilise their past in useful ways.¹⁰ By talking about their experience decades later the Holocaust survivors featured in *Night Will Fall* take control of their past, they use their stories to illustrate that before the Nazi’s rise to power they were all living peaceful and prosperous lives. The documentary demonstrates that even with the passage of time these survivors feel a necessity to publicly recall their experiences. As a piece of public history *Night Will Fall* emphasises that these individuals were all living human beings who experienced the worst effects of man’s inhumanity to man. The message of the fragility of humanity and the broadcast of the documentary on mainstream television also signifies its role in educating and informing the audience on the atrocities, therefore revealing that its content is of cultural, social and historical significance.

Although the original documentary, *German Concentration Camps Factual Survey*, was shut down by the British government, the film reels would go on to serve as evidence presented at the Nuremberg trials. A select number of soldiers were specifically trained as cameramen and ordered by producer Sidney Bernstein to capture footage that would be used as evidence of the horrors of the Holocaust. Bernstein knew that words of this crime alone would not be enough to convince the world of the realities of the fate of Europe’s Jewish population, stating that “unless filmed, I guess most people would deny what happened”.¹¹ It is evident that Bernstein predicted the possibilities of Holocaust denial, therefore proving documentary film to be useful in confirming to the public the true extent of Nazi crimes. This was further emphasised when reports from the liberated camps in Europe made their way to the BBC. The BBC was particularly apprehensive to broadcast a radio report by Richard Dimbleby which detailed the atrocious conditions of the camps upon liberation. The extent of the filth, human decay and suffering was not believed by Britain’s top broadcasting service until the documentary reels were presented to them. Once visuals were provided to the BBC, Dimbleby’s radio report was broadcast to homes across Britain on the 19th of April 1945.¹² From this, *Night Will Fall* gives recognition of the hesitation to

¹⁰ S. Felman and D. Laub, M.D., ‘*Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*’, (New York, 1992), pp 27-29.

¹¹ S. Bernstein quoted in *Night Will Fall*, dir. by A. Singer, (British Film Institute, 2014).

¹² *Night Will Fall*, A. Singer.

broadcast this radio report, which adds nuance to the debate that those at the top of British society knew of rumoured Nazi crimes, and reveals that those in the Allied nations initially struggled to comprehend the scale of what had been occurring throughout Europe.¹³ This highlights the significance of wartime filming and documentary as the footage provides proof of civilian suffering, as such explicitly evidencing war crimes of an unthinkable proportion. Therefore *Night Will Fall* is justified in being a successful piece of public history as its archive footage and analysis expands the role and responsibility of Britain in reporting on Nazi war crimes.

Using documentary footage to serve as evidence of a crime proved to be challenging. Dr Toby Haggith of the Imperial War Museum detailed that to prove the victims of the Holocaust had been murdered the cameramen had to get up close to the deceased in order to film their body for the wounds to be shown to indicate how they died. This was emotionally challenging for the cameramen and also according to Haggith, went against previous war-time tradition of not explicitly capturing the image of death and brutalisation.¹⁴ In this case, however, the victims had to be filmed up close as the footage was purposefully being collected as evidence, therefore demonstrating its societal significance in enforcing the rules and conventions of war. Buchenwald camp was liberated by US forces, among those was Sergeant Benjamin Ferencz of the United States Third Army. As an elderly man, he was still deeply affected by what he witnessed when liberating the camp. When recalling the conditions of the camp he stated “It’s hard to imagine for a normal human mind...I had peered into hell”.¹⁵ After liberation, Ferencz would go on to become the United States Chief Prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials. Ferencz’s role as a soldier and as a lawyer gave unique insight on two fronts into the emotional toll of witnessing the Holocaust despite not being a victim of Nazism. At the Nuremberg trials footage initially taken for the *German Concentration Camps Factual Survey*, played a significant role in convicting the Commandant of Bergen-Belsen, Josef Kramer as a war criminal and sentencing him to death.¹⁶ The impact of the footage of Belsen left a profound effect on those witnessing the trials, according to Raye Farr of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: “There is no question that people paid attention

¹³ G. C. Browder review of, R. Breitman ‘Official Secrets: What the Nazis Planned, What the British and Americans Knew’, *Central European History*, 33 (2000), 152-153.

¹⁴ Dr T. Haggith in *Night Will Fall*, dir. by A. Singer, (British Film Institute, 2014).

¹⁵ B. Ferencz quoted in *Night Will Fall*, dir. by A. Singer, (British Film Institute, 2014).

¹⁶ *Night Will Fall*, A. Singer.

to the films and that it informed people in the courtroom and confronted the defendants with a mass of demonstrable evidence of their activities".¹⁷ In using the documentary footage as evidence in a court of law it is clear to see that it contained enough proof to satisfy Allied judges that there was no reasonable doubt that the defendants did in fact commit these heinous crimes, knowingly and willingly, inflicting the upmost pain and suffering on their fellow human beings. In addition, the enormous scale of victims in this murder trial resulted in the term 'genocide' being coined by Polish scholar, Raphael Lemkin to refer to the extermination of a specific group of individuals.¹⁸ Therefore, *Night Will Fall* serves as a piece of public history in informing the viewer of the outcome of the Nuremberg trials which was directly influenced by documentary footage and as an example of legal history with the first use of the term genocide. Thus, the footage left lasting historical and legal precedent for generations to come as the Holocaust would not be the last genocide the world would witness.

Night Will Fall received worldwide broadcast as part of International Holocaust Remembrance Day, airing on Channel 4 in the UK and screened at various film festivals.¹⁹ This then increases its relevance as a piece of public history in its connection to an internationally recognised commemorative event. The purpose of International Holocaust Remembrance Day is to act as the official commemoration for victims of Nazism, promote Holocaust education and to combat Holocaust denial. Each year on January 27th, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, the victims are honoured in various ways through religious and commemorative ceremonies, the showing of films and documentaries and lectures and presentations. In some countries, International Holocaust Remembrance Day is recognised alongside other remembrance days for events in the Holocaust relating to that specific country, such as Argentina, where the 19th of April, the day of the Warsaw ghetto uprising is commemorated in the national Day for

¹⁷ R. Farr quoted in *Night Will Fall*, dir. by A. Singer, (British Film Institute, 2014).

¹⁸ R. Lemkin, 'Genocide', *The American Scholar*, 15 (1946), 227-230.

¹⁹ C. Horst, 'Holocaust Doc 'Night Will Fall' Gets Global Broadcast', *Variety*, November 21 2014, <https://variety.com/2014/film/global/holocaust-doc-night-will-fall-gets-global-broadcast-1201362494/> [Accessed 09/03/23].

Cultural Diversity.²⁰ From this, it is clear to see that *Night Will Fall* played a role in the international recognition of Holocaust remembrance with great success, as seen in its critical and industry praise.

Night Will Fall aids in International Holocaust Remembrance Day's mission of fighting against Holocaust denial. This is evident in its use of graphic primary footage from the camps on liberation, the testimony of survivors and soldiers and of the documentary's original filmmakers and academics featured from the Imperial War Museum and United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.²¹ All of these sources work in collaboration to present the absolute evidence that the Holocaust was a human tragedy that resulted in a new category of murder, genocide. Holocaust denial comes from the secrecy that Hitler and the Nazis kept surrounding this grotesque crime. Yet during the war, some Nazis boasted of their crimes resulting in rumours reaching intelligence services and newsrooms in Britain of acts of mass murder against the European Jews. The claims were dismissed due to the legacy of propaganda from World War I which detailed murderous German crimes that were revealed, largely to be false. Once the true scale of the Nazi genocide was revealed, however, it was clear that what occurred to the European Jews was true without doubt. However, at the time some in Germany and around the globe questioned the reality of the Holocaust, an attitude that continues to be found today. Much of the modern cases of Holocaust denial are cemented in anti-semitism and carry the message of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy, these views are also carried by the neo-Nazi movement consisting of those who still wish to see Hitler's policies implemented and spread to other extremist groups.²² In its broadcast on a mainstream British television channel, *Night Will Fall*, serves as a source to combat Holocaust denial, particularly through its use of original footage and survivor testimony. The viewing of masses of bodies of innocent human beings reduced to skeletal doll-like figures is troubling, but important to watch. Public history in the form of this documentary allows viewers to see for themselves the unsanitised footage of the realities of life and death in the camps and the enduring effects on survivors and witnesses

²⁰ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'International Holocaust Remembrance Day', *Holocaust Encyclopaedia*, December 15 2022, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/international-holocaust-remembrance-day> [Accessed 09/03/23].

²¹ *Night Will Fall*, A. Singer.

