Ex Historia has grown with every publication and the 2013 volume is no exception. This year’s authors represent ten different universities from across the UK and further afield. Having published 24 original research articles and 36 reviews since 2009, Ex Historia is now a young but well-established postgraduate journal. We have continued to build on these past successes, and have taken steps to further raise the profile of the articles we publish. The record number of submissions this year reflects this and demonstrates that postgraduates remain willing to publish their research in open-access, professionally peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary journals. 2013 has also seen innovation: Ex Historia organised two series of symposia which aimed to share research and help convert ideas into publications. Special thanks go to our Communications Officer for running these successful events. We are confident, then, that Ex Historia will continue to evolve as an open-access forum for high-quality postgraduate research.

The range of subjects our submissions cover is also noteworthy. Given the omnipresent focus on specialisation, we think it is refreshing that renaissance humanism, military history and twentieth-century politics all feature in the same volume. Moreover, with detailed analysis of individual texts and oral history sitting alongside traditional historical approaches, Ex Historia has a good claim to represent the diverse methodologies today’s researchers use to understand the past. Our Book Review Editors have compiled a set of reviews which mirror this broad range of academic interests.

Ex Historia prides itself on using professional historians to give authors constructive feedback on their research. This year we have worked hard to ensure that researchers get advice from the top specialists in their field. We are only able to conduct such a developmental review process with the help of established academics, our Editorial Team, who co-ordinate external reviews, and our Editorial Board, who give valuable feedback at the initial stages of review.

We would like to thank all those involved in producing this volume and hope it, like all good research, is both challenging and informative.

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‘A New Heaven and a New Earth’: The Making of the Cistercian Desert

The article investigates the ways in which the *topos* of the Desert, which pervades the literature and *praxis* of early Eastern Christian monasticism, was founded and came to shape the Cistercian imagination. It tracks the evolution of this theme in Cistercian thought from foundation narratives, which appealed to the image of the Desert Fathers to justify the rupture with Benedictine monasticism, up to the mystical undertones of the Desert myth in late twelfth century Cistercian theology. The paper also analyses the uses of the *topos* from legitimising the foundation of the Order and constructing the Cistercian identity to attracting the admiration and generosity of its contemporaries.

In an attempt to make them aware of their corrupted monastic observance, Robert, the subsequent founder of Cîteaux exhorts the monks of the Benedictine abbey of Molesme, advised: ‘Legite gesta sanctorum, Antonii, Macarii, Pacomii…’ [Read the deeds of the saints, Antony, Macarius, Pachomius…]. Molesme had become famous and had accumulated so much wealth that it had fallen away from the pursuit of heavenly goals. Hence Robert’s rebuke for ‘departing from the letter of the monastic rule and [their] failure to follow the rough path of the fathers of Egypt, who dwelt in the Thebaid and Scete and Nitria’.² He repeatedly confronts their way of life with that of the Egyptian fathers, who can and should be imitated as examples of virtue. As the congregation of Molesme is not convinced, Robert and several like-minded monks

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¹ Catalin Taranu’s primary research focus is Old English literature and early Germanic culture, although he occasionally deals with the early history of religious orders and early embodiments of reform. He holds a BA in Philology (English and French) from the University of Iasi (Romania), and an MA in Medieval Studies from the University of Leeds, where he is currently pursuing a PhD thesis entitled ‘Constructing Anglo-Saxon Legendary History’.

go on to found in 1098, in a marshy isolated spot, what would become the cradle of a new spirituality and way of living the perfect life: Citeaux, the New Monastery.\(^3\)

This account contains *in nuce* the attitude and *modus operandi* characteristic of the early Cistercians, indeed all the elements that make them stand out in the bigger picture of the twelfth century reform: a strong aversion towards the corrupt monastic life of their day (usually equated with the Benedictines and especially the Cluniacs), the founding of new houses in the wilderness, their appeal to the monastic ideal shaped by the Desert Fathers of Egypt.\(^4\) But ideologically, the keystone which locks all these elements into position is the myth of the desert. The spectacular evolution of the Cistercian order, from the small community of Citeaux in 1098 to an international network of over 300 houses throughout Europe in half a century is well documented and, as has been observed before, ‘can scarcely be explained by the consideration of natural, historic factors alone’.\(^5\) Indeed, this paper will mainly deal with the manifestations of imagination and mentalities just as much in need of study as the more material, directly documentable, realities of history. Hence, my main line of inquiry will be to analyse the ways in which the fascination with the desert shaped Cistercian ideals and realities throughout the history of the order. In the beginning, it led Robert de Molesme and his fellow reformers into the wilderness in the first place, later, it convinced thousands of people either to join their way of life (as members of the new order), or to support them materially (as founders of houses or donors).

Methodologically, this paper belongs to the study of the imagination ‘as a dimension of history’, more thoroughly practised by the French historiographical school of the *longue durée*, but perhaps

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best put to work by Jacques Le Goff. In connection to the Cistercians, this approach was employed to a certain extent in Louis Lekai’s previously referenced study, although not always usefully, and almost never in connection to the desert myth. I chose to focus on the desert as a place of the imagination because it is one of those key themes in which ‘material and social realities were closely intertwined with fancies of the imagination’. This study seeks to make up for the lack of research on the desert and its importance to the Cistercians by sketching a history of the *topos* in the Cistercian intellectual life.

For the Cistercians, the ‘myth of the desert’ involved on the one hand a certain theology of monasticism symbolically codified in the image of the desert itself, austere and otherworldly, a place of temptation but also one where heroic asceticism is at home, and on the other hand, a way of thinking and a vocabulary of asceticism and contemplation that can be traced back to the Desert Fathers. But the myth was used also in more pragmatic ways: to construct a Cistercian identity in opposition to that of Benedictine monasticism, which in time enhanced their attraction towards even more potential novices or benefactors (a point which I will enlarge towards the end of this paper).

The history of the desert-wilderness as a privileged location is deeply embedded in the history of Christianity and especially that of monastic asceticism. Even in the Old Testament, the desert already had the ambivalent character it would assume in the medieval imagination: despite the difficulties of crossing the desert as described in Exodus, for the Hebrews the desert was a

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7 Le Goff, p. 15.
8 T. Renna, ‘The Wilderness and the Cistercians’, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 30 (1995), 179-89 (only one paper on the same theme I have undertaken) and J. Goehring, ‘The Dark Side of Landscape: Ideology and Power in the Christian Myth of the Desert’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 33 (2003), 437-51 (a rich and useful study of the desert as ideological construct which focuses solely on Late Antiquity, but which provides great opportunities for further research in medieval sources).
9 For a useful and rich introduction to the life (everyday, intellectual and mystical) of the earliest Christians living in the deserts of Egypt, see William Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
‘wilderness experienced collectively and the scene of Yahweh’s most important revelation’. Interestingly, this characterisation remains valid even when discussing the monastic desert myth. In Christianity, the desert has multiple layered meanings: it is the place where Christ was tempted by Satan, a dangerous place, the ‘abomination of desolation’ (Mt 24.15), but at the same time it is the Egyptian ‘desert made a city’ by Antony and the first monks. As such, it is the ideal site for marvels, where hermits could prove their mettle in the battle against the Devil and his demons (Lk 8.29). More positively, after conquering the demons without and within, the desert (heremus or desertum) became a kind of paradise where the ascetic could enjoy personal dialogue and ultimate communion with God.

Thus, the desert-wilderness was a powerful metaphor for the medieval imagination at large because it represented values opposed to those of the city, and its uses throughout time reflect the conflict between paradigms of civilization and society on the one hand, and on the other, paradigms of individuality, personal freedom and independence from authority. In the wilderness of the Western forests, which replaced the arid wastelands of the Levant, all could behave as ‘men of nature, fleeing the world of culture in every sense of the word’.

While Le Goff documents the persistence of the topos in the medieval mind, lay as well as clerical, the flight from the world was so much more poignant in the case of monks. For they essentially keep their distance from the world to free themselves from its material cares and distractions, in order to dedicate themselves fully to God, whereby they can eventually attain salvation. In the desert, ‘formal structures and supports crumble; there remains only a veiled God and an open

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13 Le Goff, Wilderness, p.52.
land of promise’. The very word *monachus* contained in itself this idea of solitude and separation (at least in the earliest patristic etymologies of the word). According to Jerome and John Cassian (the two most important conveyors of the myth of the Desert and of the Desert Fathers tradition to the West), the etymology of the word was linked to *monos* – meaning alone, solitary, isolated from the common world of people and cities, alone with God. A second interpretation of *monachus* is made by Augustine, who speaks of *monos as one* in the sense of unity between brothers, ‘who should be as one body’, of unity in multitude and sharing solitude, thereby rejecting complete isolation.

These two ideals of the monastic life, present from its very beginnings, have alternatively clashed and complemented each other throughout the history of Western monasticism, but were harmonised in perhaps the most felicitous manner in the Cistercian monastic ideal. This was accomplished by taming the idea of desert, rejecting the complete isolation of the first desert dwellers, while at the same time reinforcing it through the ideal of a shared, essentially interior solitude achieved within a community. It is in this context that Louis Lekai’s statement has to be understood; the success of the Cistercians can be explained by their:

skilful combination of the popular eremitism of the eleventh century with the traditional form of Benedictine (and thus coenobitic) monasticism, as it provided ample opportunity for those yearning for solitude, who were ready to follow the heroic virtues of the Desert fathers, while saving both the

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 communal character of monastic life and the absolute authority of St Benedict and his Rule.\textsuperscript{17}

Still, the fascination with the desert myth remained a key element of the Cistercian identity. From the very beginning, Cistercians considered themselves the only ones keeping alive and burning what William of Saint-Thierry called ‘orientale lumen et antiquam illum in religione Aegyptium fervorem’ [the light of the Orient and the ancient fervour of the religious life of the Egyptians].\textsuperscript{18} This succinct phrase evoked a wealth of images to all those belonging to the Western monastic literary community. Any reference or allusion to the beginnings of monasticism appealed to an almost fabulous mental picture, that of the first Egyptian fathers and their lives of extreme deprivation and isolation, but also unmitigated freedom from any worldly entanglements, which afforded them full involvement in the monastic mission \textit{par excellence} – the contemplation and communion with God. This is, of course, an ideal image which rarely corresponded to the gritty realities of either the first monastic communities in the Desert (rebellion against ecclesiastical authority, popular Evagrian ideas declared heretical, etc.) or the Cistercians ones (the questionable evictions of hermits from lands donated to Cistercian communities, the amassing of riches etc.). Its force, however, lies precisely in its dialectic; the ideal of the Desert was a thing of the idealized past and at the same time of the ideal future to which everyone aspired.

Thus, \textit{orientale lumen} evoked the desire of heaven, martyrdom for the sake of divine love, the angelic life, the primacy of humility, purity, prayer and psalmody, and severe asceticism that was emphasised in the accounts of the Desert Fathers.\textsuperscript{19} These were not only the cherished memories of the Golden Age of the beginnings but also the basic elements making up the identity of every monastic community, which, straying however far from these demanding ideals, always longed

\textsuperscript{17} Lekai, \textit{Ideals and Reality}, p. 228.
for the fervent observance of the Desert Fathers. As one scholar of early monasticism accentuated, ‘if you study the history of spirituality, you will find that each time that there is a spiritual renewal in the Church, the desert fathers are present’.  

Thus, the interest for the Ancient monasticism of the East as it was known from the works of Cassian and Jerome, respectively the *Vitae Patrum* and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, never waned in the Cistercian imagination, always being nourished through the evocation of an Orient full of wonders. In chapter 73 of his Rule, Benedict himself (the author of the monastic rule all Cistercians at least declaratively adhered to), in spite of his advocacy of the coenobitical life, states modestly that it was intended for beginners: those aspiring to a higher perfection should guide themselves according to the writings of Basil and Cassian, rich in references to the heroic lives of Eastern anchorites.

For the Cistercian Order, the Desert myth had not only theological functions (such as legitimizing the new type of monastic observance from the perspective of the Scriptural and Patristic traditions, by harmonizing it with orthodoxy), but also ideological ones. It helped to define the identity of the nascent community in relation to historical and social circumstances. For one thing, being in the Desert was a way of distancing themselves from the perceived corruption of traditional Benedictine monasticism and, to some extent, of the whole Church. In this, the Cistercians were not alone. The eleventh and especially twelfth century saw the rise not

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only of a general reform in the Church, but also of experiments with the way of living out the monastic life to the fullest. In the words of Peter Damian, one of the foremost ‘Gregorian’ reformers, ‘it seemed as if the whole world would be turned into a hermitage’. Indeed, these veritable monastic experiments have applied the concept of hermitage to new ways of life. These ‘new hermits’, as Henrietta Leyser famously names them, were not solitaries, traditional hermits, but people for whom solitude had an entirely different meaning (among them were the parents of the new orders: Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Vallombrosans etc.). Indeed, they saw themselves as ‘hermits’, but for them the hermit was no longer a solitary figure in a hut or cave: he belonged to a group of pioneers. It was their yearning for the models from Scripture and the Desert Fathers (the \textit{vita primitiva} and \textit{vita apostolica}) which shaped their lives, which gave urgency to their search for a more perfect monastic observance, and ultimately, showed that such an ideal life was possible and feasible.

The following sentence of Aelred of Rievaulx speaks volumes in this regard: ‘no perfection expressed in the words of the Gospel, or of the apostles, or in the writings of the Fathers, or in the sayings of the monks of old is wanting to our order and our way of life’. This is not so much a display of the arrogance their enemies accused them of, but rather proof of the perpetual proximity of the Desert ideal to the Cistercian imagination. In other words, it was not only possible but indeed necessary to live like the Desert Fathers. This actually shows the optimism of the first Cistercians: perfection seemed to be within their grasp. The seminal idea of the Cistercian order was the conviction that it was possible to lead even in those times a monastic life without concessions to the world. This is why Citeaux was called the ‘New Monastery’; it signalled a radical difference from the old ones.


\footnote{H. Leyser, \textit{Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000-1150} (London: Macmillan, 1984), pp. 2-8, 19-20.}

\footnote{Aelred of Rievaulx, quoted in Leyser, \textit{Hermits}, p. 4.}

be part of the historical past, but a living reality which continued to animate the present.\textsuperscript{27} For them, the desert was not a ‘sandy place where hermits could bury their heads’; they went there, as had their Lord, to find themselves, to consider how to meet the new challenge, how to find a form of living that would be appropriate, as Cluniac monasticism no longer was, to their circumstances and aspirations.\textsuperscript{28} The Desert was thus a place of future renewal: ‘the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly and rejoice even with joy and singing’ (Isaiah 35.1).

What is more, the Cistercians saw themselves as literal desert dwellers, and the \textit{topos} of the monastic community founded in the wilderness is evoked in nearly all the narratives describing the establishment of early Cistercian houses. Thus, time and again we are told that the founders settled in a ‘locus horribilis et vastae solitudinis’, ‘a place of horror and vast solitude’ (Deuteronomy 32.10), such as in the account of the founding of Cîteaux (\textit{Exordium Cisterci}), in the \textit{Vita prima} of St Bernard, to describe Clairvaux, in \textit{Exordium parvum}, where the monks from Molesme find a desert place (\textit{heremum}) which is ‘inaccessible, despicable and inapproachable’, and also in the Fountains Abbey \textit{Narratio de Fundatione}.\textsuperscript{29} This emphasis on the desolateness of the places they settled should not be taken too literally since, in most cases, they were at a convenient distance from the commercial thoroughfares of the time. However, the idea mattered very much to the Cistercians, who insisted that their foundations should be built as far as possible on the margins of society, in the waste-lands which, paradoxically, could be holy and a source of joy, and at the same time the home of devils and a source of terror.\textsuperscript{30} Obviously, the \textit{topos} is used to lend a heroic aura to the founders of the Order in conformity with the image of

\textsuperscript{28} Leyser, \textit{Hermits}, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{30} Leyser, \textit{Hermits}, p. 39.
the Desert Fathers.\textsuperscript{31} But it would be too simplistic to see here a discrepancy between ideals and reality.

The Cistercians indeed lived in the desert in a superior sense, that of an interior solitude shared by the members of a community. In addition to this, there may have been at work here an unconscious Neo-Platonist ideal of bringing order into chaos. As Anthony had made ‘the desert a city’, the first Cistercians cleared lands, built magnificent buildings and established a new monastic observance in what they saw as the heart of the wilderness. In the Cistercian imagination, this effectively meant taming the wild nature by establishing therein the Rule of the Order: ‘they remained living in their little huts built by their own hands, in the society of beasts, insisting on practicing daily manual labour, cutting down with their knives or axes, uprooting the land with their hoes, they transformed an uninhabited place into a habitable one’.\textsuperscript{32} Moreover, the use of the ‘locus horribilis’ topos shows the evolution of the myth of the Desert from a literal flight into the wilderness to a mystical flight into the inmost recesses of one’s heart.

Although the eleventh-century eremitical reforms did much to revive the actual practice of a life lived in forest solitude, the stress on the necessity for inner solitude was a theme that became central to the Cistercian monastic theology later on. Indeed, this, too, was part of a general tendency in twelfth century spirituality to move away from external manifestations of ascetical privation to ‘internal attitudes known only to the individual monk or nun and to their closest colleagues and spiritual advisors’.\textsuperscript{33} A more properly mystical use of the desert topos in describing

\textsuperscript{32} Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Silvanès, ed. P.-A. Verlaguet (Rodez: Carrère, 1910), p. 382.
the soul’s immediate consciousness of God was accomplished by fusing the inner ‘desert’ of the purified monastic ascetic with a ‘Dionysian-inspired teaching about the divine desert’.

However, among the first generation of Cistercians the use of the desert theme was fairly traditional. Bernard of Clairvaux appealed to the Desert Fathers in his attack on Cluny (as Robert had done, less scathingly, with the monks of Molesme), and he applied the imagery of the Exodus to the Cistercian life, although he does at times mention the interior solitude the bridal soul should cultivate in order to enjoy the visits of the divine Bridegroom. William of Saint-Thierry (c. 1085-1148) expresses his great devotion to inner solitude when he prays: ‘Give me, O Lord, the consolation of my wilderness, a solitary heart and frequent conversation with you’, but also his enthusiasm about the revival of the desert tradition among the Cistercians.

It was in the second generation of Cistercian authors, those active around 1160-90, that we find a new stage in the evolution of the desert motif. The expanded account of the origins of the Order shows how important the use of the desert myth had become, rooting the Cistercian reform in a monastic tradition stretching back to John the Baptist and Jesus himself. Within this Cistercian identity with the desert (as they understood it), a more mystical use of the desert motif also appeared. Gueric d’Igny (c. 1090-1157) was the first to give the desert theme a central role in the identity of the Cistercian community. In one of his sermons, he describes the way in which the paradox of desert solitude and community support forms the crucial preparation for the monk’s experience of the visitation of the Word: ‘it is surely the work of a

37 Auburger, L’unanimité, pp. 120-24.
38 Exordium Magnum Cisterciense, 1, in Matarasso, The Cistercian World, p. 17.
marvelous grace that in our deserts we have the peace of solitude without any lack of the consolation of caring and holy companionship’.\footnote{Guerric d’Igny, ‘Sermon 4 (On Advent)’, Sermons pour l’Année liturgique (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2011), p. 58.} Thus, for him, the desert serves as the arena for working out salvation, a traditional theme of monastic literature, which he gives a Cistercian twist, an emphasis on community in isolation.

Gilbert of Hoyland, an English Cistercian who died in 1172, was the continuator of Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs. Commenting on Song of Songs 3.6 (‘Quae est ista quae ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi?’ [Who is she that goeth up by the desert, as a pillar of smoke]), he interprets the Bride's ascension through the desert as a turning away from the emptiness of this world. He applies the symbol of the desert both to the body and the heart: ‘your heart will surely be a good desert, if it has not been furrowed by the enemy's plow’.\footnote{Gilbert of Hoyland, Sermo super Cantica, 15.3-4, in Sermons on the Song of Songs, trans. by L. Braceland, 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1978), Vol. 1, p. 197.} Among the canons regular, Richard of Saint Victor (d. 1173) also identified the desert of the Song of Songs (this time Song of Songs 8.5: ‘quae est ista quae ascendit de deserto’ [Who is this that cometh up from the desert]) with the human heart, which gives rise to ecstasy when filled with spiritual joys.\footnote{McGinn, The Presence of God, p. 293.}

Another contemporary English Cistercian, Isaac of Stella (c. 1100-c.1180), went even further: in his sermons for the first Sunday of Lent, he invites his monastic audience to follow Christ out into the desert, citing Hosea 2.14, one of the key texts of the biblical desert tradition: ‘they seek the desert and the secret places where they can be open to God, where he himself will answer and speak to their heart, as the prophet says: “I will lead you into solitude and there I will speak to your heart”’.\footnote{Isaac of Stella, Sermo 30.4, in Sermons on the Christian Year, trans. by H. McCafferty (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1979) , Vol. 2, p. 47.} This desert is an interior one, which he describes as ‘the desert not only of place, but of the spirit, or even sometimes of God’, where ‘we go into ecstasy by continually
meditating on his law’. In fact, according to McGinn, since Isaac of Stella is here identifying God with the desert, this is the earliest Latin text that explicitly links the divine desert with ecstatic experiences. This spectacular evolution of the idea of Desert from a physical abode to a mystical experience is characteristic of the development of the Cistercian imagination. It signals an internalization of the myth of the desert, a shift from a kind of *encephridion* of monastic conduct to a symbolic metaphor for the heart’s solitude.

Reviewing all the different layers belonging to the Cistercian ‘myth of the Desert’, from the more realistic and pragmatic to the more philosophic and mystical, one realizes how important this concept was to the Cistercians. Indeed, it was part and parcel of their identity and imagination. There would have been no Cistercians (as they came to be known) without the idea of the Desert. Grounded in the ecological reality of the forested and isolated sites of the first Cistercian houses, the myth emerged in the writings of the later authors who told the stories of the founding figures of the Order. Thus, it had a theological function; it was a spiritual landscape that transcended the everyday realities of desert life, an embodiment of the Christian theme of alienation from the world. The myth of the Desert ‘hung like a painting in the Christian consciousness, naturalizing Christian ideals in a world where ideals remained elusive’. The Desert was equivalent to absolute freedom from ‘this world’. Adhering to the desert myth involved writing about themselves as desert dwellers and was in fact a reenactment of an age-old Biblical and Patristic scenario. Through the myth, Cistercian authors and readers transcended their own temporal limitations – they became contemporary to the first Desert Fathers (with all the pious and pragmatic implications thereof) and they participated in the world to come. Mystically, it was a symbol of the interior solitude that was so dear to Cistercian theologians.

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Of course, the myth of the desert also had important ideological functions; it served to legitimize the foundation of the new Order and it gave the Cistercians a moral ascendant over both Cluniacs and Benedictines. In this regard, it was a very effective political weapon; when compared to the ideal of the Desert Fathers only Cistercians claimed to be perpetuating, all of their contemporaries would have been morally dwarfed. Pragmatically, this also increased their attractiveness in the eyes of potential novices and benefactors. The Cistercians’ search for remoteness met happily with the wishes of benevolent donors, because the founding of Cistercian houses was easier and less of a financial drain than the traditional Benedictine ones. Cistercians often sought waste lands, which were of no value at all at the time of donation. Also, the spiritual gain the benefactor could hope for seemed better guaranteed. Cistercians were living a more severe life, an ‘arctior vita’, than traditional Benedictines, and thus were considered to be more pleasing to God. Hence, a donation to them was considered to be an ‘excellent spiritual investment’, and ‘a double advantage, spiritual and material, for both partners’.49

But beyond any economic or political motivations, the myth of the Desert was so important in Cistercian spirituality because it satisfied both the aspiration for an essentially new way of life and the need for continuity with the foundations of monasticism. This is precisely what an early Cistercian saw in the hut in which Bernard was staying when ill: ‘wherever I turned my eyes I was amazed to see as it were a new heaven and a new earth, and the well-worn path trodden by the monks of old, our fathers out of Egypt, bearing the footprints left by men of our own time’ – a telling sample of how Cistercian identity is inseparable from the myth of the Desert.50

49 Milis, Angelic Monks, pp. 31-38 (p. 32).
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Brunetto Latini (c. 1220-1294), a Florentine notary, wrote one of the first European encyclopaediae in the vernacular, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, during an exile in France (1260-1266/7). This literary work consists of three books, hence the plural in its title. The first book deals with theoretical knowledge. After a brief presentation of the encyclopaedia’s organisational plan this book starts with a discussion of theological matters. Its central section contains a universal history. It continues with physics, cosmology, and geography, and it ends with mechanical arts and a bestiary. The first section of the second book is a translation of Aristotle’s *Nichomachean Ethics*, while the second part contains a panoply of moral precepts. The third and final book revolves around the art of rhetoric and politics.

The *Tresor* instantly became a bestseller and its fortune extended widely beyond its place of origin. Originally written in the *langue d’oil* (Old French) translations into Old Italian, generally referred to as the *Tesoro*, were quickly produced. The manuscript tradition spanned almost three centuries.

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running from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth century. Experts in Latini studies have studied this rich manuscript corpus of the Tesoro in detail. However the Tesoro also made it into the print age, as evidenced by an editio princeps (1474) and two early reprints (1528 and 1533). This print production has remained largely unexplored, except for a mere mention of its existence or a determination of textual links between manuscript and print versions.

This imbalance in scholarly attention is striking for different reasons. From a purely quantitative perspective, academic interest does not reflect the numerical significance of the manuscript and print traditions. To determine the number of printed copies that existed of the Tesoro one has to take into account that scholars cite varying figures for the fifteenth century, ranging from not more than 200 copies per edition to an average run of 500 copies, and anything in between. For the sixteenth century this figure is said to have risen to an average of 1,000 copies per edition. Even if one applies the lowest estimates for the number of copies printed per edition, this print

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production must have outnumbered the centuries-old manuscript tradition. Although a census of extant copies cannot be equated to a reconstruction of past circulation, it does provide useful indications of the number of manuscripts and print copies that existed. A recent count of Tesoro manuscripts lists 52 known exemplars, only nine of which contain the complete text of the Tesoro, and this text alone. Unfortunately, a similar count of print copies of the Tesoro is not available. The lack of a worldwide list of editions printed from 1450 until 1550 makes such a count even more difficult. In the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, covering early prints up to 1500, twenty-five libraries holding one or more copies of the 1474 print are mentioned worldwide, and fourteen in Italy alone. For the period after 1500 the evidence is more incomplete and imperfect. The ongoing Italian census of sixteenth-century prints, *Edit16*, mentions thirty-seven libraries for the 1528 reprint and fifty libraries for the 1533 reprint. Its sister system, *Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN)*, adds another three libraries for the 1528 reprint, and another five for the 1533 reprint, bringing the total for both reprints to ninety-five libraries in Italy alone. Notwithstanding a clear distinction between the rare 1474 print and the more readily available 1528 and 1533 reprints, this evidence supports the hypothesis that the print production outnumbered the manuscript production, particularly in the category of copies containing the complete text, and only this text. Of course, academic interest in a topic should not be solely

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10 No. M17137 (<http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de> [accessed 8 June 2012]). A double-check of the *Indice Generali degli Incunaboli delle Biblioteche d’Italia* (No. 5696) and the *Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North-American Collections* (No. L-70) shows that these listings mention the same fourteen Italian and two American libraries covered by the *Gesamtkatalog*.


12 *Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN)<http://www.sbn.it> [accessed 7 June 2012].

13 This distinction is also supported by the price difference between both groups on the private market. Consultations of an online marketplace (<http://www.vialibri.net>) showed a 1474 print on offer for 10,224.90 British pounds on 4 June 2010, while no less than five 1533 reprints were on offer on 7 June 2012 for prices ranging between US$599 and US$1,748.
determined on the basis of quantitative arguments. The print production of the Tesoro also deserves attention because the 1533 reprint was repeatedly cited by the Accademia della Crusca, still today the national language academy of Italy and the first such institution in Europe, in its Vocabolario (1612). Furthermore this reprint constituted the basis for the only two existing modern editions of the complete Tesoro.¹⁴

This article is not merely intended to fill this gap in the historiography of the Tesoro. It will also underline that the introduction of the printing press did not end interest in the work. The production of three print editions, in combination with the rapid succession of the 1528 and 1533 reprints, even points towards a success story. The Tesoro tradition carried on, at a different speed and volume, and propelled from a different geographical area. Furthermore, these prints not only deserve to be examined as historical artefacts in their own right, but also offer an excellent opportunity to trace the printing history of a particular work and to focus on the linkage of its print editions.¹⁵ More precisely, the argument will be made that, as a result of it being printed, the Tesoro lost its malleability in the hands of copyists. Except for minor deviances between editions the textual message of the work became fixed and standardised. This textual fixity did not, however, mean that its presentation remained unchanged. The physical composition of the prints altered, from edition to edition, under the influence of different production conditions. Finally, although a detailed analysis of the knowledge culture these print


editions represent falls beyond the scope of this article, this account of the Tesoro’s absorption into print culture sets the stage for further research on this topic.

Analysis begins with a discussion of the local, private press of Gerardus de Lisa, a Flemish immigrant who became a Trevisan printer-craftsman (1474 print). Two Venetian publishing houses will be considered next. The first firm was a short-lived collaboration entered into by an opportunistic bookseller, Nicolò Garanta (1528 reprint), while the second one was a respected and long-standing publishing outfit, led by Melchiorre Sessa (1533 reprint). Each printer or publishing house will be historically situated within its respective printing market. The place of the Tesoro within their specific printing portfolio will also be discussed and the factors leading up to each publishing decision will be examined. Finally, the impact of differences in production context on the content and presentation of each print edition will be highlighted. For this article the following copies of the three print editions were consulted in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Stamp. Ross. 734 (1474), Ferraioli V 5971 (1528), and Capponi V576 (1533). In addition, a facsimile copy of the 1474 print (Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc. 95), held by the Mediatheca ‘Fioretta Mazzei’, was examined in Florence. Additional copies of the 1528 and 1533 reprints were studied in the Biblioteca Riccardiana: St. 3961 (1528) and N.A.U. 649 (1533).16

*Editio princeps* (1474)

The Italian peninsula was the first foreign area to which printers took the invention of printing following the sack of the German city of Mainz by one of its rival archbishops, Adolph of Nassau, on 24 October 1462.17 When printing really took off in Italy in the 1470s it was,

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16 I am deeply grateful to these institutions for their permission to study these copies.
17 On the role of Johannes Gutenberg: Steinberg, pp. 4-9 and 30. See also: Luigi Balsamo, ‘I primordi della tipografia in Italia e Inghilterra’, Bibliofilia, 74, no.3 (1977), 231-62 (p. 233); Giovanni Comelli, *L’arte della stampa nel Friuli*
therefore, primarily the playground of locally dispersed and foreign-born typographers. The *editio princeps* of the *Teso*ro fits this picture perfectly. A Flemish immigrant, Geradus de Lisa (*c.* 1430-1499), printed this first edition in Treviso on 16 December 1474. Although his name is not mentioned in the colophon, the identity of the printer is specified in a poem attributed to Francesco Rondello (1427-1490) on the verso side of the folio that contains the colophon. This poem in *terza rima* is set up as a response to the unfinished colloquy between Dante Alighieri and Brunetto Latini in the fifteenth canto of the *Inferno* (*Inferno*, XV, 119-120). This canto ends with Latini’s final plea that his *Teso*ro would live on forever. At the end of his composition the poet assures Latini that his last wish has been granted: artfully printing in Treviso at the borders

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21 On this controversial canto, see recently: Claudia Villa, ‘Natura e corpo sociale. Retorica (e cecità) di ser Brunetto’, *Rivista di studi danteschi*, 10, no.2 (2010), 233-249 (with further references).
of the river Sile, Gerardus de Lisa has revived Latini’s work like a phoenix, multiplying it a thousand fold.\textsuperscript{22}

Printing had started in Treviso in 1471 with the publication of Saint Augustine’s manual \textit{De salute sive de aspiratione animae ad deum} by the same Gerardus de Lisa.\textsuperscript{23} About ten years before Gerardus printed his first book he had settled in Treviso, conveniently situated on a commercial route between Flanders and Venice. At the time Treviso was not only a commercial hub, but it also possessed a flourishing university as well as an active humanist circle.\textsuperscript{24} During the early years of his printing press (1471-1476) Gerardus de Lisa enjoyed a printing monopoly in this vibrant city, but as new entrants, often linked to nearby Venetian printing houses, started to compete in the Trevisan printing market (1476), he moved on to other cities: Venice (1477-1478), Udine (1479, 1483-1488) and Cividale del Friuli (1480-1481).\textsuperscript{25} Treviso’s print production peaked in 1480 with 19 editions.\textsuperscript{26} It disappeared completely in 1494; the last book printed once more by Gerardus. He had temporarily returned to the city in 1488 after his earlier competitors had disappeared.\textsuperscript{27} However, in 1496 Gerardus found himself in financial difficulties.\textsuperscript{28} He resumed his itinerant way of life and died in Aquileia on 16 December 1499, exactly twenty-five years after having published the \textit{Tesoro}.\textsuperscript{29} Printing did not reappear in Treviso until almost a century later, in 1589.\textsuperscript{30}


\textsuperscript{24} Scholderer, \textit{A Fleming}, p. 118.


\textsuperscript{26} Scholderer, \textit{A Fleming}, p. 119.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. 120.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., p. 123.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., p. 124.
After this portrayal of the figure of Gerardus de Lisa and a discussion of his central position within the Trevisan printing market it befits to have a closer look at his printing activities. Immediately the picture of an occasional, almost private, press emerges.\(^*\)\(^\text{31}\) Gerardus was a man of many occupations who only turned to printing as a side-line.\(^*\)\(^\text{32}\) His printing career was also somewhat haphazard, albeit innovative.\(^*\)\(^\text{33}\) Scholars link Gerardus’ production of 37 editions mainly to the stimulating presence of Francesco Rolandello and his circle of friends.\(^*\)\(^\text{34}\) This son of a local notary, Rolando Rizzo da Asolo, was an accomplished poet and chancellor (1471-1476). He was also an important teacher (maestro) in Treviso. Not surprisingly one of the first editions printed by Gerardus de Lisa was a grammar written by the same Rolandello, his *Examinationes grammaticales*.\(^*\)\(^\text{35}\) In fact, a didactic objective is generally said to be characteristic of all editions printed in Treviso from 1471 until 1476.\(^*\)\(^\text{36}\) Rolandello’s move to Venice (1477-1478) was also related to his teaching activities; he was offered the position of magister puerorum and taught the


\(^{35}\) Comelli, p. 38.

\(^{36}\) Contò, *Calami e torchi*, p. 53.
children of Leonardo Loredano and other members of the Venetian nobility.\textsuperscript{37} In addition to the aforementioned loss of a printing monopoly in Treviso in 1476, Rolandello’s relocation may also have contributed to Gerardus’ decision to move his printing business to Venice.\textsuperscript{38}

Set against this historical background, the decision by Gerardus de Lisa to print the \textit{Tesoro} becomes less of an enigma. The \textit{Tesoro} is a political encyclopaedia with a clearly didactic purpose and it was originally written by Brunetto Latini, a prominent political figure belonging to a Florentine family of notaries.\textsuperscript{39} The publication of such a work had an excellent chance of being of interest to Francesco Rolandello and his circle. In fact, as stated above, Rolandello himself had a notary as father and he was a respected teacher and chancellor. On similar grounds one could venture to speculate that the number of printed copies must have been rather limited. It was probably only intended to serve the local élite of Treviso. Additional support for this supposition can be found in the low survival rate of the \textit{editio princeps} and its characterisation as a rare edition by earlier scholars.\textsuperscript{40}

Having outlined the production context of the 1474 print, we can now begin to assess the impact of these printing conditions on the text and physical composition of the edition. With respect to the text of the \textit{editio princeps} it is sufficient to note that scholars have linked it to the text of the \textit{Tesoro} manuscript \textit{Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana}, Pluteo 42.19 (L).\textsuperscript{41} It is said to be an almost exact

\begin{enumerate}
\item[37] Serena, p. 91.
\item[38] Contò, \textit{Calami e torchi}, pp. 54-55; Nova, \textit{Quattrocento}, pp. 128-29; Scholderer, p. 119.
\item[39] In contrast to the form of address used by the publishing houses the notarial capacity of Brunetto Latini is underlined by the title \textit{ser} in the incipit of the 1474 print. It reads: ‘Qui incommincia el Tesoro di S(er) Brunetto / Latino di Firenze. E parla del naschine(n)to / e della natura di tutte le cose.’.
\item[40] Jacques-Charles Brunet, \textit{Manuel du libraire et de l’amateur de livres}, I (Paris: Dorbon-Aïné, s.d.), p. 1294; Serena, p. 234 (criticising earlier bibliophiles for taking the reference to 1,000 copies in the mentioned poem literally); Van der Meersch, p. 37; Francesco Zambrini, \textit{Le opere volgari a stampa dei secoli XIII e XIV} (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1884), p. 543.
copy thereof. Contrary to the surviving manuscript corpus, which consists mainly of fragments and miscellanies and only the occasional single item codex, the 1474 print and the later reprints contain the complete text of the Tesoro, and only this text. However, this production format was not an inevitable consequence of printing. In fact, Marco Giola points out that a fragment of the Tesoro had already been incorporated into the Fiore Novello and printed in 1473 by the Venetian printer Alvise da Sale.