²² United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'Combating Holocaust Denial: Origins of Holocaust Denial', *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/combating-holocaust-denial-origins-of-holocaust-denial> [Accessed 09/03/23].

of the genocide. The footage and memories of those who lived through the Holocaust in *Night Will Fall* should move the viewer to fight back against any form of Holocaust denial.

Night Will Fall is a documentary that serves as an important piece of public history, especially as the experience of the Holocaust leaves living memory. This documentary accentuates the voices of those who lived through the horrors of Nazi genocide, as well as the soldiers who liberated them. The memories of their experiences in the war still hold emotional significance to the survivors and the liberators, this then humanises those who had been hardened by war, both through fighting and the victims of genocide and opens academic discussion on the effects of war on an individual's well-being. *Night Will Fall* holds importance in demonstrating the ways in which documentary footage can be used as evidence of crimes, alerting those unaware of the horrors to what was happening and as a tool to convict the perpetrators of mass murder never seen on such a scale in modern human history. The partnership of *Night Will Fall* and International Holocaust Remembrance Day also holds significance in public history as it plays an active role in remembering the victims, ensuring they are never forgotten and to combat modern accusations that the Holocaust was falsified in a Jewish conspiracy.

It must be noted that in the decades since the Holocaust, genocide has not been eliminated. Crimes of this magnitude and violence continued as evidenced in Rwanda in 1994 where the Tutsi ethnic group fell victim to the Hutu resulting in 77% of the Tutsi population murdered within the three month genocide.²³ In current affairs, there is the accusation that the Russian-Ukrainian war features aspects of genocide against the Ukrainian population including evidence of bodies in mass graves, targeting of civilian buildings and kidnapping and torture of men, women and children.²⁴ From this, it is clear to see that the evils of genocide continue and as such, it is of the utmost importance that public history in the form of documentaries continue to be broadcast on mainstream television documenting visual evidence of atrocities, elevating the voice of survivors and giving viewers the means to fight back against denial

²³ M. Verpoorten, 'The Death Toll of the Rwandan Genocide: A Detailed Analysis for Gikongoro Province', *Population*, 60 (2005), 331-367.

²⁴ A. Kumar Sen, 'Is Russia Committing Genocide in Ukraine?', *United States Institute of Peace*, September 21 2022, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/09/russia-committing-genocide-ukraine> [accessed 09/03/23].

of genocidal events. *Night Will Fall* achieves all of these goals and therefore, is a significant and valued piece of public history.

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Black Women's Forgotten Contributions to Freedom Struggles in America

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Jude Christison is the Editorial Assistant of the AHR and has recently graduated with a First-Class Master of Arts Degree in History. Her essay published in this issue became the inspiration for her dissertation, which focused on Black women's contributions to the Harlem Renaissance. In September, she will begin her postgraduate diploma in Information Management and Preservation at the University of Glasgow and intends to pursue a career as a digital archivist.¹

Throughout the history of the United States Black women have played highly significant roles at numerous points during the struggle for Black freedom. These women served as leaders, organisers, fundraisers, theorists, and demonstrators whilst constantly striving to create a more equal society for all African Americans. However, for several reasons which will be discussed throughout this essay, these women's contributions have often been obscured and overlooked in mainstream Black history. The commemoration of historical narratives is vital when discussing Black women's contributions for two main reasons. Firstly, we can identify authors, their audience, and their historical impact, moving the picture away from the 'white male' view of history. Second, these narratives give people reason for their actions; guided by the memory of historical knowledge their stories can inspire and educate others. The historian Harris-Perry illustrates the challenges for Black women in America. She describes when they confront race and gender stereotypes these women are standing in a crooked room, struggling to figure out which way is up. They become "bombarded with warped images of their humanity and often Black women must tilt and bend themselves to fit the distortion" created by society.² This essay will focus on three women: Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Zora Neale Hurston, and Audley Moore, each chosen because their historical narratives have been obscured in a variety of ways throughout the Black Freedom Struggle. These women will be used as case studies to display how and why Black women's contributions have been obscured and argue the detrimental impact this had on the preservation of their historical narratives.

¹ This essay was written for HI305T: The Long Black Freedom Struggle in America, 1865-2020.

² M. V. Harris-Perry, *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America* (New Haven, 2011), p. 29.

Well-Barnett, Hurston and Moore's contributions were obscured from the outset of the struggle for Black freedom. One central male leader of the movement W.E.B Du Bois argued for women's liberation in his essay 'The Damnation of Women'. However, he only pushed for freedom surrounding women's domestic exploitation, damaging the image of women as activists and instead painting them as powerless victims.³ The historian Hazel Carby agrees that "the age of Washington and Du Bois marginalised Black women's political contributions".⁴ Dowd-Hall also recognises that "women's activism and gender dynamics were both central to the freedom of the movement and to the backlash against it".⁵ Thus, even in the period in which these women were actively contributing to Black Freedom Struggles alongside male leaders such as Du Bois, they were constantly fighting an uphill battle. Receiving any recognition for their roles was a challenge as they were often obscured by male narratives.

Further, there is a wide array of historiography that discusses why Black women's contributions became obscured. The historian Ashley Farmer's theory of 'Disorderly Distribution' describes how women's contributions have been obscured because the documentation of their ideas and lives has been strewn across multiple archival spaces.⁶ Deborah Gary White believes women's contributions tend to be obscured because Black women have felt neglected for so long, they no longer believe the archival of their history to be important.⁷ She further explains how indexes compiled before women in general became important subjects of study, meant it took even longer for Black women's narratives to be recognised as historically significant. This links to Frances Beale's theory of 'Double Jeopardy', whereby being both Black and female created major disadvantages throughout these women's lives.⁸ This prejudice surrounding the historical narratives of Black women due to racism and sexism is evidently prevalent and demonstrates how and why their contributions are often obscured.

³ W.E.B Du Bois, 'The Damnation of Women', in *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil* (Massachusetts, 1920), p. 23.

⁴ H. Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (Oxford, 1988), p. 96.

⁵ J. Dowd-Hall, 'The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past', *The Journal of American History*, 91 (2005), 1233-1263, p. 1239.

⁶ A. Farmer, 'Disorderly Distribution: The Dispersal of Queen Mother Audley Moore's Archives and the Illegibility of Black Women Intellectuals', *The Black Scholar*, 52 (2022), 5-15.

⁷ D. G. White, 'Mining the Forgotten: Manuscript Sources for Black Women's History', *The Journal of American History*, 74 (1987), 237-242.

⁸ F.Beale, 'Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female', *Meridians*, 8 1969 (2008), 166-176.

Firstly, Ida B. Wells-Barnett's contributions to the struggle for Black freedom were extensively far-reaching. Wells-Barnett became a teacher at age fourteen, had a successful career in journalism, served as a secretary to the National Afro-American Council and participated in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Although these contributions were significant it was her anti-lynching campaign and speech at the National Negro Congress, which became the forerunner to the NAACP, that was obscured. Her speech 'Lynching: Our National Crime' was delivered on May 31st, 1909, in which she distilled nearly two decades of activism. Wells-Barnett declared "First: lynching is color line murder; Second: Crimes against women is the excuse, not the cause; and Third: It is a national crime and requires a national remedy".⁹ She subsequently became the first activist to link lynching to the cultural attitudes about women, both black and white. After her speech, Wells-Barnett suggested that the organisation "establish a bureau for the investigation and publication" of the details of lynching to arouse public opinion but she was dismissed.¹⁰ This was the beginning of Wells-Barnett's obscured historical narrative.

In 1916 the NAACP established a special committee to push for anti-lynching legislation and begin to enlighten the public about its horrors. Years before, in 1909 Wells-Barnett had succinctly laid out the approach the NAACP adopted in their campaign. Her ground-breaking work to launch the anti-lynching movement received no credit or acknowledgement. The reason why Wells-Barnett's work was obscured has been the subject of substantial debate. One of the most significant reasons why her impact on the Black Freedom Struggle has never been documented was due to her vexed relationship with the NAACP. There were significant ideological differences between the two and Wells-Barnett's famous uncompromising attitude did not help their relationship. For these reasons, the NAACP thought it too dangerous to include her name in the Founding Forty, subsequently obscuring Wells-Barnett's historical narrative.

⁹ Ida B. Wells, "*Lynching Our National Crime*", Proceedings of the National Negro Conference (New York, 1909), pp. 174-179.

¹⁰ P. J. Giddings, 'Missing in Action: Ida B. Wells, the NAACP, and the Historical Record', *Meridians*, 19 (2001), 69-86, p. 75.

The historian Thompson agrees, claiming that her difficult personality and need to dominate explains the tensions that arose between Wells-Barnett and many civil rights organisations.¹¹ Thompson also argues “Wells-Barnett was stronger and more direct than a race woman was expected to be”.¹² Further, Giddings believes Du Bois genuinely desired to include Wells, but he feared Wells-Barnett’s militancy and outspokenness would offend white members of the party.¹³ Mary White Ovington, a co-founder of the NAACP expressed that Wells-Barnett did not belong in an organisation because of her “powerful personality”. She believed that Wells-Barnett should have “gone [her] own way, fitted for courageous work, but perhaps not fitted to accept the restraint of an organisation”.¹⁴ This explains why the NAACP did not accept Wells-Barnett as she was an activist who believed in mobilising people to act through pride and passion, not just through abstract theories of law or social science. Thus, they considered her unpredictable and too unsophisticated to take the moderate sensibilities of the organisation into account. However, this does not explain or account for why they concealed her contribution to the anti-lynching campaign and ultimately obscured her historical narrative. After thirty years of activism, Wells-Barnett’s impact was heavily obscured when the NAACP did not grant her full credit for Ida’s many roles and strategies that were stolen from her.

In her work ‘Up from Slavery’ Wells-Barnett exclaims that “my heart aches every day for those of my race who are being immolated every day on the altar of the white man’s prejudice”.¹⁵ This links to White’s argument which explains that sexism played a large role in the obscuring of Wells-Barnett’s contributions.¹⁶ She explains that in Black women’s archives, their papers are often subsumed by prominent male members of their family or the organisations they were involved in. This was because women were not considered to be historically significant enough to document. This is clear in Wells-Barnett’s historical narrative as her enormous contributions have been obscured by male leaders when they decided to adopt her strategies without giving her recognition. The historian Carby believes that

¹¹ M. I. Thompson, *Ida B. Wells-Barnett: An Exploratory Study of an American Black Woman, 1893-1930* (Brooklyn, 1990).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹³ Giddings, *Missing in Action*, p. 76.

¹⁴ Mary White Ovington, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down* (New York, 1947), p. 46.

¹⁵ Ida B. Wells, “*Up from Slavery*”: *Respectability, True Womanhood and Black Women* (1934).

¹⁶ White, *Mining the forgotten*, p. 4.

the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries became Black women's renaissance of "intense intellectual activity and productivity".¹⁷ Although this may be true, it did not prevent the remnants of the colonised mode of thinking about history through the gaze of "great white men".¹⁸ This way of thinking about the world came to be extremely destructive to all women, especially Black women's historical narratives and unfortunately explains why their contributions were obscured.

Moreover, Zora Neale Hurston is another woman whose contributions to the struggle for Black freedom became obscured. Hurston is known for her contribution to the literary movement of the Harlem Renaissance. Through her many novels, she strove to define the contemporary African American experience and promote the traditional cultural heritage of rural southern Black communities. As the Harlem Renaissance evolved writers debated how Black people should present their culture through their literature. They asked whether authors should use their work to fight against negative stereotypes established by White writers or use it to provoke change against racism? However, Hurston believed African American writers should be free to create without the constraints of a political or creative ideology.

Hurston published *Their Eyes Were Watching God* in 1937 after her anthropological expedition to Haiti where she studied voodoo.¹⁹ The novel was widely criticised for its embrace of the vernacular from the Black South, its exploration of female sexuality and its absence of a racial political agenda. Hurston directly resisted ideas of Renaissance literature, these were novels that distinctly expressed political and racial themes. As a result of this, critic Richard Wright wrote "Miss Hurston seems to have no desire whatsoever to move in the direction of serious fiction".²⁰ More importantly, architect of the Harlem Renaissance Alain Locke and even fellow author Langston Hughes accused her of catering to white audiences, allowing white patronage to affect her work.²¹ Hurston defended these accusations by

¹⁷ Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood*, p. 7.

¹⁸ J. James, 'Profeminism and Gender Elites: WEB Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett', in S. K. Gillman and A. E. Weinbaum (eds), *Next to the Color Line: Gender, Sexuality, and WEB Du Bois* (Minneapolis, 2007), pp. 69-95.

¹⁹ Zora Neale Hurston, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (Philadelphia, 1937).

²⁰ R. Wright, *Between Laughter and Tears* (New Masses, 1937), pp. 22-23.

²¹ Alain Locke and Langston Hughes quoted in V. Boyd, *Wrapped in Rainbows: The Life of Zora Neale Hurston* (New York, 2011), p. 307.

claiming she purposefully chose to create characters memorable for their unapologetic celebration of Black heritage.²²

Due to Hurston's decision to publish novels which were not directly Renaissance 'protest literature' her literary contributions became widely concealed and her historical narrative obscured. Her work became widely criticised and deemed controversial because it did not fit easily into the stereotypes of Black stories, and it was also considered not accessible enough in the opinions of white critics reviewing it. 'Their Eyes Were Watching God' was criticised for being "too black" to appeal to a wider (white) audience.²³ Hurston was also denounced within the Black community for taking funds and grants from white people to support her writing. Thus, she was being obscured by her own community, Black writers as well as white critics. Hurston's work became under published and underrepresented. This can be understood through Beale's theory of a 'double jeopardy' as Hurston was obscured due to both her race and sex.²⁴ Her contributions to the Harlem Renaissance became concealed because her work was considered "too black" as well as exploring female sexuality, instead of a political agenda. This supports Beale's theory as Hurston was at a disadvantage from the outset due to her being both Black and a woman: a dual silencer.

Hurston's novels are still extremely hard to find copies of which exemplifies the harmful impact obscuring Black women's contributions has on their historical narratives. The historian Wall claims that when women strived to forge revised racial identity and persisted in raising concerns about sexism they were often dismissed as irrelevant.²⁵ This is portrayed clearly in Zora Neale Hurston's narrative as her literary work defined contemporary African American women's experiences, however, it did not push racial protest. Thus, Hurston was perceived as disloyal to her race and irrelevant as a writer which led to the obscuring of her historical narrative.

²² Zora Neale Hurston, letter to Dorothy West March 24, 1934, quoted in C. Kaplan, *A Life in Letters* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2007), p. 297.

²³ Boyd, *Wrapped in Rainbows*, p. 248.

²⁴ Beale, 'Double Jeopardy', pp. 166-176.

²⁵ C. Wall, *Women of the Harlem Renaissance* (Indiana, 1995), p. 7.

Lastly, “Queen Mother” Audley Moore’s contributions to Black Freedom Struggles have also been widely obscured throughout African American history. Moore’s contributions are vast and involved working on the famous Scottsboro case, the establishment of the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women movement (UAEW), ties with the Communist Party and her affiliation with Garveyism. Her association with Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) began in 1922 when he visited New Orleans. She was inspired by the nationalist leader’s speech and from then on promulgated Garveyism, championing his call for “Africa for the Africans”.²⁶ Throughout Moore’s career she sought to inspire a new generation of Black activists and is considered the key architect of nationalist thought, profoundly shaping the scope of Black liberation as it is known today.

However, each contribution Audley Moore made to Black history has been widely obscured. One way this occurred was after her death as her belongings are thought to have been stolen or destroyed in a fire. This displays the lack of care there was for the collection and documentation of Black women’s work and specifically the lack of respect for her years of activism. Further, Moore insisted that she did everything she could “to promote the cause of African freedom and to keep alive the teachings of Garvey and the works of the UNIA” after its demise.²⁷ Despite this, there is no record to date of Moore’s UNIA membership or organisational activities she participated in throughout her time with the party. Historians and scholars only know of Moore’s association with the movement through the lens of male historical narratives. For example, through her husband Josiah Spragg’s involvement or through Moore’s interviews, published for the sole reason that they discuss or relate directly to Marcus Garvey.²⁸ Even in well-documented evidence of the UNIA such as party flyers, speeches or newspaper articles Moore’s contributions are widely dismissed. Thus, Queen Mother Moore’s contributions were clearly obscured once again in favour of male narratives, more specifically male leaders of the Black Freedom Struggle.

Furthermore, Farmer’s theory on ‘Disorderly Distribution’ helps to explain why Moore’s contributions tended to be obscured. Ashely Farmer describes how Black women theorists are often left

²⁶ M. G. Rollinson, *Grassroots Garveyism: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in the Rural South* (Chapel Hill, 2007), p. 3.

²⁷ Queen Mother Audley Moore, ‘The Black Scholar Interviews: Queen Mother Moore’, *The Black Scholar*, 4 (1973), 47–55, p. 53.

²⁸ Farmer, ‘Disorderly Distribution’, p. 7.

out of historical records due to the “right kind” of sources to write them into history.²⁹ Scholars have often framed Black female activists as incongruous or enigmatic figures because their lives and thoughts are not neatly collected or processed. Therefore, Black women are often omitted from history as their work is considered hard to categorise. This can be seen clearly throughout Audley Moore’s archives as her wide-ranging theorising and activism defies the central organising structure of archival collection and preservation.