This brings us to the physical composition of the 1474 print. A detailed comparison with a corpus of nineteen surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts of the Tesoro reveals a number of similarities between both media — as is often the case for early printed books. Leaving aside

57. On the question as to how such a manuscript (or a related copy) came to Treviso I am indebted to the external reviewers for pointing out the presence of Corso Donati (c. 1250-1308) as podestà of that city in 1308. In that function he was assisted by his notary, Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348). On this latter figure and his connection to Brunetto Latini: Emilio Pasquini, ‘Francesco da Barberino’, in Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997), pp. 686-691.

58. Mussafia, p. 283; Raffaele Spongano, ‘Schede per il Catalogo della “Scelta” (Continuazione dai numeri 43-47)’, Studi e problemi di critica testuale, 48, no. 1 (1994), 311-26; Squillacioti, p. 556; Roberto de Visiani, Di un nuovo codice del “Tesoro” (Venice: Antonelli, 1860), p. 28.


technology related changes, such as the absence of ruling or a greater regularity of quires, there is the continued use of rag paper, which had already largely replaced parchment in the fifteenth century.  

Structural similarities with respect to size and volume are also easily detectable. The 1474 print has a similar, large (folio) format (23.5 x 18.0 cm) with a spacious lay-out, and it consists of 126 folios. Contrary to a number of fifteenth-century manuscripts with characteristic long lines, the 1474 print is divided into two columns. In addition, the 1474 print has no signatures or catchwords. At the end of the encyclopaedia a register of catchwords, preceded by an explanatory paragraph, has, however, been inserted. This register lists the beginning and final words of each folio for the first half of each gathering, lettered from a until o, as well as the final words of the last folio of each gathering. The encyclopaedia also contains a tabula rubricarum, an overview list of the work’s descriptive chapter titles followed by a chapter number. The chapter numbering starts anew with each subdivision within the tripartite structure of the encyclopaedia. Furthermore, the chapter titles are preceded by a folio number, although the latter has not been printed. In line with the formal bookhand typical of a large portion of the examined manuscript corpus, Gerardus de Lisa also used, for the first time, a similar, distinctive Gothic type (105G) when printing the Tesoro. Moreover, the 1474 print contains a number of ornamental additions, such as hand-made initials (with visible guide-letters), borders, rubrication and paragraph signs.

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47 On printing formats: Bland, pp. 53-54; Zappella, *Libro antico a stampa*, I, pp. 330, 339-40 (folio) and 341-42 (octavo). The copy of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana misses the sixth folio, jumping in the later added foliation from folio 5 to 7. According to Brunet this blank folio is indeed sometimes missing, Brunet, p. 1294.

48 This three-part structure is typical of the original Tesor (see above). Exceptionally, extant manuscripts consist of four or five books as a result of a subdivision of the second and/or third book.

49 On the hypothesis that a tabula rubricarum presupposes a foliation that has not been stamped or is no longer visible because of trimming: Zappella, *Libro antico a stampa*, I, pp. 405-07.

These additions are executed in various colours, including gold, but, more commonly, in red-and-blue combinations. They are mainly intended to stress the encyclopaedia’s basic tripartite division as well as its more intricate subdivisions. Another structural marker is the incipit of the 1474 print. It consists of a discursive beginning, mentioning the title and author of the work, and an explanatory ending.\footnote{For the incipit, see footnote 38. On this structure: Zappella, \textit{Libro antico a stampa}, I, p. 530.} The 1474 print ends with a classic explicit repeating the title and author of the work.\footnote{The explicit reads: ‘Qui finisce el Tesoro di Ser Brunetto.’ (transl.: ‘Here ends the Tesoro of Ser Brunetto’).} This type of opening and ending is also customary for the manuscript tradition. Contrary to this tradition, the 1474 print has a colophon stating the place and date of publishing.\footnote{For the colophon, see footnote 19.}

Further research on this specific production context and its impact on the content and presentation of the \textit{Tesoro} is warranted to explore the broader ramifications of such an early modern appropriation of a late medieval canon of knowledge in a new context and format.

\textbf{1528 and 1533 reprints}

The 1528 and 1533 reprints tell a distinctively different story than the 1474 edition. From the 1480s onwards, the major printing centres had fully developed, with Venice in a leading role.\footnote{On this leading position: Harris, \textit{History of the Book}, pp. 259-61.} The printing business had gone through a concentration of the number of operators, and foreign tutelage of the business had been replaced by native independence.\footnote{Ekkart, p. 16; Harris, \textit{Ombre}, pp. 464-65 and 472-73; Scholderer, \textit{Printers and Readers}, p. 206; Steinberg, p. 30.} It should therefore not come as a surprise that, after the local experiment by a Flemish immigrant in Treviso discussed above, the later editions were both printed by Italians situated in the world’s printing capital. Furthermore, both editions are no longer the creation of a printer-craftsman enjoying a printing
monopoly, but products of publishing houses built upon a division of labour and active in a highly competitive market.\(^{56}\)

The first reprint was published on 20 March 1528 according to its colophon.\(^{57}\) A newly established publishing firm led by Nicolò Garanta and Francesco da Salò was responsible for it.\(^{58}\) Nicolò Garanta was born in Brescia, a printing centre located between Lombardy and Venice.\(^{59}\) This bookseller by profession had married into a Venetian publishing family headed by Giorgio de’ Rusconi (d. 1521).\(^{60}\) In 1521 he decided to collaborate with Francesco da Salò in order to fill the gap in the publishing market left by the death of his father-in-law.\(^{61}\) Under the mark of a dolphin swimming under a star-filled sky, this collaboration produced 17 print editions, two of which were reprints (including Brunetto Latini’s \textit{Teso\textordmasculine{ro}}).\(^{62}\) The editorial programme was strongly focused on literary texts in the vernacular, both contemporary works and \textit{Trecento} Tuscan classics. This latter interest was stretched to include the late \textit{Duecento Tesoro}.\(^{63}\) To this end, the newly inserted and richly decorated frontispiece underlined Brunetto Latini’s role as a teacher (\textit{maestro / precettore}) of Dante Alighieri, contrary to the earlier stress on Latini’s notarial capacity in the 1474

\(^{56}\) Gerulaitis, p. 5-7; Santoro, p. 96.


\(^{59}\) Nova, \textit{Cinquecento}, p. 73.

\(^{60}\) Harris, \textit{Garanta}, p. 101.

\(^{61}\) Ascarelli and Menato, p. 361 (limiting its duration to 1528); Harris, \textit{Garanta}, p. 102 (until 1530).


incipit. In addition to the easily remembered mark, the productions of this publishing house shared this frontispiece to underline their unity. This homogeneity was further strengthened by a preference for the pocket format (octavo) and the use of italic, more precisely Nicolini 182 for the *Tesoro*.

For the execution of its printing jobs the publishing firm depended on the services of three printing outfits throughout its existence. The firm started out with Gregorio de Gregori (1525-1526), a printer with a proven track record, but, as the latter was winding down his business, the publishing firm moved on to the Nicolini da Sabbio brothers (1526-1528), a printing shop with shared roots in Brescia, a reputation for excellent quality, and an openness to work with small publishing firms. In 1530, Girolamo Pencio printed only one edition for the account of the firm of Garanta and da Salò. This last edition was a reprint. The final edition produced by the Nicolini da Sabbio brothers had also been a reissue, namely the *Tesoro*. This preference for re-releases in the last stages of the firm’s existence has been interpreted as an act of opportunism, linked to the greater likelihood of success of reprints. To further ensure the appeal of the *Tesoro*, Nicolò Garanta also inserted a dedication letter to Piero Morosini, member of one of Venice’s

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64 The title of the 1528 reprint reads: ‘IL TESO / RO DI M(aestro) BRUNET / to Latino Firentino, precettore / del Divino Poeta Dante / nel qual si tratta di tut / te le cose che a mor / tali se apparten / gono. / [leaf sign] / M D XXVIII.’, while the 1533 reprint states: ‘IL TESORO DI M. / BRUNETTO LATINO / Firentino, precettore del Divi / no Poeta Dante, nel qual si / tratta di tutte le cose / che a mortalí se / appartengo / no. / [leaf sign]’.

65 Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 121-23.

66 Ibid., p. 123.


68 On this printer: Ascarelli and Menato, p. 362.

69 Harris, *Garanta*, p. 112.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.
most prestigious families, as a preface. Although the series of printed editions was indeed successful, as demonstrated, *inter alia*, by the interest later exhibited by Melchiorre Sessa, the publishing business turned out to be insufficiently profitable compared to other lines of business, and the collaboration was definitively ended in 1530. From that moment on Nicolò Garanta focused again on his bookselling activities.

The 1533 reprint was the product of a well-established printing house led by Melchiorre Sessa. Following in the footsteps of his father, Giovanni Battista Sessa (d. 1509), Melchiorre continued this publishing business alone, apart from a temporary association with Pietro di Ravani (1516-1525). He operated under the well-known family brand of a cat holding a mouse in its mouth.

The decision to reprint almost the entire catalogue of Nicolò Garanta (including Brunetto Latini’s *Teso*ro) can be linked to its proven appeal to the reading public, but also to a close personal relationship between the Garanta and Sessa — something not unheard of in the close-knit printing world of Venice. The colophon does not specify to which printer the printing job was outsourced, but the wording, especially the use of the proposition ‘*per*’, indicates that the printing


73 Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 112-14.


76 Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 112-13 (referring to the fact that Melchiorre Sessa acted as a witness to the testament of Giulia Garanta).
was indeed outsourced — a practice not uncommon to Melchiorre Sessa. In the *Short-Title Catalogue* Bernardino de Viano is mentioned as the responsible printer.

Following this presentation of the publishing firms responsible for the 1528 and 1533 reprints, their publishing activities, and the factors leading up to their decision to publish, it befits, once more, to ascertain the impact of these production contexts on the text and physical composition of these editions. In line with the opportunistic character of the reprints the text of these reissues was solely based upon the *editio princeps* without any further manuscript consultation. The 1533 reprint even contains a literal copy of the dedication letter of the 1528 reprint although this letter lists Nicolò Garanta as the responsible publisher. The text of both reprints is also said to be of a lesser quality than the already corrupted version of the 1474 edition.

The business orientation of the publishing houses likewise left its traces in the physical composition of the reprints. The deliberate choice of a portable format (15 cm x 10 cm), almost half the size of the 1474 print, is indicative of a commercially savvy enterprise attempting to exploit the latest trend in book ownership: the easy-to-transport-and-consult pocket book. Given this reduced format, a division into two columns was also no longer needed to secure the text’s readability. Although this reduction in size initially more than doubled the print’s volume to

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79 Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 142-43; Mussafia, p. 281.
80 This latter factor has been invoked to support a hypothesis of (implied) consent to this reprint by Nicolò Garanta. On this hypothesis: Harris, *Garanta*, pp. 112-13.
81 Brunet, p. 1294; Gaiter, p. xli; Spongano, p. 320; Zambini, p. 543.
271 folios (1528 reprint), the publishing house continued to pay attention to its profitability. A minimal increase in the number of lines per page (30 in 1533, compared to 29 in 1528—notwithstanding the same format size) reflects this pursuit of profit. Thanks to this increased efficiency in page use, the 1533 reprint managed to reduce its volume by 20 folios per printed copy, bringing the total down to 251. The most costly factor for the early printing firm was, of course, paper. The use of a small-sized italic (I82 compared to 105G) also fits this space-saving enterprise, while the sober execution characteristic of both reprints points towards the same focus. This attention to formal detail is similarly illustrated by the increased regularity of the quire structure. In turn, this structural consistency is reflected in the absence of a register of catchwords. In both reprints an enumeration of quire letters, followed by a simple formula stating the type of quire, sufficed. Furthermore, the reissues contain commercially interesting product innovations in the form of para-textual elements inserted either for publicity purposes or to improve the reader’s comfort. From a publicity perspective, the introduction of a frontispiece and the insertion of a dedication letter have already been mentioned. In fact, both publishing firms not only strengthen the visual appeal of their frontispiece by framing the long titles within a richly decorated cornice, but they also enhance the visibility of these titles by means of a triangle composition and a distinctive use of capitals of decreasing type sizes. This attention to marketing is also evident from the fact that, although the typographical data in the frontispiece are incomplete, the identities of the publishing firms (1528 and 1533) and printer (1528) are

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84 On the foliation error in the 1533 reprint (indicating 249 instead of 251 folios): Brunet, p. 1294.
85 Zappella, Libri antico a stampa, I, pp. 125 and 128.
86 The 1528 print has the following quire structure: a8, A-LL8, while the quire structure of the 1533 print is: a8, A-HH8, II8.
87 In the 1528 reprint this formula reads: ‘Tutti sono quaderni.’ (transl.: ‘All gatherings consist of four folios’), while the formula of the 1533 reprint states: ‘Tutti sono quaterni, eccetto II ch’è duerno.’ (transl.: ‘All gatherings consist of four folios, except for II which is a bi-folio’).
88 The 1533 reprint, neatly fitting the work’s title and author on the two first lines, gives a more balanced impression than the 1528 reprint. See footnote 63 for the transcription of both titles.
clearly indicated in the colophon, again structured in a visually attractive triangle composition. Furthermore the marks of the publishing houses, important quality indicators, are not only mentioned on a separate folio at the end of the encyclopaedia (1528 and 1533), but also incorporated into the inferior part of the cornice of the frontispiece (1533). Competition clearly required visibility. To accommodate the reader, the 1528 and 1533 reprints have added table of contents as front matter. Thanks to the stamped foliation of the text, these tables consist of chapter titles followed by a folio number, allowing the reader to consult particular parts of the encyclopaedia. To the same end, running titles have been included, indicating the table of contents or designating the book involved. In the latter case these running titles reflect a structural change from a tripartite division, typical of the 1474 print, to a division into nine books. In line with the task division between publishers and printers, characteristic of the sixteenth-century publishing business, the reprints also contain signatures and catchwords, stamped per gathering, as well as the formula of the quire structure at the end of the encyclopaedia. These instruments allowed the publishers and their printers to distinguish the gatherings of one edition from those of another work-in-progress. They permitted them to be

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89 The frontispiece of the 1528 reprint only mentions the date of publishing, while the 1533 reprint incorporates the mark of the publishing firm into the cornice of the frontispiece but leaves out the date and place of publishing.
90 In the 1533 print the mark reproduced at the end of the encyclopaedia contains both the cat-and-mouse image and the initials of Melchiorre Sessa, while the mark incorporated into the frontispiece is limited to the image. In the 1528 reprint the mark consists only of the dolphin image.
91 I.e. a reading practice not yet facilitated by the tabula rubricarum of the 1474 print (see above).
92 The running title reproduces the word ‘tavola’ in capitals in the centre of each folio side in order to indicate the table of contents or it is spread over two folio sides, again in capitals and in the centre of each folio side, in order to designate the book involved. In the latter case the left title reads ‘libro’ (1528) or ‘libro’ (1533), while the right one refers to the number of the book (from one until nine).
93 These nine books are: biblical and universal history up to the Old Testament; biblical and universal history from the New Testament onwards, and cosmology; geography and mechanical arts; bestiary: fish and waterbound animals; bestiary: snakes, birds, and airbound and landbound animals; Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*; panoply of moral precepts; rhetoric; and politics.
94 The signatures are a combination of alphabetical lettering and Arabic numbering (e.g. A/A2/A3/A4), located in the right-hand corner at the bottom of the first four pages of each quaternio, preceded by the title of the work (Tesoro) in a central position on the first page only. The last page of each quaternio contains the first words of the next one.
involved in the publishing of multiple editions at the same time instead of having to adhere to a book-for-book model.  

Additional research on the wider implications of this comparison between the *editio princeps* and the more commercially-minded sixteenth-century editions is warranted to develop the current understanding of the adoption of proto-humanist teachings by early modern publishers and their target audience.

**Conclusions**

This article portrays a fifteenth-century Trevisan printer-craftsman and two sixteenth-century Venetian publishing houses. It has discussed their position within the Trevisan and Venetian printing markets, outlined the general characteristics of their printing portfolios, and examined the factors that led up to their decisions to publish the *editio princeps* or the 1528 and 1533 reprints of the *Tesoro*. Lastly, the impact of these different production conditions on the content and presentation of each print edition has been highlighted.

This study underlines, first of all, that the advent of printing did not end interest in Brunetto Latini’s *Tesoro*. It created a period of co-existence of both media and secured the continued dissemination of the *Tesoro*. Printing did, however, entail a shift in the centre of gravity of its production, away from Tuscany to the Veneto region. It also resulted in a faster and wider circulation of the work than in the manuscript era. In fact, the production of three print editions, combined with the rapid succession of the 1528 and 1533 reprints, points towards a success story.

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95 Zappella, *Libri antichi a stampa*, I, pp. 399-402 (signatures) and 402-05 (register of catchwords).
Secondly, this analysis shows that this change from script to print signalled a distinct preference for single item content. In combination with a tendency towards linguistic standardisation this preference heralded the end of the encyclopaedia’s malleability in the hands of copyists. It fixated the message based upon a single exemplar of the manuscript tradition (L).

Finally, this examination demonstrates that such textual fixity did not mean that the Tesoro’s presentation survived unchanged. Although the product of a fifteenth-century printer-craftsman still presented important similarities to fifteenth-century manuscripts, such as the use of paper, the same size and volume, the adoption of a formal letter type or a luxurious execution, the first differences were also discernible, namely a division into two columns. The transition to the sixteenth-century publishing house resulted, however, in the most significant modifications to the work’s physical characteristics. The large folio format was swiftly replaced by a portable octavo. Driven by a relentless pursuit of cost-cutting efficiency, close attention was paid to letter type (small italic) and page use (number of lines), whilst a strict use of signatures and catch words enabled the proper execution of the agreed-upon task division between publisher and printer. The sober execution of both reprints confirms the cost-monitoring focus of the publishing houses. Active in a highly competitive market, advertising instruments, like the introduction of a frontispiece, the insertion of a dedication letter or the identification of the publishing houses in the colophon or through their marks, were readily adopted. Simultaneously, foliated table of contents and running titles were introduced to enhance the reading comfort of the buying public.
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‘Cast out into the hellish night’: Pagan Virtue and Pagan Poetics in Lorenzo Valla’s De voluptate

Lorenzo Valla (c.1406-1457) suffered the dubious distinction of being Martin Luther’s favourite humanist. As such, he has been depicted as the most avant-garde of quattrocento thinkers: the forerunner of Erasmus; an innovator in philology and textual criticism; a rhetorician who cleared away the moribund tangle of scholastic Aristotelian categories and replaced them with a philosophy of language based on usage. Yet Valla is also a profoundly contradictory figure. His rival, the humanist scholar Poggio Bracciolini, preferred to describe him as the grand heresiarch of Christianity. Valla disproved the historical truth of the Donation of Constantine, demolishing papal claims to Italian sovereignty and was eventually brought before the Neapolitan Inquisition, but ended his life as apostolic secretary in the papal curia. These, and other apparent contradictions in his life and writings, have led to Luther’s favourite humanist being labelled ‘a seriously flippant theologian’.

Valla’s first work set the tone for his controversial career: this was a three-part dialogue, first circulated in 1431 under the name De voluptate (On Pleasure), later restyled as De vero bono and

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5 For this part of Valla’s career see A. Ryder, Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 321-5.
ultimately given the title *De vero falsque bono* (*On the True and False Good*). In *De voluptate* is modelled on Cicero’s *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, a dialogue in which Cicero examines and compares the classical ethical systems of the followers of Epicurus, the Stoics and the Academy. In *De voluptate*, Valla follows a similar scheme, comparing Stoic, Epicurean, and Christian moral philosophies. Three orators examine whether the true good for man lies in Stoic virtue, in an Epicurean love of corporeal pleasures or in the Christian vision of God. Valla gives these parts to his contemporaries: the jurist Catone Sacco speaks for the Stoics, the poet Maffeo Vegio attacks Stoicism by espousing the teachings of Epicurus, and Antonio da Rho, a Franciscan friar, pronounces a Christian verdict upon them both.

Valla wrote about Epicureanism before the Renaissance rediscovery of classical Epicurean texts. Poggio Bracciolini had not yet circulated his newly-discovered manuscript of first century Epicurean philosopher Lucretius’ *De rerum natura*, and Valla wrote without access to Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives of the Philosophers*, which discussed Epicurus’ teachings in greater detail. Nor had Valla read one of the core texts of Stoic thought in the later Renaissance, as manuscripts containing the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus were fragmentary and scattered across Italy. Valla’s discussion of the ancient schools of philosophy, therefore, was not based on any new information, but on what could be gleaned from the writings of Cicero and Seneca.

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7 All quotations are taken from A. K. Hieatt’s translation of *De voluptate* (New York: Abaris Books, 1977), based on the revisions to the text Valla made in the final years of his life.


10 Lucretius’ *De rerum natura*, was rediscovered in 1417, but not copied and circulated before the 1430s (Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 221). Greek manuscripts of Diogenes Laertius’s *Lives* were pieced together by Ambrogio Traversari, working on his Latin translation, completed in 1431.

The notoriety of its author and its weighty subject matter have made *De voluptate* an attractive text for historians. Traditional interpretations hailed the work as representing nothing less than a turning point in the history of western philosophy. Focusing on Valla’s apparent sympathy with his first, Epicurean orator, it was argued that he had constructed a new vision of man based upon a more positive evaluation of *voluptas* (pleasure), writing the celebration of sensory pleasures into Christian doctrine, even to the extent of creating a ‘Christian Epicureanism’.\(^\text{12}\)

William Bouwsma, for example, declared the composition of *De voluptate* as the moment at which humanism threw off the shackles of ascetically-inclined, medieval ‘stoicising’ Christianity.\(^\text{13}\)

More recent historiography has, however, revised this view of Valla as a sensory revolutionary. Any depiction of *De voluptate* as a straightforward Epicurean broadside is undermined by its dialogic form, in which each succeeding orator criticises the moral philosophy of the previous speaker. Valla’s perspective cannot simply be aligned with that of the Epicurean speaker, for when Valla himself appears in the debate, it is to award ‘victory’ to the Christian orator.\(^\text{14}\) Valla also offers the frequent observation that his Stoic and Epicurean spokesmen are only Christian orators adopting classical masks, with the aim of producing enlightenment through dialectical reasoning.\(^\text{15}\) Thus more recent historians have preferred to categorise Valla as a ‘Christian Humanist’, arguing that whilst Valla challenged the approach and methods of scholastic theology, he did not fundamentally disagree with its conclusions.\(^\text{16}\) *De voluptate* must be read in light of Valla’s broader aspirations for Christian reform. This is the approach particularly

emphasised in Lodi Nauta’s recent work, *In Defense of Common Sense*.\(^{17}\) Nauta’s work has done much to place Valla in historical context, concentrating on the continuity between Valla’s metaphysics and natural philosophy and those of Medieval and patristic authors. In this article, I should like to supplement Nauta’s conclusions by considering Valla’s moral philosophy, and, in particular, examining what Valla has to say about the question of pagan salvation. On this topic, *De voluptate* must be situated in the context of a series of long-running debates, stretching back to the Church Fathers themselves. Valla invokes patristic commentary to discuss the true value of pagan virtue, and to challenge the arguments of many of his humanist contemporaries.

For the two authors whom Valla cites as his models, the late antique Fathers Augustine and Lactantius, pagan virtue had been a particular problem. According to Valla, Augustine had (presumably referring to his *De civitate Dei*) ‘confuted false religions’ i.e. pagan practices, whilst Lactantius had illuminated the principles of the true religion.\(^{18}\) Lactantius’ *Divine Institutes* (c.303-311) were particularly popular amongst fifteenth-century humanists, and for his ability to combine eloquence and Christian doctrine, Lactantius was dubbed the ‘Christian Cicero’.\(^{19}\) Whilst the *Divine Institutes* had exhorted educated pagans to convert to Christianity, *De voluptate* discusses the issue of the ‘virtuous pagan’, that is, the fate in the afterlife of those who lived before and without knowledge of Christ. This question had been much discussed by medieval authors such as Peter Abelard and Thomas Aquinas, but received new impetus in an Italian cultural context due to the commentary tradition on Dante.\(^{20}\) This commentary tradition prompted several questions on the relationship between classical philosophy and Christian

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\(^{18}\) *De voluptate*, I proemium [1] p. 49.


morality. This paper considers two aspects of Lorenzo Valla’s thought on this complicated topic. Firstly, it asks whether Valla believed that worthy pagan heroes had merited a heavenly reward; secondly, it assesses the moral validity that Valla attached to classical literature.

Understanding Valla’s answers to these questions is naturally important for what it suggests about his own attitudes to Christianity, attitudes on which modern scholars have found it hard to agree. Moreover, it has broader implications for how we conceptualise the relationship between theology and humanism in the quattrocento, and indeed for the uneasy alliance represented by the unfortunate term ‘Christian Humanism’ itself. Humanist theology was bequeathed a set of problems by medieval scholasticism, problems which could not simply be dismissed along with barbarous scholastic Latin. These are the problems with which Valla grapples in De voluptate.

The Virtuous Pagan

At the opening of De voluptate, Valla undertakes to discuss virtue, noting that the subject of religion had been sufficiently explored by Lactantius and Augustine. Yet, having made this assertion, he begins to discuss the fate in the afterlife of those who lived before Christ. This may seem a non sequitur, yet it is an entirely logical move. Valla is dealing with the confused question of whether those who professed a now demonstrably ‘false’ religion might be saved by virtue of their moral goodness. He takes aim at a group he dubs the amatores gentilium, those who believe that ancient pagans might have achieved salvation:

There are quite a few people and (even more shamefully) learned men, with whom I have often talked, who ask and inquire: why is it that many of the ancients...who either did

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22 For example, Aquinas had offered a somewhat positive interpretation of voluptas in his Summa Theologica, 1a 2ae 27, 1 (English Dominicans, VI, 319-20).
not know or did not venerate God as we do, are said not only to be excluded from the celestial city but also to be cast out into the hellish night?\textsuperscript{23}

The question at stake in \textit{De voluptate}, then, is how far virtue can be separated from religious practice. If a man who lived before Christ can be described as ‘honest and just’ in his actions, then it is but a small step to describing him as possessed of ‘faith and piety’. The dialogue addresses the intersection between the ‘righteous’ pagan, who might be morally ‘good’, and the ‘virtuous’ pagan, possessed of the \textit{sanctitas} that will entitle him, even if living before Christ, to salvation.

Traditionally, imitation of ‘ethical’ pagan behaviour had been considered useful to the Christian believer, primarily as a spur to good works.\textsuperscript{24} This was embodied in the oft-quoted maxim that ‘the lives of others are our teachers’.\textsuperscript{25} The medieval tradition, particularly the \textit{Accessus ad auctores}, the introductions to classical literature, stressed the correlation between \textit{dicta} and \textit{facta}, the lives of the philosophers being living embodiments of their teaching.\textsuperscript{26}

By the early fifteenth century, however, the rediscovery of texts and humanist biographical efforts were highlighting some disturbing incongruities between the precepts of pagan philosophers and their behaviour. Seneca had prescribed a life of austerity, but Juvenal, Tacitus and Quintilian suggested he had lived in rather un-philosophic opulence.\textsuperscript{27} Biographical detail threatened to undermine the philosophers’ moralising. The humanist and politician, Giannozzo

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{De voluptate}, I proemium [3] p. 49.
\textsuperscript{27} Marc Laureys, ‘Quintilian’s Judgement of Seneca and the Scope and Purpose of Inst. 10.1’, \textit{Antike und Abendland} (1991), 37, 100–25.
Manetti (c.1396-1459) had recognised this problem, and in his biography of Seneca addressed Quintilian’s criticism of the Stoic philosopher. Manetti maintained that Quintilian, another Spanish orator competing for the limelight, had slandered Seneca out of oratorical envy, not because of his lifestyle. Leonardo Bruni, Valla’s friend and mentor, essayed a different approach in his Life of Aristotle, when considering how the Stagirite’s deeds related to his teachings on the moral life. Bruni asserted that the manner in which Aristotle had lived was far less important than his excellent precepts. In De voluptate, Valla delivers an implicit rebuke to Bruni’s defence of the philosopher. Valla argues that Aristotle’s mode of death tells Christians all they needed to know about his life. He recounts the legend that Aristotle, when he finally encountered a concept he could not comprehend, committed suicide by casting himself into the river Euripus. Aristotle’s death provided a salutary lesson on the dangers of pagan philosophy, for the supposedly wise philosopher was ‘turned into a madman by immoderate greed for knowledge’.

Yet Valla does much more than pick out individual philosophers and scrutinise their behaviour. He attacks the entire edifice of classical literature, engaging with a millennium-old question. The standard patristic argument, as formulated by Augustine, held that pagan philosophers were motivated solely by love of glory, and that desire for fame obscured their desire to be ethically righteous. Many humanist scholars attempted to bridge the gulf between actions motivated by desire for glory and those done for love of virtue. The ‘secular immortality’ bestowed by fame was validated when cast as a ‘reward’ for virtue. On this basis, the political theorist Quentin

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30 De voluptate, 2.XXVIII.19 p.207; the legend is ultimately derived from Gregory Nazianzus. The criticism is repeated in Valla’s De libero arbitrio, trans. by Charles Trinkaus, in The Renaissance Philosophy of Man, ed. by Ernst Cassirer and others (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 181.
31 Augustine, City of God, V.xii-xxi (Dyson, pp. 207-28).
Skinner has argued that the quattrocento formulated a more sympathetic understanding of *fama*, wherein honour, glory and worldly fame became legitimate and admirable aims.\(^{32}\)

Certainly many of Valla’s contemporaries believed that the morally virtuous would rightly be rewarded with earthly fame and glory, as Pier Paolo Vergerio asserted: ‘just as profit and pleasure are laid down as ends for illiberal intellects, so virtue and glory are goals for the noble’.\(^{33}\) This ‘rehabilitation’ of earthly fame culminated in the early fifteenth century in Francesco da Fiano’s defence of the pagan poets, *Contra ridiculos oblocutores et detractores poetarum* (c.1404).\(^{34}\) In an invective dedicated to the future Innocent VII, Fiano argued that the motivation of the Church Fathers did not substantially differ from that of the poets.\(^{35}\) Even Augustine and Jerome had desired earthly fame:

> Though they were saints, they were human beings as well; and since we are all drawn to the desire for glory by our human nature as if by a hook, I am convinced that they, too, at one time or other were inflamed by an ardent desire for praise and a name amongst men.\(^{36}\)

*De voluptate* offers a response to such humanist attempts to bond virtue to fame. Valla’s Epicurean begins the discussion by asserting that pagan authors were motivated by fame, and fame alone:

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\(^{36}\) Fiano, trans. by Baron in *Crisis*, p. 303.
I ask what the poets wished to obtain with so much toil by day and night? Certainly they wished to become famous, not virtuous but famous – and all of them acknowledged that they strove for this.\(^{37}\)

This argument then develops into a broader consideration of the desires which compel men to study:

Quite often I am so tired of studies, so exhausted, so vexed, that I am nearly ill in soul and body [...]. Who, may I ask, would apply himself to literary studies, induced by the delights of contemplation alone?\(^{38}\)

The Epicurean Vegio asserts that whilst contemplation is often tiresome, men endure it for the anticipated recompense of praise and fame.\(^{39}\) Significantly, however, the Epicurean interlocutor never goes as far as to suggest that fame is a reward for virtue, as some of Valla’s contemporaries might have done: rather he believes that fame is more ‘real’ and valuable than virtue, because fame alone can provide pleasure.

By contrast, Valla’s Christian orator, Antonio da Rho, does not deny the reality of virtue, but rejects the supposed correlation between righteous behaviour and earthly reward for such behaviour. Boethius, the sixth-century author of *The Consolation of Philosophy*, is attacked for his simplistic contention that the evil are always miserable and the virtuous always happy.\(^{40}\) This is not the case, as the biblical story of Job demonstrates – the good often live in misery. Antonio da Rho asserts that merits do not always find earthly reward: ‘it is indeed possible to see many most

\(^{39}\) Ibid., Lxxxiii [1] p. 115.
contemptible and pernicious men loaded down with riches, honours and power'. There is no correlation between virtue and worldly honour, a conclusion which is not challenged by his interlocutors.

How, then, do we explain what motivated the Fathers of the Church in their writings? The solution is provided by the Christian orator with reference to St Paul. Paul’s toils were not pleasurable, but he did not endure them out of a desire for earthly glory. Rather he wrote in the hope of heavenly reward, and was fortified to complete his task through the infusion of divine grace. No comparison, Antonio da Rho explains, can be drawn between the motivations of Christian and pagan authors, and, moreover, texts written out of a desire for glory cannot provide instruction in virtue.

If Christian and pagan works derive from dissimilar motivations, should we also expect those works to count towards a different *finis*? What, if any, reward, did pagan behaviour merit, if it was not founded on virtue? Valla’s model, Augustine, whilst denying absolutely the possibility of pagan salvation and ridiculing Roman acts of ‘virtue’, could not quite resist giving a measure of approval to the Romans: ‘God aided the Romans in achieving the glory of so great an empire; for they were good men according to the lights of the earthly city’. Augustine excused the Romans who, on this earth, gained the rewards they deserved in temporal lordship, a blessing from God who provided for the expansion of their empire. Dante, following Eusebius and Orosius, had stretched this further in his *Monarchy*, proclaiming the Roman Empire was part of God’s providential plan: their empire was the direct result of their virtue.

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43 Augustine, *City of God*, V.xix (Dyson, p. 225).
There are tensions within *De voluptate* which are not easily resolved on this issue. Even after the Epicurean orator has claimed that Roman heroes acted out of sheer self-interest, in pursuit of pleasure, he still attempts to present their glory as virtuous, for, ‘they would bring injustice to none and aid to many [...]’. No people in all the world can be compared with the Romans for the glory of their virtues or the greatness of their power*.45

Elsewhere, however, Valla had himself expressed doubts about whether the establishment of empire should be seen as a divinely-granted ‘reward’ for virtue. Do we see him torn between his loyalties as both a Christian and a ‘Roman’, or simply demonstrating the flexibility typical of an orator? In his treatise on the Donation of Constantine, Valla, challenging the idea that any land annexed by the Roman Empire could be transferred to papal control, scorned the myth of primitive, virtuous Rome:

> You say to me ‘the Romans justly waged war upon nations and they justly deprived them of liberty’ [...]. Yet no offence could have been so serious as to warrant peoples’ everlasting slavery, since they have often waged wars through the fault of a prince or some great citizen in the state, and then, after being defeated, were undeservedly penalised with slavery.46

We find the same critique in *De voluptate*. Roman dominion was not providentially ordained, and Roman ‘victories’ are nothing compared to the victories of the Israelites. Christian glory is greater because it is achieved over eternal, demonic enemies, and therefore qualitatively different.47 Again, Valla constructs the difference between virtuous and immoral behaviour according to the desire that motivates such action: achieving glory for oneself or glorying in the

work of God. In short, only action motivated by virtuous desires can win heavenly reward. *De voluptate* even dismisses the idea that pagans would desire such salvation at all: they are satisfied with only earthly rewards. The ‘Epicurean’ Vegio avers: ‘if they offered us [Epicureans] the Elysian Fields, I should consider it most foolish to give up certain goods for uncertain ones’.\(^48\)

Valla’s conclusion asserts that pagans attained all that they desired: they were rewarded in the only currency that had value to them, in earthly glory. Christians should not lament that those who never believed in a Christian afterlife did not achieve it. *De voluptate* explains that through a ‘kind of madness’, blind love of fame, and mental fraud, the philosophers truly could believe themselves to be ‘happy inside the bull of Phalaris’. The image, drawn from Cicero, of the Stoic sage for whom nothing else existed except virtue, and who could therefore be happy even whilst in bodily torment, roasting inside the bronze bull of the legendary tyrant Phalaris, is extended to describe *all* pagan philosophers.\(^49\) Unable to conceive of the Christian afterlife, the philosophers never desired it: yet they may still be judged according to Christian doctrine, and on this basis, Valla has no hesitation in casting them out ‘into the hellish night’.\(^50\)

Valla thus denies that any comparison can be made between pagan falsehood and revealed truth. On this reading it cannot be argued that Epicurean philosophy comes closer to Christian truth than Stoicism, for both philosophies lacked any conception of the proper *finis* of man.\(^51\) Lactantius had similarly denied all possible points of contact between philosophy and Christian religion, dismissing the stories that Plato or any other philosopher gained access to Jewish holy books, and thus indirect knowledge of revealed truth.\(^52\) Valla’s assertion that without Christ there

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\(^48\) Ibid., II.xxxi [7] p. 221.
\(^50\) *De voluptate*, I proemium [3] p. 49.
can be no virtue, because predicated on false beliefs, is thus far from surprising. Yet his denial of ethical value to ancient moral systems is striking when compared to Bruni’s defence of Aristotle and Plato. Asked whether those philosophers had been good men, Bruni replied: ‘did they live according to their own custom? As if indeed virtue and moral seriousness were not the same as they are now!’\footnote{Bruni, \textit{Isagoge}, trans. Griffiths, \textit{The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni}, pp. 272-73.} For Valla, virtue had indeed always been the same, but it had never been known to Aristotle or Plato.