Overall, Moore’s archives are a valuable example of why Black women’s contributions to Freedom Struggles have been obscured throughout history. Her archives display the negative impact of the widespread ‘disorderly distribution’ of her work being strewn across multiple archival spaces. The lack of accurate document collation means those who want to study Moore’s life will struggle to research her accurately, as the absence of respect for her as a Black female activist has ultimately led to the lack of recognition for her contributions. As Farmer argues, without complete documentation of her history due to the racist and sexist attitudes within the archiving process, Moore’s contributions have come to be viewed as ideologically incoherent.³⁰ Farmer further discusses how Black historians have written about the ‘dilemma’ that any non-white people create within ‘traditional archival spaces’. Trouillot agrees with Farmer, discussing how archives are often established to display male “fields of power”.³¹ The historian Drake explains that the “gaze of great white men whose complexities and contradictions [can] only be explored in the archives by similarly complicated and great white men”.³² Thus, archives are established in a colonised mode that works against Black women’s contributions and subsequent historical narratives as they were set up to solely commemorate male contributions to history.

The absence of Moore’s records, not just concerning the UNIA but also her involvement with the Communist Party reveals the lack of prioritising Black working-class women in archives. This can result in a disjointed narrative of their lives, intellectual development, and their critical work as activists.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁰ A. D. Farmer, ‘Reframing African American Women’s Grassroots Organizing: Audley Moore and the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, 1957–1963’, *Journal of African American History*, 101 (2016), 69–96.

³¹ M.-R. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, 1995), p. 155.

³² J. M. Drake, ‘RadTech Meets RadArch: Towards a New Principles for Archives and Archival Description’, *On Archivy* (2016).

Further, the geopolitically disparate archive of Moore's Communist organising contributes to her marginalisation in historical narratives of the Black Freedom Struggle. The historian Hartman believes that "precarious lives are visible only in the moment of their disappearance".³³ Thus, without appropriate documentation of Black Women's activism their contributions will continue to be obscured and hence their historical narratives lost.

Although this is sadly true Farmer discusses Moore's contributions to the Black Power movement in a more positive tone. During her lifetime Queen Mother Moore demolished the widespread but mistaken view that women operated on the margins of Black nationalism, struggling to have their own voice heard in organisations controlled by men.³⁴ Moore utilised new models of womanhood through second-wave feminism to alter "the landscape of the Black Freedom Struggle through groundbreaking intellectual contributions that elevated gender matters to the same pantheon that Black Power activists placed race and class".³⁵

In conclusion, Black women's contributions to Freedom Struggles have been widely obscured throughout history in the United States. The historian White's argument explains how African American women's contributions have been overshadowed by men; either through 'Great White men's monopoly on history' or the widespread attention Black male leaders received.³⁶ Ultimately this illustrates why, as White claims, Black women felt neglected and were reluctant to donate papers as they no longer believed their history to be significant. Frances Beale's argument surrounding the 'double jeopardy' Black women faced also highlights why their contributions were obscured. Being both Black and female prevented their histories from being given suitable consideration during the period in which they contributed and to their archival collections. Further, Farmer's ideas on 'Disorderly Distribution' and the poor documentation of archival material demonstrate why Black women's contributions have so frequently been obscured. Each of these historians presents a different reason as to how and why Black women's

³³ S. Hartman, 'Venus in Two Acts', *Small Axe*, 12 (2008), p. 11.

³⁴ A. D. Farmer, *Remaking Black Power: How Black Women Transformed an Era* (North Carolina, 2017), p. 27.

³⁵ K. Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968-1980* (North Carolina, 2005), p. 114.

³⁶ White, 'Mining the Forgotten: Manuscript Sources for Black Women's History', p. 238.

contributions have been obscured and the subsequent impact. However, we must also acknowledge the opportunities these unfavourable insights have since produced.

Without her obscured contribution to the NAACP's anti-lynching campaign Ida B. Wells-Barnett would not have taken matters into her own hands. Wells-Barnett realised that to establish her place in history she was going to have to write her own. In 1970 Ida became the first Black female political activist to publish an autobiography, publicly exhibiting her contributions to freedom struggles and her lifetime of activism.³⁷ Beginning in the 1980s a new appraisal of African American women's history began by scholars such as Jacquelyn Dowd-Hall, Paula Giddings, and Hazel Carby. These women refocused academic attention on a variety of Black female activists, subsequently making their work more accessible and regularly accounted for in the teaching of Black history in America. Lastly, Farmer's article on 'Disorderly Distribution' produced new opportunities for scholars to create histories unbridled by the constraints of an archival system that was not designed with Black life in mind. As a result, Black women's contributions to freedom struggles in America are becoming more widely recognised and appreciated.

These new archives have begun to recognise oral histories with the same seriousness as textual sources. This is extremely significant and is explored in a Radio 4 podcast which states "Each death represents a library burning".³⁸ Thus, historians are now working against time to gather these extremely valuable oral histories to commemorate the Black lives that fought and died to advance the global Struggle for Black Freedom.

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³⁷ Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (1970).

³⁸ Maya Millett, *Archiving Black America* (Whistledown production for BBC Radio 4, 2020) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m00010rc>>

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Shaping the Struggle: The Effects of Global Conflicts on Black Civil Rights Organisations in the 1940s and 1950s

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The 1940s and 1950s were decades which were dominated by multiple global conflicts, namely the Second World War and the Cold War, which had far ranging effects on various realms of U.S. society and politics. One realm of domestic affairs which can be observed to have been significantly affected is the civil rights movement, and with Black civil rights organisations being vehicles for civil rights advocacy, understanding the way the conflicts affected such organisations is paramount to overall understandings of the way global conflicts affected the movement in general. Whilst scholars such as Gellman, Jonas, Sugrue and Sullivan largely consider the Second World War in relation to singular organisations, and scholars such as Dudziak and Arnesen consider a wider range of organisations in some of their Cold War literature, this essay will analyse the effects of the two conflicts on multiple Black civil rights organisations in order to observe the range of effects the conflicts had. In consideration of the effects of the Second World War, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and National Negro Congress (NNC) will be analysed and in consideration of the effects of the Cold War, the NAACP and the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) will be analysed. Through such analysis, it will be argued that the Second World War affected Black civil rights organisations similarly, through how it affected their agendas, whilst the Cold War affected civil rights organisations in numerous different ways, despite some of the effects stemming from the same root of anti-communism.

¹ This essay was written for HI305T: The Long Black Freedom Struggle in America, 1865-2020.

Affiliated with the Communist Party (CP) and presided over by A. Philip Randolph, the NNC was established in 1936 for the purpose of unifying civil rights, religious and labour groups as well as intellectuals in order to increase cooperation in the fight for liberation from racial discrimination. Whilst scholars such as Wittner suggest that the NNC did not play a significant role in racial affairs after 1940, despite its existence into the late 1940s,² the organisation's wartime activities do suggest that the NNC pushed a Black civil rights agenda during the Second World War period. Moreover, despite structural differences, the NAACP and NNC's Black civil rights agendas during the 1940s were similarly affected by the global conflict. At the start of the 1940s, prior to the entry of the U.S. into the war, the necessity of wartime production for the U.S. and its allies, who had already entered the conflict, created an avenue through which the organisations pushed their employment agendas. Gellman highlights how in the period immediately preceding Pearl Harbour and the entry of the U.S. into the war, the NNC successfully pushed for the employment of African Americans in aircraft manufacturing on the West Coast³ and notes that the NNC led the Joint Committee on Employment which incorporated organisations such as the NAACP in Brooklyn and which in the period between November 1940 and May 1941, successfully and in coalition with The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), dismantled the Sperry Gyroscope Company's race-based hiring and job classifications in favour of interracial employment policies.⁴ Thus, as well as highlighting the way the conflict affected how the organisations pushed their agendas, through how it created opportunity which the NAACP and NNC utilised, the achievement at the Sperry Gyroscope Company also highlights the effect that collaboration between the organisations and the UE had on achieving employment advancements and demonstrates the benefit of labour-civil rights convergence during the period.

The effect of wartime production on how the organisations pushed their agendas can be further observed with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's 8 December 1941 speech asking that a state of war be

² L. S. Wittner, 'The National Negro Congress: A Reassessment', *American Quarterly*, 22.4 (1970), 883-901, p. 883.