The Golden Age and Poetic Allegory

Valla dismantled one scheme of history, the myth of virtuous republican Rome and its heroes. He has an alternative historical narrative in mind: the notion of a lost ‘golden age’. The golden age was a potent and powerful concept in the century after Valla, most notably featuring in Giles of Viterbo’s panegyrics celebrating Pope Julius II, under whose rule it was said that the golden days returned to Rome.\footnote{Charles L. Stinger, \textit{The Renaissance in Rome} (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 293-309; John W. O’Malley, \textit{Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought} (Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 101-17.} Valla, however, does not celebrate a ‘renewed’ golden age, but instead locates it in the distant past: ‘before the Cretan king [Jupiter] held sceptre, and before a godless race banqueted on slaughtered bullocks […] golden Saturn lived on earth.’\footnote{Virgil, \textit{Georgics}, 2 vols, trans. by H. R. Fairclough (London: Heinemann, 1916), II, lines 532-40, I 174-75.} Yet this wistful invocation of a pre-Christian era of bounty raises further questions: how can Valla accommodate such a golden age into a Christian scheme of history?

The mythology of the golden age derives from classical literature and a commentary tradition which runs from Macrobius to Benvenuto da Imola. Ovid’s \textit{Metamorphoses} had described a pastoral idyll in which the earth provided for all men’s needs.\footnote{Ovid, \textit{Metamorphoses}, 2 vols, trans. by Frank Justus Miller (London: Heinemann, 1977), I, lines 113-143, II, 8-11.} A similar idyll was depicted by Virgil, who presented the ruler Saturn as an inventor who had civilised the natives of Latium by
impacting laws and teaching them agriculture. Saturn’s role as the improver of human life was often elided with that of other mythic figures, particularly Orpheus, whose music taught men how to communicate and persuaded them to form the first communities.\[^{57}\] According to this classical narrative, it was only when Saturn was overthrown by the tyrannous Jupiter that this golden age for mankind came to an end, and society descended into warfare and injustice.

Later medieval commentators had attempted to fit the golden age within Christian scheme of history. They equated the arrival of a second, renewed golden age with the Coming of Christ and the beginnings of Christian worship. They pointed to Virgil’s *Fourth Eclogue*, in which the poet had ‘foretold’ the birth of a glorious child which would transport the *aurea saecula* from the past to the future, restoring human harmony.\[^{58}\] The birth of this miracle child would usher in the restoration of human society. Some humanist authors, like Leonardo Bruni, believed that Virgil had prophesised the coming of Christ.\[^{59}\] Other commentators were more circumspect: Benvenuto da Imola, the fourteenth-century Bolognese scholar of Virgil noted that, concerning the identity of the child, ‘these words of Virgil’s are ambiguous’.\[^{60}\] Virgil might only have referred to the birth of Augustus, not Christ. Thus Valla’s interpretation of the golden age and Virgil’s prophetic powers presents an excellent opportunity to appraise his attitude towards pagan poetry, and its compatibility with Christian theology.

At this point it is worth considering Lactantius’ position on the golden age, Valla’s model. Lactantius had followed the classical tradition, but inflected it with monotheistic sentiments. The rule of Saturn, he argued, was a period in which worship of the one, true God had flourished:

This is not to be treated as poetical fiction but as truth. When Saturn was king, the worship of gods had not yet been instituted and no nation was yet committed to a view of divine status, God was certainly being worshipped. Hence the lack of discord and of enmity or war.  

The essential feature of Lactantius’ golden age is justice, the subject to which he devotes the entire fifth book of the *Divine Institutes*. Lactantius’ definition of justice is striking: it means to offer due worship to the Christian God, i.e. the practice of Christian monotheism.  

In *De voluptate*, the golden age is adduced by both Stoic and Epicurean orators in order to vindicate their respective moral philosophies. For the Stoic Catone, the golden age is proof that man requires a civilising influence, because human society naturally tends to disorder and turmoil. Saturn is celebrated as a law-giver, a ruler who brought order and stability. Conversely, the Epicurean Vegio characterises the golden age as a time in which men learned to take a delight in living. Vegio’s golden age is exemplified by indulgence: the figure of Saturn is almost dwarfed by veneration of Bacchus. There is no mention of ‘justice’: it is a period recognised as good because of mass enjoyment of pleasure. More strikingly, the golden age is not located in any precise time-frame; there is no mention of man falling away from it or of the end of Saturn’s reign. By adopting an Epicurean lifestyle, men can return to it today.  

Finally, Antonio da Rho, the Christian orator, propounds a third vision of the golden age in his closing sermon. He provides a critique of the Epicurean golden age and, like Lactantius, adapts

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61 *Divine Institutes*, V.v.1-7 (Bowen, p. 291).  
62 Ibid., V.vi.13 (Bowen, p. 294).  
64 For the golden age as a period of noble austerity see Boethius, *Consolation* II, met.v (Watts, pp. 36-37). For Salutati the golden age provided a model for monastic asceticism, *De fato et fortuna*, ed. by Concetta Bianca (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1985), XXXV.i-vi, pp. 80-81.  
the idea for Christian thought. The age was ‘golden’ because of its virtue. This narrative also provides another reason for explaining why those who lived before Christ fall short of salvation, and must be irrevocably condemned. Rho leans on Lactantius’ definition of the golden age as a period of ‘pagan monotheism’, arguing that there was a time when monotheistic virtue was known and practiced on earth. Yet at some point, sinful pagans allowed their knowledge of true religious practice to be lost, and it remained lost until the Incarnation:

There was from the beginning one set of criteria for observing divine requirements and another for earthly ones, men called the former the ‘rightful’ and the ‘virtues’, and the latter ‘expediency’. But with the irruption of false religions and the prevalence of the vices, the science of things divine fell into oblivion or was confined to very few people. Only the names of the virtues remained, preserving something of their pristine majesty because the memory of praiseworthy ancient deeds and sayings had not completely faded away. Yet the memory was like a shadow without substance.67

Antonio da Rho argues that the pagans had known, in some fashion, the basic tenets of monotheistic virtue, but let their virtue slip. Thus, as the knowledge of those virtuous actions necessary for a right relationship with God had existed on earth since creation, it becomes just – even necessary – to condemn pagan failings. The philosophers, the supposedly ‘righteous’ pagans, are doubly condemned. Having lost knowledge of the truth, they fell into error and could never recapture virtue. In Augustinian terms, they lost sight of the proper object of their love: God.68 In the third book of De voluptate, lack of knowledge means loss of virtue and the absence of justice. To interpret the golden age as nothing more than a celebration of pleasure, as the Epicureans do, is to misread salvation history.69

68 Augustine, City of God XIX.xxi (Dyson, pp. 950-52).
Antonio da Rho’s reading of the golden age as the benevolent rule of Saturn over a monotheistic society has important corollaries for the interpretation of the role of the poets in *De voluptate*. Valla endorses a ‘euhemerist’ reading in which Bacchus, Orpheus, Saturn and others represent men deified by memory, revered for the gifts they bestowed upon mankind, such as agriculture, architecture and painting. If we understand that the ‘gods’ of the poets were merely great and powerful kings, then their poems do contain some truth at the historical level. This argument that the poets created gods from mere men is, of course, no innovation: Valla borrows the civilising myth of Orpheus from Horace and Cicero, and a euhemerist interpretation of pagan mythology is adopted by Lactantius. Pagan poetry could be explained when situated in its proper historical context. Valla, however, was further concerned to explore the moral and religious usefulness of those texts.

*De voluptate* engages with a debate begun in the fourteenth century over the status of the *poeta theologus*. The debate stemmed from two alternative readings of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*: book three of the *Metaphysics* could be read as sanctioning the pagan poets as the first ‘theologians’, whose works explored divine ideas under a covering of allegory. Following the stricter reading of Aristotle propounded by Aquinas, however, the poets could be described simply as ‘liars’, ignorant of all true divinity.

Whilst many humanists were keen to defend the status of ancient poets as theologians, a difficult question remained – in what sense could they be said to have possessed knowledge of the

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70 Valla probably derives this euhemerist approach from Augustine, *City of God*, vi.5-9 (Dyson, pp. 246-60).
72 *Divine Institutes*, xl.xxxiii-lxv (Bowen, pp. 83-7).
divine? Did Virgil, Horace and Ovid enjoy the gift of prophecy, as suggested by Cicero’s *Pro Archia*, which spoke of the poets as ‘holy’?\(^{75}\) Or, following the resolution arrived at by Petrarch and Salutati, did poets have only the ‘natural’ knowledge of theology which they arrived at through reason and the study of nature?\(^{76}\)

In *De voluptate*, Valla considers the status of the *poeta theologus* by examining the truth content of pagan poetry. The Christian orator, Rho, begins by attacking the theological content of poems. He disparages the vision of the afterlife propounded in the *Aeneid*:

> Aeneas never really descended into Hades [...]. The reliability of this notion and Virgil’s authority may be gauged by the circumstance, so frequently met with in other poets, in which he heaps highest praises on men who never existed.\(^{77}\)

The supernatural content of pagan poetics is sheer invention. Yet such a proposition — the absence of truth at a literal or historical level — does not necessarily rule out an interpretation of pagan poetry according to the rules of allegory set down by the fifth-century neo-Platonist Macrobius. Indeed, it is against the background of Macrobius’ *Saturnalia* and *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* that this section of *De voluptate* must be read. Those two texts provided medieval readers with the conceptual tools for extracting philosophical truth from what appeared to be only poetic fictions. By reading on an allegorical level, penetrating the veils of fiction [*integumentum*], the *narratio fabulosa* could be forced to reveal hidden truths.\(^{78}\) A narrative untrue on the literal or historical level, a fable, must be parsed for its real meaning.

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In *De voluptate* we witness Catone, the Stoic orator, dismissing the stories of the gods by calling them mere fables [*fabulae*].\(^{79}\) One might expect the Epicurean to leap to the defence of pagan poetry by expounding those fables allegorically. Yet the Epicurean orator Vegio does not invoke the idea of allegory, but instead presents a simple and stark dichotomy: either the gods must be defended on the basis that they existed just as the poets described them; or else it must be said the gods are wholly invented. There can be no compromise, no middle way, no allegorical reading. This passage is partly a reworking of Cicero’s *De natura deorum*, in which the academic orator, Cotta, denies that stories of pagan gods may be interpreted allegorically, as such allegories are based on false etymologies, selectively applied.\(^{80}\) The same is true in *De voluptate*: even the advocate for pagan poetry cannot rely on allegory to mount a defence of the truth of pagan philosophy. As no interlocutor can accept pagan poetry as literally true, the debate over poetic allegory fizzles out, and the focus of the dialogue turns to the role of allegory in Scripture.

Closely related to the fifteenth-century debate over the *poeta theologus* was the question of whether poetic allegory should be accorded the same status as biblical allegory.\(^{81}\) The figure whom Valla selected as his Epicurean interlocutor, Maffeo Vegio, had defended this position, composing a ‘supplement’ to Virgil, a thirteenth book of the *Aeneid*, in order to transform the work into a Christian ‘moral fable’.\(^{82}\) Vegio’s *Supplement* concluded with Aeneas, the allegorical figuration of the virtuous soul, being translated to the stars, finally achieving his heavenly reward. Vegio explained his decision on the grounds that the *Aeneid* was a straightforward Christian allegory: ‘if we substitute the word heaven for Latium and life for Troy, why might the passage not have come from the pen of the Apostle Paul?’\(^{83}\)

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\(^{80}\) Cicero, *De natura deorum* trans. by H. Rackham (London: Heinemann, 1979), III.xxiv.61, pp. 344-45.

\(^{81}\) For the background to this debate see Witt, ‘*Poeta Theologus*’, 559; Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary Theory*, pp. 466-68.


Vegio’s position represented a challenge to the orthodox dichotomy between Scripture and poetry established by Augustine. For Augustine, the Bible was true on a literal-historical basis: poetic fables, such as Aeneas’ descent to Hades, were not. Divinely-inspired biblical allegories belonged to a privileged category, and should not be lumped together with poetic fiction. Valla goes one step further than Augustine: his orators are suspicious of all allegorising interpretations, even in expounding the Bible. Thus the Christian orator Rho asserts:

Anyone trying to examine and clarify these [biblical] allegories and riddles will labour completely in vain. Our face cannot be freed from its covering, which is the flesh.

Valla’s Christian orator is uncompromising: he recognises that such ‘veils’ of allegory are present in Scripture, but denies they can be penetrated. Whilst pagan allegories possess no truth whatsoever, the truth of biblical allegories defies human understanding. The concept of the poeta theologus is entirely discredited, and the fundamental division between Holy Scripture and pagan poetry preserved.

**Conclusion**

Previous interpreters of *De voluptate* have been correct: this is a radical work. It is radical in the true sense of that term, representing a return to patristic roots. Valla’s interest in the lives of the pagan philosophers and the allegorical value of pagan poetry is motivated by a concern for Christian questions of salvation. The endurance of pagan *fama* and pagan poetry, he explains, must not be mistaken for an endorsement of their moral value. Nor could pagan authors be excused from judgement of their virtue by pleading their unwitting ignorance of righteous

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Christian morality: according to Valla’s mythology, pre-Christian society had once known the monotheism which might have led it to salvation, but had ultimately rejected it.

Whilst the extent to which any of Valla’s contemporaries, the ‘learned men’ he attacks in his *proemium*, envisaged Plato or Aristotle being offered a place in paradise is questionable, Valla trades in absolutes: either one must deny the connection between morally right behaviour and salvation, or one must deny the validity of any non-Christian moral philosophy. This leads him to prefer Lactantius to Cicero, and privilege the firm pronouncements of Augustine over the ambiguities of Dante. For such a complex figure, Valla is candid about the relationship between Christianity and classical philosophy:

> To that world I concede humane letters, the study of doctrines and – always most important – eloquence; I deny, however, that the ancients arrived at wisdom and the knowledge of true virtue.

This is not the world of Ficino’s harmonisation of pagan and Christian thought, which emerged only decades later. *De voluptate* maintains that those pagans had missed their chance, lost their golden age: the dignity of man would not be restored to him by Cicero, but only in heaven.

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Using The Spectator to Stereotype the Country Tory:

Joseph Addison and Richard Steele’s Venerable Sir Roger de Coverley Character

The original Spectator essay magazine, not to be confused with the modern weekly of the same name, was one of the most well-known and popular English periodicals during the eighteenth century. It continues to be an influential account, especially on politeness, consulted and cited by historians of contemporary manners, customs, etiquette, and fashion. Written by the moderate Whigs Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, The Spectator consisted of observations made by its fictional narrator, the ever-observant Mr. Spectator who was a member of the fictional Spectator club. Mr. Spectator portrayed himself as not belonging to any one class or occupation (‘I have made my self a Speculative Statesman, Soldier, Merchant, and Artizan, without ever medling with any Practical Part in Life’), although he did admit to inheriting a small hereditary estate. Mr. Spectator compensated for his own class ambiguity by defining members of this club by their economic and social functions. The club featured stock characters such as the country squire, the lawyer, the merchant, the sentry, the fashionable gentleman bachelor, and the clergyman. With traditional characters inside and outside of the club, The Spectator delighted in demonstrating that men of different backgrounds and ideologies can cooperate in a pleasant and productive manner. This notion formed the core of Addison and Steele’s agenda in

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2 An earlier version of this article was presented at the 2012 Newcastle University Postgraduate Forum Conference. I am grateful for comments from the audience as well as input and suggestions from Helen Berry. This version has revised and extended a number of points from the original paper. An online version of Prof. Henry Morley’s edition of The Spectator was used for this paper.

3 Joseph Addison, The Spectator, no. 1, 1 March 1711.


5 Robert Clark, ‘Looking Back at Mr. Spectator, Given Srebenica’, Media History 14, no. 3 (2008), 373-388 (p. 378).
promoting a new form of politeness, which married informality and civility as the most agreeable
form of interaction. The Spectator, like Steele’s predecessor The Tatler, pursued the regulation of
masculine conduct and identity by presenting positive and negative emulative models.⁶
Regardless of whether Mr. Spectator encountered these ‘models’ inside the Spectator club or in
the streets, the idea was that every literate male in England could see a bit of himself in at least
one of the characters in some mannerism or sentiment.

This purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, this paper engages with the historiographical
debate of just how politically motivated The Spectator was with regard to its depiction of Sir Roger
de Coverley, a fictional Tory character who was created to serve as a farcical squire stereotype by
the Whig authors. More informatively, the second purpose of this paper is to examine Whig
attitudes towards Tory squires and explore the political endeavour being performed in the
farcical depiction of Sir Roger. Addison and Steele had to be careful to avoid blatant partisanship
so as not to upset a portion of their estimated 60,000 readers, the smart society of eighteenth
century England.⁷

Through the observations of Mr. Spectator, Addison and Steele attempted to usher in a
complicated and subtle change in English society.⁸ The best of all the characters in the Spectator
club for this function was also the most memorable and liked, Sir Roger de Coverley, the
fictional stock-type of a Tory squire.⁹ Mr. Spectator wrote:

The first of our Society is a Gentleman of Worcestershire, of ancient Descent, a Baronet,
his Name Sir Roger De Coverley. His great Grandfather was Inventor of that famous

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Country-Dance which is call'd after him… He is a Gentleman that is very singular in his Behaviour, but his Singularities proceed from his good Sense…\(^{10}\)

This singularity reflected his country attitude and unfashionable dress. Mr. Spectator goes on to note that Sir Roger still wore the coat and doublet that was in fashion over 30 years ago. In more than just fashion Sir Roger represented the English past. Sir Roger portrayed the antiquated country gentleman stereotype, allowing for The Spectator to deride him as a nostalgic relic and depict the Tory party as dated and out of fashion. Throughout the run of The Spectator, Sir Roger’s politics, etiquette, and country manners were often, but not always, shown to be silly and humorous yet ultimately harmless due to Sir Roger’s good nature. Addison and Steele undertook this mocking task in order to satirise the Tory party and promote Whiggish politeness, which was in the process of loosening social discourse and moving away from a civil interplay that was ceremonial and hierarchical in nature.\(^{11}\) However, while examining Sir Roger’s country mannerisms, political ideology, and relationship with the church, the two Whig writers eventually developed a fondness for the stereotyped antiquated Sir Roger de Coverley. Nonetheless, even as the authors struggled to keep their character from evolving into a nostalgic commemoration, Addison and Steele, using Sir Roger as a stereotype, subtly demeaned and archaized the Tory Party throughout The Spectator.

**The Country Gentleman**

Sir Roger’s rural lifestyle contrasted with all other members of the club, in particular with the London merchant Sir Andrew Freeport. Despite their different living habits, Addison validated Sir Roger’s membership in the club when he described the Spectator club as ‘a select Body of Friends… very luckily compos’d of such Persons as are engag’d in different Ways of Life, and

\(^{10}\) Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, no. 2, 2 March 1711.

deputed as it were out of the most conspicuous Classes of Mankind." As one of the old-fashioned landed elite, Sir Roger’s country customs provided a good deal of amusement for Mr. Spectator and bemusement for Sir Andrew. Sir Roger’s preference for his quiet country home set him apart from most of the contemporary landed elite. Absenteeism amongst the gentry had risen during the Interregnum and continued to rise in the 1670s and 1680s due to political upheaval and the increasingly attractive sociable London lifestyle. Unlike the other gentry, Sir Roger’s stubborn preference for the country meant he could not seamlessly assimilate back and forth between his estate and London. During a month-long sabbatical in the countryside, Mr. Spectator commented with equal parts approval and chagrin on the Coverley estate and surrounding area, which was seemingly stuck in the seventeenth century and fostered the out-of-fashion and out-of-touch squire.

Addison and Steele often compared the city to the country as a tactic to highlight Sir Roger’s outmoded behaviour. The hunting and exercise for health in the country, compared to the quackery in London, provides just one example. Mr. Spectator and Sir Roger went on a group foxhunt with the squire’s prised hounds. After a day spent enjoying the spectacle of the old squire riding around with his hounds after a rabbit, Mr. Spectator remarked he ‘shall prescribe the moderate Use of this Exercise to all my Country Friends, as the best kind of Physick for mending a bad Constitution, and preserving a good one.’ Mr. Spectator does not admire the hunt, rather, he approves of the initiative to partake in what Sir Edward Peyton called ‘the most commendable exercises’ to promote bodily health. Hunting stood in contrast to the urban contemporary booming commercial medicine business, which ushered in what folklorist Eric

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12 Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 34, 9 April 1711.
Maple refers to as the ‘Great Age of Quackery.’\textsuperscript{16} Evidence for Addison’s aversion to quackery can be found even earlier than \textit{The Spectator}. Writing while on the Grand Tour he remarked of catching a fever: ‘…notwithstanding I made use of one of the Physicians of this place, who are as cheap as our English Farriers and generally as Ignorant.’\textsuperscript{17} The writers of \textit{The Spectator} clearly approved of the old country maxim of seeking good health through exercise rather than the dubious offerings of London quacks. When describing a stay in the country after the original run of \textit{The Spectator} Addison wrote, ‘I would willingly see the year turned before I come to London and have already found all the Effects of good Air and Exercise.’\textsuperscript{18}

The traditional paternalistic attitude of Sir Roger when dealing with his tenants is another example of a country trait that the authors attempted to mock. Instead their efforts resulted in Sir Roger appearing sympathetic and commendable. Citing the transition away from paternalistic relief of the local poor, historian Blair Worden suggests that the new, younger landowners—who bought, were given, or inherited land in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century—were much more hard-headed and ruthless than the previous generation.\textsuperscript{19} Unlike these new landowners, Sir Roger continued to observe traditional forms of country hospitality. Mr. Spectator informed the reader that, in addition to sending hog’s pudding to each poor family in the parish, Sir Roger always kept an open house and allowed his tenants to come and make merry for Christmas.\textsuperscript{20} Sir Roger’s observance of country hospitality at Christmas lends credence to Robert Bucholz and Newton Key’s claim that it was a traditional expectation for a landlord to open his house on holidays during the early modern period.\textsuperscript{21} Nonetheless, the number of

\textsuperscript{19} Worden, \textit{Stuart England}, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{20} Addison, \textit{The Spectator}, no. 269, 8 January 1712.
celebratory feasts and bonfires declined as more of the gentry emigrated to London for long periods of the year, leaving surrogates to watch over their country interests. For example, intermittent MP Sir Ralph Verney often provided country hospitality and abhorred going to court prior to the English Civil War, but by the time of his death he was spending up to nine months a year in London, including most Christmases. In contrast to rural settings, the gentry were not expected to provide charity in town. Sir Roger, however, could not help but look at those beneath his station with pity even in London. Despite chiding a beggar for not finding work he still gave him six pence. This Addison and Steele-approved spontaneous act of kindness differed with the merchant Sir Andrew Freeport’s lack of charitable sensibilities. Sir Andrew maintained that a merchant should never give charity since it encouraged beggars. In these opposing views of charity Freeport embodied the commercial values of London, and on the rise all over England, while Sir Roger those of paternalism that still persisted in the countryside, although this paternalism was on the decline.

While the healthy living and paternalistic communal relations demonstrated by Sir Roger are portrayed with subtle admiration, his dealings with the local church are highly satirised in no. 112. The most obvious mockery of Sir Roger occurred when Addison and Steele detailed Sir Roger’s relationship and commitment to high-church authority. The authority Sir Roger wielded in the country church near his estate is meant to depict Tory feudalism as a farce. One of these feudal principles was the privilege of advowson, which gave large landowners control of the their local parish church and the ability to name the clergyman and clerks. Mr. Spectator provided evidence of advowson when noting how Sir Roger promised to choose the next church clerk

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22 Rosenheim, ‘Landownership, the Aristocracy and the Country Gentry’, p.158.
24 Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 269, 8 January 1712.
27 Adam Rounce, ‘Fame and Failure in *The Spectator*’, p.318.
based on merit once the old incumbent died. While a choice based on merit is an admirable enough notion, Mr. Spectator could not suppress a hint of bemusement over Sir Roger’s complete authority in the church writing that, ‘As Sir Roger is Landlord to the whole Congregation, he keeps them in very good Order, and will suffer no body to sleep in it besides himself…’.\textsuperscript{29} The squire routinely caused disruptions such as lengthening the verses of psalms, standing while others were kneeling so as to note any absences and interrupting the sermon to tell people not to disturb the congregation with fidgeting or making noise. Mr. Spectator opined that the worthiness of his character made these behavioural oddities seem like foils rather than blemishes of his good qualities. He also noted that none of the other parishioners were polite or educated enough to recognise the ridiculousness of Sir Roger’s behaviour in and authority over the church. These observations of Sir Roger’s love of the high-Anglican church in the countryside are essential to the authors’ original purpose for creating the character, to mock the seemingly backwards rural Tory.

Addison and Steele also examined the Tory relationship with the church when they portrayed Sir Roger’s visits to London. Sir Roger’s dealings in London often gave him a platform to defend the high-church and uniformity. Sir Roger sends a book to Sir Andrew about which Mr. Spectator writes:

Sir Andrew opening the Book, found it to be a Collection of Acts of Parliament. There was in particular the Act of Uniformity, with some Passages in it marked by Sir Roger’s own Hand. Sir Andrew found that they related to two or three Points, which he had disputed with Sir Roger the last time he appeared at the Club.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{29} Addison, \textit{The Spectator}, no. 112, 9 July 1711.
\textsuperscript{30} Addison, \textit{The Spectator}, no. 517, 23 October 1712.
At one point during his visits to London, Sir Roger ‘launched out into the Praise of the late Act of Parliament for securing the Church of England…’ This act was the 1711 Occasional Conformity Act that prevented Catholics and Nonconformists from receiving communion in the Anglican Church in order to be eligible for public offices. Sir Roger believed that this act immediately secured the Anglican Church because he had observed a dissenter partaking of his plum-porridge during the Christmas feast at the Coverley estate. Addison and Steele’s writing often attempted to take the sting out of extremist high-church Tory views. With the first of the high-church Sacheverell Riots (1710) in very recent memory, this satirical basis of evidence for the security of the Anglican Church, along with Sir Roger’s earlier dealings with the country church, poignantly supported the idea that high-church Toryism was farcical.

The Hierarchical Ceremonialist and Formal Conversationalist

Sir Roger de Coverley’s country mannerisms also indicated that he was an antiquated character from the previous era. Mr. Spectator explained, ‘By Manners I do not mean Morals, by Behaviour and Good-breeding as they show themselves in Town and in the Country.’ During this age of politeness a loosening of the social discourse occurred from what might be described as ceremonial hierarchical civility to a new form of polite discourse, promoted in The Spectator. Addison described those of good breeding and fashion as embracing informal simplicity in conversation and manners. This shift towards easy behaviour had yet to reach the countryside. While admitting that this formality of ceremony and conversation originated in the city before migrating to the countryside, an exasperated Mr. Spectator admits the rural politeness at the

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31 Addison, The Spectator, no. 269, 8 January 1712.
33 Addison, The Spectator, no. 119, 17 July 1711.
Coverley estate to be troublesome for him, asserting: ‘If we look on the People of Mode in the Country, we find in them the Manners of the last Age.’

In conversation, those in the country still adhered to the mode of the previous age, with frequent indications of deference and submission. The new urban form of conversation, central to the new urban form of politeness at the beginning of the eighteenth century, called for men to speak their minds freely but in a civil manner. The Spectator provided evidence for this conversational politeness when the diverse members of the Spectator club were together and still able to express differing opinions with civility. Describing this older form of conversation in the countryside, Mr. Spectator wrote that, ‘Conversation, like the Romish Religion, was so encumbered with Show and Ceremony, that it stood in need of Reformation to Retrench its Superfluities, and restore it to its natural good Sense and Beauty.’ This form of conversation was consistent with the previous age of formality and stiffness. Addison had another gentle dig at Sir Roger’s manner of speaking when he noted the squire’s custom of saying ‘good morrow’ or ‘good night’ to everyone he passed, a custom that gained him favour amongst his neighbours in the countryside. When he said good night to a stranger on a passing boat while being ferried across the Thames the man loudly wondered ‘what queer old put’ was in the opposite boat. This interaction embodies the London-versus-country opposition as well as new-versus-old manners. In the countryside, it was possible to know everyone while neighbourliness in London was less emphasised due to the fluidity of living situations.

The ceremonial behaviour that ruled the countryside also shined through in Sir Roger’s manners. Paul Langford suggests that the beginning of the eighteenth century saw a social adjustment

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35 Addison, The Spectator, no. 119, 17 July 1711.
37 Addison, The Spectator, no. 119, 17 July 1711.
38 Addison, The Spectator, no. 383, 20 May 1712.
towards the softening of manners amongst the aristocratic families of England. Sir Roger’s manners, however, remained just as formal as ever. In no. 119 Mr. Spectator remarked that by the time Sir Roger was done with all the ceremony of dining, which featured drinking healths and seating guests according to rank, his dinner was almost cold. On the drinking of healths, in his famous instructive letters to his son, the 4th Earl of Chesterfield advised:

Drinking of healths is now grown out of fashion, and is deemed unpolite in good company. Custom once had rendered it universal, but the improved manners of this age now render it as absurd and vulgar. What can be more rude or ridiculous than to interrupt persons at their dinner with an unnecessary compliment?

The evidence provided by Mr. Spectator and the 4th Earl of Chesterfield reinforces Lawrence E. Klein’s argument that in an age where politeness placed less emphasis on hierarchy, giving merit an agreeable form allowed it to be more generally appreciated. Even the honest and straightforward Will Wimble, a country friend of Sir Roger, will not walk in front of the socially superior Mr. Spectator. Humorously, when Mr. Spectator gestured for him to do away with the ceremony, Wimble replied that he would not so as to ensure that Mr. Spectator did not believe those in the country had no manners. The irony of this passage derives from the fact that Wimble’s attempt to prove the civility of country folk actually demonstrated the impoliteness of the countryside due to their subscription to formal ceremony.

40 Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, Chesterfield’s Advice to His Son, On Men and Manners (London: Scott, Webster and Geary, 1836), p. 45.
This hierarchical ceremony originated in the court where strict civility gradually became frozen as rules and etiquette.\textsuperscript{42} The idea that Sir Roger and the country were frozen in a previous era demonstrates why Sir Roger de Coverley received such satirical yet partial treatment. He had the ability to represent both the positives and negatives of England’s past, as evidenced by his paternalistic charity and derided etiquette. Nicholas Cooper explains that medieval codes of courtliness were replaced by civility, which was then replaced by politeness.\textsuperscript{43} Addison and Steele alluded to this change when they joked that a country squire will bow to you more times in half an hour than a courtier would in a week.\textsuperscript{44} This statement recalled a time in not-too-distant history when the court had been the great cultural centre of the realm and it was the barbarous country that did not bow or recognise ceremony.

**The Tory Squire**

In addition to his country values and ceremonial etiquette, the politics of Sir Roger de Coverley reflected antiquated country interests. As with Sir Roger’s Tory commitment to the high-church, Addison and Steele found some mileage for mockery in the realm of Sir Roger’s Tory politics. The Tory party counted the majority of the conservative country gentry, such as Sir Roger, amongst its most loyal constituents.\textsuperscript{45} Even though the time of ‘Whig Supremacy’ (1715-1760) in politics was still to come, the Tory party represented the conservative past within *The Spectator* because of the Tories’ traditional values of commitment to high church, landed interest, and monarchy. Sir Roger demonstrated his commitment to the monarchy when he inquired about Sir Andrew Freeport one night in the club. After Sir Roger referred to Sir Andrew as his ‘old Antagonist’ Mr. Spectator wrote, ‘He asked me with a kind Smile, whether Sir Andrew had not...'

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p. 293.
\textsuperscript{44} Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 119, 17 July 1711.
\textsuperscript{45} Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, p. 359.
Addison and Steele used such comments to demonstrate that Sir Andrew acted as a foil character for Sir Roger. Sir Andrew played the role of a Whig merchant in favour of moneyed interest and parliamentary government while Sir Roger that of the Tory squire who favoured landed interest and passive obedience. Sir Roger’s trip to Westminster Abbey with Mr. Spectator revealed more of his political sympathies. After taking a tour with a historian, Mr. Spectator remarked on the respect Sir Roger showed the monarchy. Upon seeing a vandalised statue of a king (the head was stolen) Sir Roger remarked, ‘Some Whig I’ll warrant you, you ought to lock your Kings better; they will carry off the Body too, if you don’t take care.’ This is an obvious reference to the beheading of King Charles I as well as the Whiggish dislike of absolute monarchy.

Furthermore, the landed interest had traditionally been married to the Tory party and Mr. Spectator believed party politics to be most extreme in the rural areas. Evidence for Tory landed interest came from Sir Roger when he admitted that for his own financial sake he leaned hardest to the Tory side when at his estate. On the way to London with Sir Roger, Mr. Spectator marvelled that Sir Roger would choose a far inferior inn with a Tory owner over a more comfortable Whig inn. The moderate Mr. Spectator did not make a fuss at the time but later wrote:

> It gives me a serious Concern to see such a Spirit of Dissention in the Country; not only as it destroys Virtue and Common Sense, and renders us in a Manner Barbarians towards one another, but as it perpetuates our Animosities, widens our Breaches, and transmits our present Passions and Prejudices to our Posterity.  

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46 Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 269, 8 January 1712.
It was thus the narrow-mindedness of the Tory party, with its country mentality and accusations of Whig corruption in office, which caused dissent in England. The conservative values of the Tory party, consisting of high-church and commitment to monarchy and landed interests looked antiquated when compared with the more forward-looking values of Whigs. During the decades following the writing of *The Spectator*, religious toleration gradually replaced strict conformity while trade, industry and commerce were becoming more important to England than agriculture. Like the rest of the Tory party, Sir Roger de Coverley stubbornly resisted this change.

**A Period of Transition: The Harmless and Endangered Nostalgic**

The publication of *The Spectator* occurred during a great period of transition in ideas about gender as well as politics and religion. The sociability and refinement of early modern politeness saw the shift from a hardy and athletic manliness to something more eloquent and delicate, as detailed by Philip Carter in his work on masculinity and politeness. Men were expected to become more involved in the private sphere and not just leave it to women. Sir Roger de Coverley’s nostalgic ‘rustic hunter’ image harkened back to a time before the stereotypical areas of influence for men (state) and women (private) began to blur.

Sir Roger’s bachelorhood also caused problems during this transitional period of masculine image. The late-Stuart period was relatively tolerant to non-marriage. The gentry and nobility, however, especially those with distinguished family names, were expected to produce male heirs to continue legitimate bloodlines and secure property inheritance. Despite this increasing tolerance, many bachelors were still stigmatised. Amanda Vickery argues that men such as Sir Roger, a perpetual bachelor, were seen as not realising their full masculinity and acting as sponges on society because they evaded their share of domestic government and did not father

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49 Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, p. 293.
legitimate children. Unlike libertines or rakes, whose sexual promiscuity and illegitimate children plagued society, Sir Roger’s freely chosen celibacy and lack of offspring, legitimate or otherwise, meant he was less of a parasite than Vickery suggests. While admitting that her book concentrates on married men, Elizabeth Foyster nonetheless writes, ‘...in the seventeenth century the key to male power in the household was thought to be sexual control of women as well as the self.’ Sir Roger was not able to fit these parameters because ‘...he keeps himself a Bachelor by reason of being crossed in Love by a perverse beautiful Widow of the next County to him.’ He was able to control his ‘self’ by remaining celibate and he did not need a woman to dominate sexually. Instead, Sir Roger’s power in the household came from the fondness his servants showed him due to his genuine concern for their wellbeing.