³ E. Gellman, *Death Blow to Jim Crow: The National Negro Congress and the Rise of Militant Civil Rights* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), p. 192.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

declared between the United States and Japanese Empire⁵ and the entry of the U.S. into the conflict. With entry of the U.S. into the war necessitating ramped-up defence production, employment rights can be viewed to be significantly high on the agenda of the NAACP and Jonas notes that the wartime political activity of the NAACP was largely confined to three key areas: exerting pressure on Washington for a fair employment practices act, pushing for the employment of African Americans in U.S. defence plants and pushing for desegregation of the armed forces.⁶ Specifically in the realm of employment rights, Jonas highlights the lobbying efforts of NAACP's Walter White and Charles Hamilton Houston to the Roosevelt administration to urge unions and employers to hire Black workers, particularly in defence industries.⁷ The effect of the entry into the war was such, that it led the NAACP to prioritise the employment of African Americans to a greater degree because of the opportunity which defence industries and the mass migration of African Americans out of the South created. Moreover, with a drive for greater employment, the NAACP also prioritised fair employment, highlighting a subsequent effect of the conflict as being how greater employment exacerbated the prevalence of inequalities within industries. Thus, the domestic effects of entry into the war on U.S. industry can be observed to affect how the NAACP's civil rights agenda was pushed as it utilised wartime opportunity to do so. Moreover, the secondary effect of the necessity to push for fairer employment practices and working conditions, also affected the shaping of the NNC's agenda in 1944 when it proposed a system of adjusted seniority.⁸

In her argument that voting rights efforts in the South broadened the NAACP's agenda, Sullivan acknowledges that much of the organisation's agenda was particularly driven by "[...] the urgency of defense-related issues, particularly concerning jobs and the treatment of black soldiers in the Armed Services [...]."⁹ Thus, similarly to the way the conflict exacerbated unfair employment practices, the push for the desegregation of the armed forces and for the fair treatment of Black soldiers by Black civil

⁵ F. D. Roosevelt, *Day of Infamy speech* (Washington DC: Congress, 1941) in National Archives Catalog <<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/1436350>> [Last Accessed: 07/12/2022].

⁶ G. Jonas, *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909-1969* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 152.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁸ Gellman, *Death Blow to Jim Crow*, p. 198.

⁹ P. Sullivan, 'Movement Building during the World War II Era: The NAACP's Legal Insurgency in the South', in *Fog of War: the Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. by Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 70-86, p. 73.

rights organisations, can be shown to be a direct result of the way the conflict exacerbated certain civil rights issues. Moreover, Sullivan notes the legal work of the NAACP during wartime and cites cases of court martial, dishonourable discharges and the branding of Black soldiers as rapists.¹⁰ This highlights how the increased prevalence of certain civil rights disparities, due to the conflict, shaped the legal agenda of the NAACP. Moreover, Jonas notes the NAACP's legal actions to defend Black servicemen who were persecuted for resisting assaults inflicted upon them by civilians and uniformed personnel.¹¹ Therefore, distinctly from the drive for Black employment by the organisations, which utilised opportunity to push a civil rights agenda, the prioritisation of fair employment, desegregation in the armed forces and countering the maltreatment of Black soldiers was resultant of the conflict exacerbating certain civil rights issues and necessitating their prioritisation by civil rights organisations. Moreover, both the political agenda and the legal agenda of the NAACP was affected by the conflict, highlighting how the conflict affected the shaping of various areas of the organisations' civil rights agenda.

As well as affecting the prioritisation of particular civil rights issues by the NAACP and NNC during the 1940s, the conflict also saw the creation of a broader civil rights media campaign which shaped the way that the organisations framed their advocacy for a wider range of civil rights reform. The spread of the 'Double Victory' campaign by media outlets arose originally from a letter to the *Pittsburgh Courier* and advocated the idea of victory for democracy over fascism at home as well as abroad. The principles of the campaign were utilised by the NAACP to frame issues of police brutality. Sugrue notes Thurgood Marshall's *The Crisis* article entitled 'The Gestapo in Detroit'¹² in which Marshall highlighted the Detroit police department's prejudice against the Black population and particularly the violent nature of this prejudice which resulted in the disproportionate use of force and disproportionate number of African Americans killed by police in the 1943 Detroit riot.¹³ The NAACP's likening of the Detroit police department's treatment of African Americans to the Gestapo in its print

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 73-74.

¹¹ Jonas, *Freedom's Sword*, p. 153.

¹² T. Sugrue, 'Hillburn, Hattiesburg, and Hitler: Wartime Activists Think Globally and Act Locally', in *Fog of War: the Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. by Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 87-102, p. 91.

¹³ M. Thurgood, 'The Gestapo in Detroit', *The Crisis*, 50.8 (1943), 232-233 and 246-247, p. 232.

media, highlights both how the conflict shaped the NAACP's framing of civil rights issues as well as highlights how it continued to advocate for reform in areas which weren't necessarily prioritised during the period. Consideration of Second World War era activism in relation to official state bodies should therefore not only encompass considerations of activity by Black civil rights organisations to counter maltreatment in the armed forces, as Jonas and Sullivan's illustrations do, but should also examine the efforts of such organisations to counter police brutality.

Similarly, Gellman suggests that the NNC's cultural politics "[...] extended the 'Double V' from fiery journalism into education backed activism"¹⁴ through a special education issue of the *Congress View*, a publication created by female leaders of the NNC to promote the message of 'Double Victory', which was sold to the Teachers Union.¹⁵ Gellman also notes how some of the same leaders translated 'Double V' into their education activism by opting to teach at the Carver School, which all people could enrol in irrespective of race and which had no entrance prerequisites and required only minimal fees.¹⁶ Thus, as education wasn't imperative to the wartime agendas of civil rights organisations, the utilisation of 'Double Victory' by the leaders of the NNC to shape their teaching and their advocacy to the education sector, highlights how 'Double Victory' influenced the way the organisation framed its advocacy of education rights and shows that such rights continued to be included on its agenda during the conflict.

Emergence from the Second World War into the Cold War period was marked by the submission of petitions to the United Nations (UN) by both the NNC and the NAACP. As a direct outcome of the Second World War, the formation of the UN, and its utilisation by both organisations to push broad civil rights petitions, highlights how the Second World War continued to affect how Black civil rights organisations pushed their agendas beyond the end of military action because the creation of the UN was a direct result of the conflict, as well as a field for early Cold War rivalries. Furthermore, the 1946 petition of the NNC "[...] for the elimination of political, economic and social discrimination against

¹⁴ G. *Death Blow to Jim Crow*, p. 172.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

Negroes in the United States of America”¹⁷ opened by emphasising the role of African Americans in the fight against fascism.¹⁸ Therefore, despite some scholars suggesting that the ‘Double Victory’ campaign was short-lived, the transcendence of its ideals into the foreword of the NNC’s petition, affirms the way the organisation used it to frame the fight for Black civil rights beyond the war and thus emphasises its effect on the organisations’ activities. Whilst the 1947 submission of a petition by the NAACP to the UN entitled ‘An Appeal to the World: a statement on the denial of human rights to minorities in the case of the citizens of Negro descent in the United States of America and an appeal to the United Nations’¹⁹ did not utilise the ‘Double Victory’ campaign, it did acknowledge racial discrimination in defence industries throughout the war despite Executive Order 8802.²⁰ Thus emerging into the Cold War era, the way the organisations pushed broad civil rights agendas was shaped by their utilisation of the opportunity which the formation of the UN as a Second World War product created. Viewed in tandem with the way the NNC and NAACP utilised wartime defence industries to push employment agendas, the effect of the conflict on shaping the way the organisations pushed their agendas can be viewed as multiple.

Dudziak illuminates how, despite rejection by the UN, the NAACP’s petition received international attention, particularly from the Soviet Union which she notes backed the investigation into the NAACP’s charges and drew international attention to U.S. democracy and segregation.²¹ The escalation of international attention to U.S. civil rights as a result of the NAACP’s petition can be viewed to affect the success of the NAACP’s legal agenda into the 1950s, specifically, the success of the *Brown v. Board of Education* case.²² Dudziak notes the *amicus curiae* briefs filed by the U.S. Justice Department preceding and during the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, in which NAACP’s Thurgood

¹⁷ National Negro Congress, *a petition...to the United Nations on behalf of 13 million oppressed Negro citizens of the United States of America* (Submitted to the United Nations, 1946) in Internet Archive <<https://archive.org/details/NNC-Petition-UN-1946/mode/2up>> [Accessed: 08/12/2022], p. 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁹ National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *An Appeal to the World*, ed. by W.E.B Du Bois (Submitted to the United Nations, 1947) in Internet Archive <<https://archive.org/details/NAACP-Appeal-to-the-World/page/n1/mode/2up>> [Accessed: 08/12/2022].

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.70.

²¹ M. L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 44-45.

²² The *Brown v. Board of Education* case was a 1954 Supreme Court case which resulted in the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional.