Sir Roger’s death was reported a little over a month before the original run of The Spectator ended. According to Eustace Budgell, a sometimes contributor to The Spectator, Addison, who authored the overwhelming majority of Spectators containing Sir Roger, admitted that he would rather kill off Sir Roger than allow Steele, or any other periodicals that might style themselves as successors of The Spectator, to tamper with the character. This reinforces Adam Rounce’s assertion that, despite being light-heartedly satirised as a symbol of a past way of life, Sir Roger was an admirable pastoral character with a nostalgic appeal. Nonetheless, Sir Roger de Coverley served as both the lovable outdated Tory and, more importantly, also the epitome of those Addison and Steele did not want governing the nation. During the The Spectator’s run, the Whigs had yet to take full control of the government. Throughout this article it has been argued that, even though Addison and the reading public developed affection for Sir Roger, his creation and depiction were politically motivated. While the ‘Whig Supremacy’ (1715-1760) of government

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54 Steele, The Spectator, no. 2, 2 March 1711.
55 Addison, The Spectator, no. 517, 23 October 1712.
57 Rounce, ‘Fame and Failure’, p.309.
would not occur until three years after The Spectator's original run and one year after Addison revived the periodical for another six month run, edited compilations, providing subtle negative campaigning against the Tory party, could readily be had. When placed side-by-side and viewed as stereotypes, Sir Andrew Freeport, the successful, efficient, and modern merchant, appears to be a much more attractive government official than Sir Roger, the outdated and folksy squire.

The Whig politics of Addison and Steele are covert throughout The Spectator but emerge in Sir Roger's often satirical depiction and in the dichotomy between Sir Roger (Tory decline) and Sir Andrew Freeport (Whig ascendency).\(^{58}\) Sir Roger's appeal stemmed from the consistent rustic countryside, which provided an antidote to the tumultuous city.\(^{59}\) The antidote was available for those, mainly the elite, who wished to recall a time when the value of country property and income far out-weighted the commercial interests and real estate in London. Part of the struggle for Addison and Steele, undoubtedly, was to navigate the popularity of this nostalgic character while not negating the original purpose in creating him, which was to satirise a stubborn, declining Tory squirearchy.\(^{60}\) Regardless of his popularity, Sir Roger was still a farcical character meant to demonstrate a negative stereotype and mock Tories. Throughout The Spectator, Addison and Steele attempted to use reason and moderation to educate the literate in a time of high-church Toryism and party politics.\(^{61}\) Crucially, The Spectator promoted, explicated, and recorded the loosening of social discourse and transition into the age of politeness. In the pages of The Spectator we see the rise in importance of the Whig merchant and decline of the Tory squire. Addison and Steele contribute to our general historical understanding because they acted as both reporters and commentators on early eighteenth century London culture such as fashion, politics, theatre, and manners. Despite both the authors’ and readers’ growing fondness and the

\(^{59}\) Rounce, ‘Fame and Failure’, p.317.
\(^{60}\) Ibid.
\(^{61}\) Knights, Representation and Misrepresentation, p.344.
fact that Sir Roger’s good qualities were often highlighted, there is no doubt that the sting was taken out of landed Tory ideology when represented by the endearing but archaic and eccentric Sir Roger de Coverley.

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Introduction

In spite of the many scholastic works on Yoruba women in the nineteenth century, investigation into their social lives remains scarce. What we do know about women in the period focuses on their active economic and political lives, which have been described as enviable as compared to the status of women in many societies of the same period. Since women were predominantly traders and crafts(wo)men, they contributed significantly to the economic development of the region. Moreover, for the few who succeeded in amassing significant wealth through trade, they went on to convert this wealth into political power and influence. It is therefore no wonder that scholarship has centred on this aspect of women’s lives. The little research that does exist on women’s social lives takes the category ‘woman’ as a given. It discounts any childhood socialisation process responsible for making them ‘women’ and simply takes biological sex as an equivalent to being a cultural woman. This article seeks to correct this oversight. Using a combination of primary and secondary sources, and Yoruba oral traditions, this study investigates how childhood socialisation in the nineteenth century transformed biological females into social women.

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2 This paper is part of a dissertation written for a PhD upgrade at the University of Exeter. I want to thank Dr Stacey Hynd for her insightful comments and suggestions and Dr Staffan Mueller-Wille and Dr David Thackeray for their recommendations.

3 The Yoruba are an ethnic group who live in present day South West Nigeria.
The ‘woman’ question in Yoruba history

Before discussing girls in nineteenth-century Yorubaland, one must first ask if the social classification ‘women’ existed. Some scholars argue that asking the ‘woman’ question in the context of pre-colonial Yorubaland is an ahistorical Eurocentric imposition on Yoruba history. In her book *The Invention Of Woman*, Oyeronke Oyewumi argues that ‘woman’ as a social category did not exist in pre-colonial Yorubaland. She contends that although the Yoruba recognised biological sex differences, sex carried no social value. She writes that ‘unlike the west, physical bodies were not social bodies… and the presence or absence of certain organs did not determine social position or …social hierarchy… in fact, there were no women – defined in strictly gender terms’. Rather, she suggests that pre-colonial Yorubaland was a gerontocratic society where rank, status, and hierarchy were determined by age and seniority.

Contrary to Oyewumi’s argument, although social constructs based on sex were few, they nevertheless existed. To cite a few examples, Lorand Matory identifies that in the nineteenth century, bride wealth payment and polygamy were common occurrences while dowry and polyandry were inconceivable. Furthermore, both women’s consanguineal and conjugal residences were patrilocal. In fact, seniority in these patrilocal residences was not determined by actual age, but the length of one’s attachment to it. Thus, regardless of her age, a new bride was considered younger than every child born into the lineage before her wedding. Women consequently experienced a mid-life social demotion at marriage to which men were immune. It can therefore be argued that women did exist, and the Yoruba practised some elements of biological determinism.

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5 Oyewumi, p. xiii.
6 Bride wealth is used here as a general term for the transfer of wealth and labour from the groom to the bride’s family before marriage.
However, social distinctions based on sex must not be overemphasised. Oyewumi is right to argue that pre-colonial Yorubaland was essentially a gerontocratic society where age determined social status and hierarchy. The Yoruba language, which largely lacks any indication of sex, is a good example of this. First, there are no Yoruba gender pronouns. Words like he, she, him or her have no direct Yoruba translation. Additionally, words like brother, sister, uncle, and aunt that indicate gendered familial relations are also absent. In fact, the word for husband (ọkọ) is frequently used as a term of endearment for both sexes, while the Yoruba words for wife, mother and father, although gender specific, are frequently used outside familial relations as an expression of fondness and respect. However, since the nineteenth century, when missionaries began translating Yoruba to English, the non-gendered nature of the language has been widely misunderstood and ignored, and as a result, misinterpretations are endemic in Yoruba translations. For instance, the Yoruba word ọba, often translated as king, is more accurately ruler, a gender-neutral term. Oriṣa, usually translated as gods and goddess means deity, while ènìyàn, often translated as man lacks gender connotations and is literally translated as human being.

Rather than sex, the language makes substantial distinctions according to seniority. For example, age pronouns such as won for elders and ọ for those considered to be in the same age grade or younger, are used instead of gender indicative ones. Furthermore, the Yoruba use the words ègbón and ìbúrò, which mean an elder and younger sibling or relative respectively to express familial relations. Yoruba proper names are also largely gender neutral. Writing at the turn of the century, Samuel Johnson, a Yoruba missionary with the Church Missionary Society (CMS), stated that the Yoruba recognised no gender differences in language and any distinctions

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9 Yisa Kehinde Yusuf, ‘Sexism, English and Yoruba’, Linguistik online, 11, 7–23 (pp. 15-16).
10 Yusuf, pp. 7–23.
introduced by missionaries must first be explained to them.\textsuperscript{11} Hence, if we agree with Mikhail Bakhtin that language is a representation of a people’s worldview, then it is clear that the Yoruba saw society in ageist terms.\textsuperscript{12}

In such a society, being biologically female held few social consequences. Older women outranked younger men, and women as daughters, sisters and mothers had considerable power in the lineage. As daughters, women had the same rights as sons, which they continued to hold even after marriage. They could inherit at their consanguineal home, and could return in case of a failed marriage (although uncommon), or at old age.\textsuperscript{13} In their conjugal homes, they were expected to work, earn money, and remain financially independent of their husbands. In fact, some women went on to acquire considerable wealth and influence. However, one question, which remains unanswered, is how biological females became socially gendered as women in pre-colonial Yorubaland. In order words, what social processes transformed biological females into cultural women? In \textit{The Second Sex}, Simone de Bourvoir writes that ‘one is not born a woman, but, rather, becomes one’.\textsuperscript{14} Judith Butler similarly argues that becoming a woman was not by virtue of genitalia, but was rather a social process, ‘a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate at the end’.\textsuperscript{15} Being a woman is therefore not an instrument of

\textsuperscript{11} Samuel Johnson (1846-1901) was a Sierra Leonean missionary (originally from Oyo) with the CMS. He completed the book \textit{History of the Yoruba} in 1897; however, it was not published till 1921. His comment is significant because from 1892, the British colonial government had continued to extend its influence into the interior of Yorubaland. Nonetheless, this incursion had little effect on the language. Samuel Johnson, \textit{The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate}, ed. by Obadiah Johnson, Reissue (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.


\textsuperscript{13} It is unclear what constituted a failed marriage in pre-colonial Yorubaland. Some sources suggest that women who were childless often left their husband’s home thus ending the marriage. Others claim that women could be taken back to the consanguineal homes for disobedience while other arguments state that women could leave their husbands for maltreatment or extreme physical violence. See Peter C. Lloyd, ‘Divorce Among the Yoruba’, \textit{American Anthropologist}, New Series, 70 (1968), 67–81.


biology but a cultural performance.\textsuperscript{16} It is this process of becoming a woman that will be examined in this paper.

This study analyses female children in nineteenth-century Yorubaland. It asks how girls were socialised as children to recognise their status in society, and what gendered roles they were expected to perform as children and daughters. It uses Joan Scott’s definition of gender as ‘a social category imposed on a sexed body’.\textsuperscript{17} However, it identifies that in pre-colonial Yorubaland, gender was not a social category but multiple, unstable categories, constituted and modified over time and in different contexts.

Methodology

Erving Goffman argues convincingingly that there is nothing intrinsic to being a child. ‘Children are historical, cultural, political, and social productions’ onto whom acceptable social conducts, values, beliefs and behaviors are instilled through a continuous ‘molding’ process known as socialisation.\textsuperscript{18} During childhood, children learn to understand and interpret their environment and interpersonal relationships, which in turn influence their development and future interactions.\textsuperscript{19} Through socialisation, they begin to recognize their roles, duties, and responsibilities in society through their actions, and the people with whom they often interact.\textsuperscript{20} Therefore, childhood socialisation is instrumental to transforming biological females into cultural women. Nonetheless, childhood socialisation in nineteenth-century Yorubaland remains a

\textsuperscript{16} Butler, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{19} ‘Childhood’ varies across historical time periods and cultures. For the nineteenth-century Yoruba, I use childhood to denote the period from birth until the ages of eighteen or nineteen when girls are considered as adults and expected to marry. Jay Belsky, Laurence Steinburg and Patricia Draper, ‘Childhood Experience, Interpersonal Development, and Reproductive Strategy: An Evolutionary Theory of Socialization’, \textit{Childhood development}, 62 (1991), 647–670 (p. 650).
largely unexplored topic. Using a diverse methodology including the remarks of nineteenth-century observers, fleeting comments by sociological researchers, and Yoruba oral traditions, this essay will attempt to piece together a revealing, albeit limited, view of childhood socialisation in the nineteenth century.

It can be argued that, since nineteenth-century observers of Yorubaland were predominantly western or western-trained, their Eurocentric bias would render their observations unreliable. However, like other researchers of African history, the author has had no reason to doubt the validity of their observations. For instance, because of religious bias many missionaries declared certain local Yoruba practices ‘barbaric and savage’. Nonetheless, their motive to convert the people meant that they invested much time and energy into learning Yoruba cultures, institutions, and languages. Thus, their observations of Yoruba life are surprisingly insightful and accurate, and hence relevant to pre-colonial study. While speaking against Yoruba marital arrangements in January 1864, a missionary wrote that ‘…young married women should be keepers at home and guide the house. In this country, women are consistently in the market, or carrying loads, or doing some work’.21 Despite the observer’s western prejudices concerning the ‘proper’ duties of wives, his observation that Yoruba women worked outside the home is correct. In fact, working was a compulsory duty for every wife. Missionary publications such as Central Africa: Adventures and Missionary Labours in several countries in the Interior of Africa from 1849-1856 by Thomas Jefferson Bowen, an American Southern Baptist Missionary in Yorubaland, are especially relevant because they give insight into the mundane, everyday life of the time which is useful when studying social history. Furthermore, many western anthropologists recorded Yoruba oral traditions verbatim giving even more insight to local beliefs, customs and

21 Iwe Irohin, 23 January, 1864.
traditions. In the few instances where the author doubted the accuracy of nineteenth-century reports, they were crosschecked with more contemporary sociological sources.

It is important to note that although this article analyses female childhood socialisation, children’s actual experiences and subjectivities in the nineteenth-century are absent. Since Yorubaland was non-literate, almost everything we know about females comes through the voices and writings of men whether missionaries, western travellers, explorers or anthropologists. However, if we are to comprehend the realities of females, they must speak for themselves rather than having their voices colonised by men. Therefore, this paper makes no claim to the ‘true’ experiences of young girls. What is presented here are the cultural ideals and notions regarding socialisation in the nineteenth century.

The Lineage

To analyse female childhood socialisation, we must first explore the environment children were raised. This requires an understanding of the Yoruba family. Since the family is the social environment to which children are first exposed and within which they spend most of their childhood, it is considered to be the most influential social context for childhood development and socialisation. In nineteenth-century Yorubaland, the familial environment was the lineage.

The Yoruba lineage was the primary mode of association and identity in the nineteenth-century. Theoretically, the lineage comprised of a group of people who traced their origin along agnatic lines to a single ancestor, and their wives, living together in a spatial patrilocal dwelling known as

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22 In this context, oral traditions are historical or cultural knowledge transmitted verbally through generations, which preserve the laws, customs and beliefs of non-literate peoples.


the compound (ìdílé). In reality however, the nineteenth-century lineage was a flexible, accommodating and heterogeneous entity, which included slaves, pawns, strangers and hangers on who attached themselves to certain households. With time, these people were fully absorbed into the lineage and became indistinguishable from the primary group.

The lineage was an economic, social, political, religious and judicial unit. Land was corporately owned by the lineage and granted to members according to their needs. Marriages were brokered amongst lineages, bride wealth was corporately paid, and everyone was responsible for the conjugal success of its members. Likewise, in the event of death, the levirate marriage system ensured that women remained in the household. Chieftaincy candidates and other public official were also nominated from within lineages, and members collectively worshiped household deities. Remarkably, lineages also internally policed their members, and disputes were only referred to higher authorities if they could not be resolved in-house. Outside the household, lineage members were collectively responsible for the behaviour of their individual members, with sometimes dire consequences. In 1851, an entire family in Ibadan was sold for gunpowder because one of its members showed no remorse for murder at his execution. Similarly, an entire household in Küdeti was sold into slavery because a member started a fire that burnt down two hundred houses and killed a drunken man. All individuals were born into a lineage and remained in one for a lifetime. Even death did not release a person from lineage affiliations as

29 Schwab, p. 356.
they were buried in the compound and worshipped as ancestors who were expected to intervene in the lives of their descendants.\textsuperscript{31}

The spatial location of the lineage was the \textit{idilé} (compound). The compound was physically structured in a way that promoted community and intercourse within the compound while remaining independent and protected from the outside.\textsuperscript{32} The compound was a large square structure with a single doorway leading into it. It had a hollow square centre that was used for general purposes of livestock rearing, cooking, and crafts.\textsuperscript{33} The compound building was divided into rooms that faced inward and men were allocated separate rooms from their wives. While younger children slept with their mothers, older ones slept together in a piazza that ran round the entire compound. During the day, this piazza was used for receiving visitors, conducting family meetings, and transacting business. Most of the lineage’s activities were conducted within the compound walls, invisible to the outside world.\textsuperscript{34}


In 1860, William Clarke, a Southern Baptist missionary, wrote that within the compound walls, ‘discussion, laughter, scolding, story-telling, jokes and proverbs’ could be heard as inhabitants went about their daily tasks, thus illustrating a certain vibrancy within.\(^{36}\) Just before the compound entrance stood the lineage deity, represented by an idol. Lineage members were expected to worship it before and after the day’s task. In turn, the deity was responsible for the protection of all the household members. Clarke wrote that life was more sacred in the compound than anywhere else. He stated that even town chiefs could not interfere in its activities.\(^{37}\) However, this may have depended on the town because although lineage structure was identical across Yorubaland, town politics was not. They differed across regions, and town officials had varying degrees of control over the lineage.\(^{38}\) Nonetheless, the lineage was the primary social grouping in the nineteenth century, and people could not exist outside of it. It was

\(^{35}\) Church Missionary Society Microfilm Collection, Special Collections, Main Library, The University of Birmingham, CMS/M/EL1: Church Missionary Gleaner (hereafter CMG), 1888.


\(^{37}\) Clarke, p. 264.

\(^{38}\) Some important examples are Abeokuta, Ibadan, and Ijaiye that practiced a limited monarchy, military oligarchy, and military dictatorship respectively.
within this lineage that female children were born.

**Childhood socialisation in the nineteenth-century**

Henry Drewal writes that the Yoruba made few distinctions between young boys and girls. As children, they quickly learned the age hierarchy and recognised that they were at the base. Discursively, the Yoruba promoted mutual respect, collaboration, and cooperation between the young and the old. The proverb Òwó onode ko to pepe, ti ọgbalaṣha ko wo kérégbè – ‘the hand of a child can not reach the ceiling, that of an elder can not enter the hole’, emphasised the need for older and younger people to work together for a successful society. However, in reality, Yoruba society was more gerontocratic. Young people were considered irrelevant, naïve, fickle, and pictures of vulnerability and candour and were expected to be obedient and unquestioning at all times. Their main duties were to do the bidding of adults and assist in whatever ways they could. In return, they had the right to food, shelter and care. Nevertheless, children were not completely powerless since they had authority over wives married into their household, who were considered to be their social juniors.