Marshall acted on behalf of the plaintiff, and highlights how the reason for government participation was the detrimental impact of segregation on U.S. foreign relations.²³ Dudziak also suggests that justices brought an understanding of U.S. foreign relations and the perceived dangers posed by communism when considering the Brown case.²⁴ Thus, the international attention to Black civil rights as a key element of American democracy which pervaded much of the Cold War era, affected the involvement of the U.S. in the case insofar as it caused the U.S. to consider the case in terms of its foreign relations. Thus, the NAACP's legal agenda in the mid-1950s benefited from Cold War international attention to U.S. democracy and from the U.S. Justice Department's awareness of such attention.

Moreover, the international attention given to civil rights and segregation as elements of American democracy in the Cold War, which affected the success of the NAACP's agenda in the Brown case, can be viewed in tandem with such international attention being a product of the NAACP's utilisation of a structure which was a Second World War product. Such a view highlights the importance of observing a long civil rights movement as advocated by Dowd-Hall,²⁵ as some effects of the Second World War and the Cold War on civil rights organisations can be viewed as interconnected.

However, whilst the Cold War affected the success of the NAACP's legal agenda, the ability of the NAACP to continue to push its civil rights agenda in the era can be observed in tandem with the way Cold War anti-communism affected the organisation politically. Berg argues that the NAACP played a key role in joining the camp of Cold War liberalism and highlights the organisation's accommodation to anti-communism and its distancing from groups and individuals suspected of communist affiliation.²⁶ Therefore, a key effect of the Cold War, the generation of widespread feelings of anti-communism in the U.S., affected the organisation by leading it to affirm its political stance as one which rejected communism and reflected its Executive Secretary Walter White's liberal politics. This political affirmation and distancing from communism facilitated the ability of the NAACP to continue its work

²³ M. L. Dudziak, 'Brown as a Cold War Case', *The Journal of American History*, 91 (2004), 32-42, p. 34.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁵ J. Dowd-Hall, 'The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past', *The Journal of American History*, 91.4 (2005), 1233-1263, p. 1263.

²⁶ M. Berg, 'Black Civil Rights and Liberal Anticommunism: The NAACP in the Early Cold War', *The Journal of American History*, 94.1 (2007), 75-96, p.76.

and thus its ability to achieve legal success in the mid-1950s. Moreover, Getachew notes, in reference to Du Bois, that “by 1950, his leftward shift had marginalized him. He was once again out of the NAACP, which he had helped to found in 1909.”²⁷ Thus the NAACP’s political line, which was affected by anti-communism, also affected its membership during the period and the early 1950s saw a significant decline in members.

However, whilst the NAACP distanced itself from left leaning civil rights organisations and continued to operate freely as a result of its liberal stance, by the late 1940s the NNC had been dissolved, with Arnesen noting that the CP merged the remnants of the organisation with the Civil Rights Congress.²⁸ Similarly to arguments levied at the NNC by Wittner, that it ceased to play a role in racial affairs after 1940, Gore notes arguments such as Arnesen’s which discount organisations such as the CRC as ‘CP front organisations’ and suggests that such arguments ignore how Black radicals used organisations like the CRC as a platform for advocating for Black liberation as well as economic justice and equality for Black women.²⁹ Therefore, just as the NNC could be shown to play a role in the civil rights movement during the 1940s, while being influenced by the CP, so too can the CRC and this is exemplified by the role of the CRC in the Rosa Lee Ingram case.³⁰ However, Cold War anti-communism had a drastically different impact on the CRC, with the organisation being labelled as a communist front group by the federal Subversive Activities Control Board in 1956 and Horne highlights the Subversive Activities Control Board’s claim that the organisation was significantly controlled by communists.³¹ The organisation’s subsequent disbandment in the same year, highlights the curtailment and decline of left civil rights organisations in the Cold War era. The fact that anti-communism affected the NAACP, the NNC and the CRC so differently when compared to the way the Second World War similarly affected the agendas of the NAACP and NNC, highlights how the differing natures of the two conflicts resulted

²⁷A. Getachew, ‘The New Black Internationalism’, *Dissent*, (2021) <<https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/the-new-black-internationalism>> [Accessed 04/12/2022].

²⁸E. Arnesen, ‘Civil Rights and the Cold War at Home: Postwar Activism, Anticommunism, and the Decline of the Left’, *American Communist History*, 11.1 (2012), 5-44, p. 20.

²⁹D. F. Gore, “‘The Danger of Being an Active anti-Communist’: Expansive Black Left Politics and the Long Civil Rights Movement’, *American Communist History*, 11.1 (2012), 45-48, p. 47.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹G. Horne, *Communist Front?: The Civil Rights Congress, 1946-1956* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), p. 356.

in Black civil rights organisations contending with a multitude of different effects of global conflicts in the 1940s and 1950s.

To conclude, global conflicts affected Black civil rights organisations in the 1940s and 1950s in a multitude of ways, with the Second World War and the Cold War having different effects. Observing the agendas of the NAACP and the NNC during the 1940s highlights how a primary way that the organisations were both affected by the Second World War was through the way the conflict affected how the organisations shaped their agendas. This effect can be observed to have been multifaceted and ranging from how the organisations utilised the opportunities of the UN and the necessity of production in defence industries to push certain agendas, to how the conflict exacerbated certain civil rights issues relating to the Armed Services and employment conditions and thus necessitated the prioritisation of such civil rights issues, and to how the organisations utilised the wartime civil rights campaign of ‘Double Victory’ to frame their advocacy of civil rights reform in areas such as police brutality and education. The state of conflict in the late 1940s and 1950s, however, did not affect the shaping of their agendas but in the case of the NAACP, as highlighted by Dudziak, shaped the success of aspects of its civil rights agenda. Distinct differences in the way the Cold War affected Black civil rights organisations can also be drawn from how anti-communism had drastically different impacts on the NAACP and CRC, and the disbandment of the CRC highlights broader notions of the impact the Cold War had on the curtailment of certain civil rights organisations. Analysing the effects of both conflicts across multiple civil rights organisations is thus important to understandings of how the civil rights movement as a whole was affected by global conflicts. Moreover, the necessity of observing a long civil rights movement is reinforced through highlighting the 1940s petitions to the UN as a point where the utilisation of a Second World War product by organisations generated an outcome which would shape the way organisations such as the NAACP were affected by the Cold War.

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Constructing the ‘Middle East’: Colonial Implications of Terminology

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Cerwyss McKay is a third-year single honours history student and the Submissions Editor of the Aberdeen Historical Review. She enjoys studying the history of the modern Middle East through the lens of gender history, particularly the fall of the Ottoman Empire and incoming British colonialism. After completing her undergraduate degree, she would like to continue her studies and pursue a career in academia.¹

Academic scholarship on the construction of the Middle East is dynamic and constantly evolving. The historiography presents wholly divergent arguments, beginning with the publication of Edward Said’s book *Orientalism* in 1978.² This book shifted the historiographic approach from the older tradition of diplomatic history to the emerging field of postcolonial study. Since the publication of *Orientalism*, an animated debate has developed with Bernard Lewis offering a defence of American policy in the Middle East.³ Many more historians have contributed to this debate, challenging the Eurocentricity of the term ‘Middle East’.⁴ The genesis of the term can be traced back to the British India Office in the 1850s when it was first coined by British imperialists. However, it was not widely used until the interwar period and has emerged as the universal term for a region spanning from Morocco to India. This paper will distinguish broad threads within the historiography to explore whether the Middle East can be considered an artificial construct. Four subtopics are evident in the historiography: problems surrounding the definitions of the ‘Middle East’, Orientalism, imperialism and globalisation. In consideration of these subtopics, this paper will concentrate on the construction of the Middle East as a geographic term and the degree of Western influence over its construction.

¹ This essay was written for HI356J: Thinking History.

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978)

³ Bernard Lewis, ‘Rethinking the Middle East’, *Foreign Affairs*, 71.4 (1992), 99-119.

⁴ See Abbas Amanat, ‘Introduction: Is there a Middle East?’, in *Is there a Middle East?: The Evolution of a Geopolitical Concept*, ed. by Abbas Amanat, Michael E. Bonnie and Michael E. Gasper, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011) and Rashid Khalidi, ‘The ‘Middle East’ as a Framework of Analysis: Re-Mapping a Region in the Era of Globalisation’, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*, 18.1 (1998), 74-81.

The term 'Middle East' has assumed a pervasive dominance within historiography since the twentieth century despite its ambiguity. There is no single definition for what constitutes the Middle East, it replaced the arguably more accurate term Near East which referred to territories contiguous to the British Empire. This term originated from a Eurocentric period when geography was determined by what was 'far' or 'near' to Europe irrespective of global geography. Interestingly, other imperialistic terminology has changed; for example, the Far East has become East Asia. This leads to the question: Why has the term Middle East remained the same? Amanat proposes that the term has survived because of geopolitics, oil exploration, territorial and ethnic disputes, and the resurgence of religious extremism.⁵ However, this argument recycles traditional stereotypes of terrorism, violence and exploitation. Khalidi is highly critical of the term and proposes a change to West Asia or North Africa. He argues that the term reflects the concerns and interests of Western countries.⁶ European colonial states such as Britain and France had the power to create and impose terminology. Despite the Middle East's colonial origins, it has become the ubiquitous term for the region; and is translated into Arabic, Persian and Turkish by the indigenous population. However, The term Southwest Asian and North African (SWANA) has begun to replace the 'Middle East' in academia in attempts to decolonise terminology. This new term challenges the universal usage of colonial terminology and seeks to distinguish the region in geographical terms rather than politically motivated Western terms.

A fundamental problem is the lack of precise definitions concerning countries, religions and languages. Unlike many European countries whose borders are defined by bodies of water, countries in the Middle East have no such clear boundary. For example, some definitions include North Africa whereas others do not. This lack of clarity has contributed to Western confusion about the identity of people in the Middle East. For many people, the Middle East is synonymous with Islam. However, as Khalidi points out this is a misconception; states such as Turkey are secular, and the majority of the world's Muslims do not reside in the Middle East. Khalidi argues that perhaps the easiest way to define the region is in terms of language; the main languages are Arabic, Persian and Turkish.⁷ However, these

⁵Amanat, p. 4.

⁶ Khalidi, p. 74.

⁷ Ibid., p. 75.

are not the only languages spoken. The region has many minorities, such as Kurds and Nubians who have unique languages and traditions.

In contrast, Hourani's book considers the Middle East as an area where Arabic is the main cultural expression and excludes all non-Arab countries.⁸ This approach is somewhat problematic. The State of Israel is a non-Arab state so would not feature in Hourani's work; however, it was previously part of Palestine, an Arab state. By excluding non-Arab countries from his analysis, Hourani risks ignoring crucial aspects of the history of the Middle East. This prompts questions concerning whether it is appropriate to write a history of all countries in the Middle East and risk generalisation or whether a more selective account provides a more efficient analysis. Hourani argues that the recent tendency to write about the history of Muslim people as a whole leads to the isolation of Islam from other aspects of culture within the Middle East.⁹ The Middle East is a diverse area with different languages, religions, and traditions. Consequently, generalisation of the region results in misconceptions and inaccurate histories.

A merit of Hourani's argument is his concentration on the continuities of Middle Eastern history. He argues that the events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were not "the imposition of something wholly new"¹⁰. His work explores the importance of the Ottoman Empire as establishing an effective system of government and considers the impact of Ottoman culture on later events. Furthermore, to understand the Ottoman Empire, historians must go further back to the first appearance of Islam. This idea of continuities is essential to the history of the Middle East and for understanding the composition of the area.

Khalil agrees with Khalidi and Hourani's discussion on the vague nature of the term, implying a rough consensus amongst historians. His argument centres around the Middle East as an invented construction driven by "assertions that reflected British and American foreign policy interests."¹¹ For

⁸ Albert Hourani, 'How Should We Write the History of the Middle East?', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23.2 (1991), 125-39, p. 128.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 127.

¹⁰ Hourani, p. 128.

¹¹ Osamah F. Khalil, 'The Crossroads of the World: U.S. and British Foreign Policy Doctrines and the Construct of the Middle East, 1902-2007', *Diplomatic History*, 38.2 (2014), 299-344, p. 302.

example, the boundaries of the Middle East shifted upon the ‘rediscovery’ of Palestine; religious revival in the West renewed interest in the ‘biblical’ lands. Missionaries attempted to find the ‘real Palestine’, ignoring the indigenous population.¹² They were only interested in the Middle East in relation to Christianity. In addition, the Middle East has been defined in terms of oil. A 1924 State Department paper discussed “the great fields of Iran, Russia, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain.”¹³ Consequently, these states were integrated into the Middle East. The oil industry elevated the importance of the Middle East and Western states have become increasingly invested in protecting their interests in this area. Thus, the Middle East is an artificial construction; its boundaries have been relocated to suit the agendas of Western states.

Orientalism has played a significant role in the construction of the Middle East. Said defines Orientalism as involving the overlapping of the historical and cultural relationship between Europe and the Middle East as well as “the ideological suppositions, images and fantasies about a region of the world called the Orient”.¹⁴ He is very critical of the U.S. which he views as an aggressive and interventionist state. Lewis vehemently opposes Said’s ideas when he states that U.S. policy in the Middle East has been largely successful. Lewis believes that Middle Eastern countries are challenged by “the prospect of having to take responsibility for their own affairs.”¹⁵ He implies that the Middle East cannot survive without foreign aid and the ‘protection’ of the U.S. He briefly discusses the vague nature of the term Middle East but promptly moves on to explore the ‘historical dimensions’ of the area. However, the Middle East as a concept does not have historical dimensions, it is a Eurocentric construction that did not exist in the same manner before colonialism. Lewis’s argument that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, states such as Armenia returned to their historic boundaries is valid. Nonetheless, these historic boundaries apply to the former Ottoman empire rather than the modern concept of the Middle East. Lewis’s decision to ignore the problematic nature of the term Middle East weakens his overall argument.

¹² Ibid., p. 308.

¹³ Ibid., p. 329.

¹⁴ Edward W. Said, ‘Orientalism Reconsidered’, *Cultural Critique*, 1 (1985), 89-107, p. 90.

¹⁵ Lewis, p. 109.

Halliday disagrees with Lewis's claim that all members of Islamic countries must be treated as one. He argues against such generalisation and believes that Middle Eastern societies should be analysed themselves. There is a great deal of variation within the Islamic world regarding political, social and economic systems. Islamic governments consist of military dictatorships, democracies and tribal oligarchies. Therefore, scholars cannot generalise and discuss Islamic people as a whole. Although he disagrees with Lewis, he does not agree with Said either. In his opinion, Said focuses on discourses, not on societies themselves.¹⁶ Halliday does not share the methodological assumptions of Said or Lewis. He explores the continuities of Islam in contrast to the essentialist view of Islam taken by Orientalists.¹⁷ His viewpoint provides a refreshing counterbalance to the acrimonious debate between Lewis and Said.

Said criticises Lewis's "almost purely political exploits require more time to mention than they are worth."¹⁸ Lewis supports Israel and the U.S., and it could be argued that his political ideology has influenced his academic work. However, this critique can also be levelled at Said. Shohat argues that Said operated within the anti-culturalist and anti-essentialist assumptions and so his political critique cannot be detached from his cultural one.¹⁹ Said was Palestinian and was very critical of U.S. policy regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Both Said and Lewis's academic writing was impacted by their inherent bias; they both explore Western imperialism but view it through different lenses. However, Said's argument is more compelling as he provides a non-Western perspective and challenges the traditional Western way of thinking.

Said concentrates on French and British colonialism as the leading proponents of Orientalism. However, Andrea Polaschegg and Suzanne Marchand have shown the importance of Orientalist thinking in Germany, and Said's assumption "that Orientalism meant an inherently negative representation of the East" has been invalidated.²⁰ Orientalism consists of a combination of negative and positive stereotypes

¹⁶ Fred Halliday, 'Orientalism' and Its Critics', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 2 (1993), 145-63, pp. 149-150.

¹⁷ Halliday, p. 157

¹⁸ Said, p. 96.

¹⁹ Ella Shohat, 'On the Margins of Middle Eastern Studies: Situating Said's 'Orientalism'', *Review of Middle East Studies*, 43.1 (2009), 18-24, p. 23.

²⁰ In Damir Skenderovic and Christina Späti, 'From Orientalism to Islamophobia: Reflections, Confirmations, and Reservations', *Reorient*, 2 (2019), 130-43, p. 132.

of the Middle East. However, Said does not claim that only French and British authors exhibited Orientalist tendencies rather he concentrates on the European states with the strongest presence in the region. Furthermore, Said has been criticised for his male-centred orientalist discourse. Skenderovic and Späti offer a critique of Said and argue that orientalist texts written by women subverted traditional tropes as they had access to places men were not permitted.²¹ Their view of Orientalism was markedly different to that of their male associates. For instance, Gertrude Bell's account of her visit to Hayyil includes discussions with the wife of the Vali; a woman she describes as an "extremely interesting woman" who offered insights into the political climate of the area.²² Bell's male colleagues would never have been permitted to be the wives of Turkish officials, Bell's diaries provide a hitherto unseen perspective and Said's decision to overlook this weakens his argument. Moreover, Said can be critiqued for elitism as he fails to discuss local resistance to colonialism; his discussion centres on the upper and middle classes. Nonetheless, Said's *Orientalism* pioneered the field of postcolonial studies and challenged the Western construction of the Middle East.

Said's theory of Orientalism has been furthered by scholars such as Mohammad who defines Orientalism as an ideology which promotes the West-Islam duality. Duality is defined as "a way of thinking that promotes duality between 'the self' and 'the other' to justify and naturalise some structured patterns of domination and exploitation".²³ Thus, the dualism between the Western 'us' and the Eastern 'other' was used to justify colonialism and the 'civilisation' of the indigenous population. Orientalism provides the framework for Westerners to define and generalise the societies of the Middle East as the Orient. Therefore, the Middle East is an Orientalist construction employed in defence of colonialism and European hegemony.

There is a substantial discussion within the historiography regarding the influence of imperialism in the construction of the term Middle East. An example of European powers redefining the Middle East can be seen in Renton's analysis of the First World War and British propaganda. He argues

²¹ Skenderovic and Späti, p. 133.

²² Gertrude Bell, 'Diary Written by Gertrude Bell While Travelling the Middle East in 1913 and 1914, Gertrude Bell Archives, GB/2/13/1/1/7.

²³ Samiei Mohammad, 'Neo-Orientalism? The Relationship between the West and Islam in our Globalised World', *Third World Quarterly*, 31.7 (2010), 1145-60, p. 1146.

that because the war was fought for national self-determination, “the Orient was re-defined as the Middle East: a region of oppressed nations”.²⁴ This narrative represents a shift in Western representations of the Middle East. Britain utilised propaganda to generate support for the war and expansion into the Middle East. They portrayed the people of the region as oppressed to justify the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. Britain became the protector of the oppressed and redefined the Orient as an area which needed to be liberated from the ‘evil’ Ottomans.²⁵ Britain created an Arab national flag and publicised Sharif Hussein as the leader of the nation in its struggle for independence. Thereby, creating the myth of an Arab revival. This invoked the idea of a Middle East and can be seen as the beginning of the term’s widespread use.

Özsu takes a similar approach when exploring the importance of the Sykes-Pico agreement²⁶. This secret agreement between Britain and France paved the way for the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Before the start of the First World War, maintaining the Ottoman Empire was considered prudent for furthering European interests. However, by 1915, it was becoming clear that the Ottoman Empire would soon collapse, and European powers thus sought to divide the Empire. This highlights the idea that the Middle East was shaped by the interests of European powers. The West believed in Orientalist political dogma regarding Eastern inferiority; they drew up borders without consulting Arab officials, running counter to their pledge of independence to Hussein. They created new nation-states to be incorporated into the Middle East, which Amanat refers to as an “essentially colonial construct”.²⁷ There is a brief mention of an independent Arab state in the agreement. However, Özsu states that Britain and France had no intention of allowing an independent Arab state and that any ‘independence’ “would

²⁴ James Renton, ‘Changing Languages of Empire and the Orient: Britain and the Invention of the Middle East, 1917-1918’, *The Historical Journal*, 50.3 (2007), 645-67, p. 645.

²⁵ Renton, p. 666.

²⁶ Umut Özsu, ‘Sykes-Pico: The Treaty that Carved up the Middle East’, *Oxford University Press Blog*, (2016), <<https://blog.oup.com/2016/05/sykes-picot-treaty-middle-east-international-law/>> (Accessed 30 February 2023). The Sykes-Pico agreement was a secret agreement between Great Britain and France, with the consent of Russia and Italy for the partition of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. The agreement was named after its negotiators and split the former Ottoman Empire into British and French zones of influence.

²⁷ Amanat, p. 4.

be tightly circumscribed”.²⁸ The modern countries composing the Middle East can be seen as the products of the ambitions of this agreement.

Mawby applies Said’s theory of Orientalism to the history of British decolonisation in the Middle East. He observes the negotiations between Arabs and Zionists in 1945 and the assumptions of British politicians which shaped their policy towards these groups. He argues that Eden’s education in Persian and Arabic, alongside his visits to the region, suggests “that Orientalist preconceptions influenced his decision” to use the nationalisation of the Suez Canal to depose Nasser.²⁹ He is linking ideas of Orientalism to the failings of British policy in Egypt. These Orientalist assumptions guided Eden’s misconceptions about the situation and shaped the subsequent conflicts within the region.

Globalisation has significantly influenced the consolidation of the Middle East and its associations. The term Middle East may be rooted in Orientalism and imperialism, but its continued use signifies the persistence of Orientalist ideas. Skenderovic and Späti argue that Orientalism amalgamates negative and positive sentiments, and has periodically resulted in the romanticisation of the Orient. On the other hand, Islamophobia is based exclusively on the concept of a radicalised Muslim and is rooted in negative perceptions of Islam.³⁰ The term Middle East has become associated with instability, violence, and terrorism.³¹ Globalisation has allowed global networks of terror to reinforce hostility and a sense of otherness. These terrorists are seen as representing Islam, a perception that is grounded in prejudice and misinformation. Furthermore, the resurgence of religiosity reinforces political, rather than spiritual, and ethical aspects of religion.³² However, globalisation has some positive impacts. Muslim communities living in the West have proven influential in relieving negative prejudices, and the internet has made information globally accessible. Unlike with British propaganda in the First World War, there is no more selective media coverage. Nonetheless, this has not mitigated innate prejudice, modern

²⁸ Özsü, ‘Sykes-Pico’.

²⁹ Spencer Mawby, ‘Orientalism and the Failure of British Policy in the Middle East: The Case of Aden’, *History*, 95.3 (2010), 332-53, p. 338.

³⁰ Skenderovic and Späti, ‘From Orientalism’, p. 130.

³¹ Khalil, p. 301.

³² Mohammad, p. 1153.

technology has disseminated widespread misinformation. Thus, Orientalism prevails under the banner of Islamophobia.

Huntington offers a similar argument in which sources of conflict will cease to be economic or ideological and instead be rooted in civilisation clashes.³³ Globalisation has made the world smaller, and communication between people has increased, heightening awareness of differences between cultures. Differences between civilisations are relatively basic. Nevertheless, they are becoming more fundamental than differences in ideology or economy. The cultural division has replaced ideological division within Europe and is apparent in the divide between Western Christianity and Eastern Islam. Huntington describes this as “the Velvet Curtain of culture has replaced the Iron Curtain of ideology.”³⁴ His idea is that people who share universal historical experiences will unite against those who do not. He proposes the concept of ‘kin-country’ syndrome in which people will support other members of their civilisation.³⁵ Thus, the division between the West and East will become more dramatic. The West’s power is at its pinnacle and uses this power to impose its economic interests on other nations. Therefore, the West has taken a vested interest in Middle Eastern oil. In response, Middle Eastern countries are uniting against this Western threat. In addition, the position of Islam has significantly altered and moved closer to the centre of world politics with events such as the Islamic Revolution in 1979, the Palestinian question and 9/11. Consequently, there is a gradual shift in power dynamics with Middle Eastern states beginning to challenge Western superiority. Globalisation has resulted in the consolidation of the Middle East and has accentuated Orientalist duality.

To conclude, the historiographical debates relating to the construction of the Middle East are wide-ranging and complex. Evidently, there is a consensus amongst historians concerning the term Middle East. Khalidi, Khalil, and Hourani are decidedly critical of the term, which they concur is a Western construction established to further their interests. The vagueness of the term has resulted in disparate definitions and demonstrated the interchangeability of the term. In addition, the debate between Lewis and Said was deeply political; they were both influenced by their political ideologies.

³³ Samuel P. Huntington, ‘The Clash of Civilisations?’, *Foreign Affairs*, 72.3 (1993), 22-49, p. 22.

³⁴ Huntington, p. 31.

³⁵ Huntington, p. 35.

However, Lewis fails to recognise the artificial nature of the term. He discusses the historical boundaries of the Middle East when it is an invented European concept. Furthermore, British colonialism played a significant role in defining the Middle East. Mawby and Özsu assume similar viewpoints in their exploration of British imperialism and its impact on the creation of the Middle East. The lines drawn in the Sykes-Pico split up the Arab landscape, shaping the modern Middle East. In addition, British wartime propaganda was shaped by Orientalist assumptions and was used to justify colonial expansion into the Middle East. Finally, globalisation has extenuated the divisions between East and West, and Huntington's argument makes this clear. The Middle East has gradually consolidated to become a united entity. Therefore, the term Middle East is an artificial construction used by Euro-America to protect their interests in the region.

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