Within the lineage, children formed the strongest emotional, intimate and affective bonds with their mother and maternal siblings known as ọmọ ọya (children of the same mother). This group formed the smallest cohesive unit in the household. Helen Callaway argues that maternal

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39 Henry Drewal, ‘Art and the Perception of Women in Yorùbá Culture (L’art Et Le Concept De Féminité Dans La Culture Yoruba)’, *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*, 17 (1977), 545–567.
40 The only people lower on the hierarchy were wives.
43 Kila, p. 13, 64.
44 Seniority was expressed in several ways. For instance, junior wives could not call children born into their husband’s lineage before their marriage by their first names. rather they used nicknames and referred to them with gender pronouns used for elders. New wives also did more domestic work than older daughters. Taiwo Makinde, ‘Motherhood as a Source of Empowerment of Women in Yoruba Culture’, *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 13 (2004), p. 167.
bonds were forged because mothers were responsible for feeding and clothing their children while the patrilineage only provided shelter. Women were also responsible for teaching their daughters and sons a good work ethic, at least until the age of six when boys were old enough to work with their fathers. Through daily observation and instruction, women taught children cultural practices, good morals, and proper behaviour, socialising them into Yoruba patterns. Marjorie Macintosh writes that from early childhood these ọmọ iya shared the same living quarters and were directly responsible for each other’s welfare, grouping together against other ọmọ iya in case of internal discord. Although fathers had official and jural rights over children, they had fewer responsibilities towards them and consequently, less daily interactions. In order to get notice and recognition from these remote fathers, children learned from an early age to be ‘competitive, combative, and assertive’.

Children were charged with some of the household tasks. They cared for the old and invalids who were too weak to care for themselves. They, along with new brides, were responsible for household sanitation, cooking during feasts, tending to livestock, and other such domestic duties. As children, they were also more likely to be pawned when the family incurred debts. From birth until the age of six to eight, children remained under the supervision of their mother. After this, male and female childhood socialisation began to differ. While boys began

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46 Callaway, p. 180.  
47 Schwab, p. 366.  
50 Renne, p. 89.  
51 Until the British outlawed it in the 1930s, when a person borrowed money, he could agree to work or pawn a relative to work for the creditor as interest until it was repaid. For more on pawns, see Elisha P. Renne, ‘Childhood Memories and Contemporary Parenting in Eliti, Nigeria’, Africa: Journal of the International African Institute, 75 (2005), 63–82 (pp. 65–8).  
52 McIntosh, p. 92; Olumbe Bassir, ‘Marriage Rites Among the Aku (Yoruba) of Freetown’, Africa: Journal of the International African Institute, 24 (1954), 251–256 (p. 252).  
53 Evidence from multiple documentary sources suggest that male and female children were treated identically until the ages of six to eight. See Clarke, 237–240; Percy Amaury Talbot, The Peoples of Southern Nigeria: a Sketch of Their History, Ethnology and Languages, with an Abstract of the 1921 Census (Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1926), pp. 388–9; Schwab, p. 366.
spending an increasing amount of time with men, girls began to learn their mother’s commercial activities, which was usually trade.

Girls learned to work by accompanying, assisting and imitating older women in their domestic and economic duties. They were initially given light tasks and slowly progressed to harder work. For girls who learned trade, they first accompanied their mothers to the market to observe and assist, and later, they became responsible for trading in their mother’s absence. When they could be trusted with this they began hawking locally before venturing further afield, first to the rural markets surrounding the towns and then joining large caravans to trade in distant towns and markets. These activities prepared girls for a life of rigorous economic activity, and ensured that they had the tools needed to survive and excel in the nineteenth-century markets.

![Figure 2 - Young girls accompanying older women in household tasks.](image)

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55 Album of 126 photographs taken in Nigeria by C T Lawrence 1900-1910, National Archives, CO1069/68
Nineteenth-century markets were more than places for buying and selling, they were social venues. Nineteenth-century records explain that markets were social sites where people met, traded, conversed, and socialised. It was no coincidence that most missionaries preached in markets where they felt they could reach the most people. The principal market was in the evening after the day’s work. Bowen observed that at this time ‘all sorts of people, men, women, girls, travellers lately arrived in caravans, farmers from the field, and artisans from their houses pour[ed] in from all directions to buy and sell, and talk’. He wrote that at the markets, market women were especially noisy, ‘and in their glory, bawling out salutations, cheapening and haggling, conversing, laughing, and sometimes quarrelling’, with a determination and ability to make themselves heard and make the sale.\textsuperscript{56} In such an exciting and boisterous environment, girls learned the necessary skills of assertiveness, confidence, negotiation, friendliness, financial savvy, and other social skills needed to be successful both at the market and in the communal environment of the compound.

Clarke wrote that boys had more leisure time than girls. A typical day for girls began with performing their household duties, and then accompanying their mothers to the market for the morning trade. At midday when there was a ‘lull in excitement’, they hawked their wares around the town before returning for the evening markets.\textsuperscript{57} When the workday was over, boys and girls then played together. This usually took the form of sitting in groups while an adult asked riddles and told folktales. While riddles were meant to encourage quick wit, intellect and intelligence, folktales taught cultural knowledge and moral ideals.\textsuperscript{58} These folktales expressed indigenous principles of right and wrong and, as M. I Ogumefu wrote in 1929, as a rule, the wicked were


\textsuperscript{57} Clarke, p. 240.

\textsuperscript{58} Bascom, \textit{Yoruba}, pp. 98–9.
punished and the good rewarded.\textsuperscript{59} Ideals of generosity, responsibility, respect, loyalty and even financial acumen were weaved into tales that children could easily understand and learn from.

In the book \textit{Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa}, first published in 1894, A. B Ellis, a colonial anthropologist, recorded some Yoruba folktales. Although recorded in English, which must certainly have compromised some Yoruba concepts and ideas, several of these folktales articulate pre-colonial expectations of how girls should act and behave. One such folktale is \textit{The Story About a Woman Whose Little Girl Made Palm-Oil}. It has been shortened and paraphrased form the original text for brevity.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure3.png}
\caption{Young girls hawking\textsuperscript{60}}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{60} CMG, 1850
A little girl was an apprentice in her mother’s palm oil trade. One day she stayed back at the market to trade long after her mother had left. After dark, a goblin purchased some palm-oil from her but paid her fee short of one cowry. She quickly realised this and asked for her complete fee but the goblin said he had run out of money and she would just have to accept the payment given. She began crying insisting that she would be beaten if she went home without the full amount. At this point, the goblin began walking away and the girl followed insisting he paid her what she was due. The goblin asked her to turn back because he lived in a distant and dangerous place but the girl insisted that she would not turn away until she was paid in full. They walked for miles and miles, through a town where people walked on their heads, through a river of blood, into a gloomy forest, and over the Crag Mountains. All the while, the goblin persistently enjoined her to turn back but she refused.

Finally they arrived at the land of the dead where the goblin lived. Here, he gave the girl some palm kernels, told her to make oil, eat it, and give him the kernel to eat. Instead, she gave him the palm oil and ate the kernel. He then gave her a banana, asked her to eat it and give him the peel. Instead, she ate the peel and gave him the banana. The goblin then showed her an ado bush and asked her to pick three ado fruits. He warned her not to pick the ones that cry out to be chosen, but to pick the silent ones instead. He then instructed her to return home breaking one fruit halfway, one at the entrance to her compound, and the last inside her compound. The girl did as she was told and when she broke the first, many slaves and horses appeared and followed her. When she broke the second, many livestock including sheep, goats and fowls numbering more than two hundred appeared. And when she broke the third, the house overflowed with cowries.

It is uncertain what these ado fruits are called in contemporary language.
[Her mother took twenty pieces of cloth, twenty pieces of jewellery, and twenty livestock and gave it to the head wife as a present. When the head wife enquired and was told what happened, she refused the gifts and insisted that she would send her own daughter and get as much. So the head wife’s daughter headed off to the market with palm oil. Again the goblin came, did not pay her in full, and the girl insisted she would follow him home for payment. When they reached the land of the dead, the goblin gave her palm nuts, asked her to make palm oil, eat the oil and give him the kernel. This time, the girl did just that. He then gave her a banana and told her to eat the fruit and give him the peel, which she again did. He then told her to pick three ado fruits, not the ones that begged to be chosen but the silent ones. However, she disobeyed and picked the ones that cried out. When she broke the first, a number of lions, leopards, and other wild animals appeared and chased, harassed and bruised her. At the door to the compound, she broke the second fruit and more ferocious animals appeared and bit and tore at her. When she cried out to be let into the compound, only a deaf person was about, and her pleas went unheard. So, on the threshold, the girl was killed.]

This folktale gives us a rare insight into the ethics of pre-colonial Yourbaland. It illuminates several Yoruba concepts including gendered expectations, the nature of trade, the insecurity of the time, lineage dynamics and the beliefs about death. First, the title is significant. Although the tale was about a little girl, the title states that it was a story about a woman whose child made palm oil. This title trivialises the role of the social junior, the young girl and the protagonist in the story, in favour of the more socially relevant mother whose character is of little significance. Since the little girl was her mother’s apprentice, it demonstrates that girls were expected to learn their mother’s occupation at a very young age, and be independent enough to take control in

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62 The head wife is the woman married to the lineage the longest.
their mother’s absence. They were expected to be enterprising and financially savvy so as to recognise when they were not paid in full, and be willing to do whatever it took to collect their fee. Although Ellis uses the word goblin to describe the customer, we can guess that the Yoruba word used would have been àlìjònú, a type of spirit. These spirits are said to be grotesque, with disproportionate body organs and limbs. They are believed to roam market places and can only be seen by people with unique extra sensory perceptions. The àlìjònú being the customer expresses Yoruba beliefs about the nature of markets where human and spirits are thought to co-exist in harmony. It also conveys the belief that nobody, no matter their physical appearance or demeanour, should be refused service because we never know the benefits they might bring.

The story then goes on to suggest that girls needed to be fearless in the face of the insecurities of the nineteenth century. The journey through strange and dangerous places was a metaphor for the widespread insecurities of the time. It expressed Yoruba anxieties towards travelling in a region ravaged by war, and susceptible to slave raiders and thieves. Finally, their arrival at the land of the dead illustrates the idea that the dead were in places similar to the land of the living where they could be communicated with, and from which one could return. The story then turns to the virtues daughters were expected to possess. Justifiable disobedience as expressed by following the goblin and refusing to turn back, humility, generosity and self-deprivation articulated through her undesirable diet, and a discerning mind to know when to obey as expressed by her picking the right fruits. Her ordeal ends to positive results revealing that both adversity and good character yield immense results at unexpected times.

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64 The Yoruba believed that children were innocent and for this reason, they possessed a sixth sense many adults did not.

65 In the nineteenth century, the Yoruba region underwent radical political and constitutional changes. The old order, wherein the Alaafin (monarch) of Oyo, ruled the entire region and their neighbours, disintegrated in the early nineteenth century due to a combination of internal and external crisis. The kingdoms of the Yoruba were thrown into a state of crisis that was characterised by violent and debilitating wars, slave raids, widespread insecurity, and grave human suffering. There was mass migration, destruction of homes and means of livelihood, and the breaking up of families. Fought from the 1820s, these wars ended in the 1890s with the expansion of British imperial influence forcing the signing of peace treaties.
Back at the compound, the folktale warns girls of the jealousy and envy amongst co-wives. It also illuminates the role of the head wife as the most respected female in the compound, who must be given a share of everything. Her rejection of the gifts, the daughter’s petulance, disobedience, waywardness, and altogether disagreeable attitude which eventually led to her demise warns girls of the dangers of greed, envy, and a bad character. The girl dying outside her compound is also quite significant to the story. To the Yoruba, the death outside the lineage compound was considered a shameful and evil death. The corpse had to be cleansed before burial to ward off evil and prevent similar occurrences in future. Finally, the death of a child was a most devastating experience for all Yoruba women. It meant the demise of a person with which women shared the most intimate bonds, the loss of a lineage member and means of production. Also, it sometimes signified the loss of prestige for the wife, and in some cases, led to witchcraft accusations.

**Conclusion**

Frequently, gender research on nineteenth-century Yorubaland has taken the category ‘woman’ as a given, discounting the childhood socialisation processes responsible for transforming biological females into cultural women. This article demonstrates that this is a simplistic way of analysing nineteenth-century gender. It proposes that the classification ‘woman’ was not determined exclusively by biology. Instead, it was a cultural process whereby female children through daily interactions and instructions were taught societally acceptable values and character and thus socially gendered as Yoruba ‘women’. Whether through household relations, during economic activities, or at leisure time events, female socialisation stressed the importance of familial relations, the need to be proficient in domestic tasks, the urgency of economic independence, and the significance of good character. All these prepared young girls for lives as Yoruba women.
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66 Images are included by the kind permission of The Church Missionary Archives, University of Birmingham (Fig. 1 and 3), and the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Figs. 2).


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Henry Wilson and the role of civil-military cooperation during the planning of
British mobilisation for war, 1910-1914

In August 1910, Henry Wilson became head of the Directorate of Military Operations [DMO] at the War Office. This small and isolated directorate was responsible for planning the mobilisation scheme to be employed by the British Expeditionary Force [BEF] in the event of war, making Wilson the man most connected to the ‘With France’ plan that propelled the BEF onto what became the Western Front. Over the previous six years, following the signing of the Entente Cordiale between France and Britain, successive Directors had developed mobilisation schemes within the narrow confines of the military; however the creation of such proposals could not remain a solely military concern if a practicable plan was to be produced. The evolution of modern, machine-intensive, industrial warfare brought with it the establishment of an army requiring quantities of men, munitions and equipment incomparable to previous British military experience, all of which required transportation across both land and sea. Although the term ‘grand strategy’ would not be coined until after the First World War, the work of the DMO in the period under review illustrates that the twin necessities of peacetime preparation for war and an increasing role for ‘civilian’ actors within the military machine were, but only in part, recognised and acted upon prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.

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3 H. Strachan, ‘Strategy and War’, in The Oxford Handbook of War, ed. by J. Lindley-French & Y. Boyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 30-42 (p. 35); The contrast is provided by the experience of munitions supply, in which the War Office contracts pool remained small and exclusive prior to the war despite the existence of a ‘shells
Using the extant records of the DMO, this article illustrates that the four years of Wilson’s leadership of the directorate represent a period in which the British Army, consistent with the dominant military ideology of the time which stressed the importance of swift, decisive battle, took advantage of the technical expertise within British transport companies to ensure that the BEF could take to the field as quickly and efficiently as possible upon the outbreak of war in Europe. In contrast to the wider lack of preparation for war in Britain, leading to the ‘nearly calamitous breakdown’ in industrial mobilisation during the opening year of the war, the transport of the BEF to the seaports of Britain in the weeks following the outbreak of war was declared to be ‘a model of railway organisation’. The success of these logistical preparations was due to the existence of a sophisticated civil-military network fostered by Wilson during his period in office, whilst their character – and by implication the BEF’s immediate response to the outbreak of war – were governed by a combination of the complexities of mobilising an industrial armed force, and the strategic preferences of the Director himself.

A committed Francophile with a lifelong affinity to France engendered by a succession of French governesses in his youth, Wilson entered the DMO following a four-year spell as the Commandant of the Staff College in Camberley. At the Staff College, Wilson had sought to establish a coherent system of higher education and training for the army, of vital importance for


6 The ‘W.F.’ scheme was by no means universally accepted within the army during the pre-war period, however Wilson’s position as Director of Military Operations afforded him the opportunity to establish primacy for his own scheme over those who introduced alternative options by ensuring the ‘W.F.’ scheme was comprehensively planned, whilst the alternatives were not. See W.J. Philpott, ‘The Strategic Ideas of Sir John French’, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 12, no.4 (1989), 458-78; H. Strachan, ‘The British Army, its General Staff and the Continental Commitment 1904-1914’, in *The British General Staff: Reform and Innovation c. 1890-1939*, ed. by D. French and B. Holden Reid (London: Frank Cass, 2002), pp. 75-94.

the development of professional skills among officers. His objective had been to create ‘a corps of officers imbued with uniform methods of work and a common approach to staff problems’. As Commandant, Wilson also took the opportunity to promote specific guiding principles to his students, challenging the ‘next generation’ of army officers to consider the policies he favoured to the detriment of alternatives. Foremost amongst the principles promoted by Wilson was the need for ‘readiness against Germany in alliance with France’.8

Wilson’s pro-French position was demonstrated in an exercise set for the senior students at the College in November 1908. The group assignment, entitled the ‘Belgian Scheme’, comprised ‘a study of operations involving the employment of the BEF on the continent of Europe’. The students were handed the scenario of deteriorating relations between France and Germany, leading to an invasion of France through the violation of Belgian neutrality.9 The students’ task was to produce a memorandum illustrating the views of the General Staff as to ‘the most effective means of employing the BEF’ in the event of such an occurrence.10 The specificity of the exercise was criticised in Parliament, leading to the 1909 edition of the assignment removing the reference to Belgian neutrality, but maintaining the basic premise of a projected Franco-German conflict.11

Aside from inculcating his students with thoughts of a possible European war, Wilson also frequently visited the Franco-German-Belgian borderland, territory that would conceivably be

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8 W. Philpott, ‘The General Staff and the Paradoxes of Continental War’, in *The British General Staff*, pp. 95-111 (p. 100); it is also important to note that Wilson was by no means alone in stressing the importance of fostering friendly relations with France in opposition to the German threat. A former head of the DMO, James Grierson, had reached the same conclusion as early as 1897. See A. Vagts, *The Military Attaché* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 152; Strachan, ‘British Army’, pp. 82-3.

9 Grierson had used the same scenario as the premise behind a war game played out in 1905, which concluded that a British mobilisation scheme focused upon Antwerp would ‘leave the German army in a favourable position for pursuing its movement westwards’. See TNA: PRO WO 33/364 Records of a Strategic War Game 1905, p. 156.

10 Jeffery, *Sir Henry Wilson*, p. 73.

the theatre of operations for the BEF in the event of a conflict erupting.\textsuperscript{12} In the summer of 1909 he travelled by train and bicycle from Mons into France, and along the French frontier to the Swiss border. The following summer he made a note of significant new German railway construction, out of all proportion to peace-time traffic, near the border with Luxembourg.\textsuperscript{13} As Stevenson has argued, through the building of ‘more lines, and by double- and quadruple-tracking existing ones’, the European powers attempted to use railways to ‘tilt the balance’ in their favour should war be declared.\textsuperscript{14} Therefore, the construction Wilson noted was a sure sign of ongoing German military preparations and an integral part of the preparatory phase for the initial ‘race to the offensive’ on Germany’s western frontier.\textsuperscript{15}

By the time he arrived at the DMO therefore, Wilson was already highly familiar with the problems to be faced in the readying of the BEF for continental warfare. He also had a sound knowledge, based on German railway building, of where the conflict was likely to take place.\textsuperscript{16} The technical plans he inherited to transport the BEF to that location, however, were by no means complete:

When [Wilson] took over the appointment there were certain tentative schemes in the War Office pigeon holes, but these were entirely academic, not a single practical step had

\textsuperscript{12} Major-General C.E. Callwell, \textit{Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, His Life and Diaries}, vol. 1 (London: Cassell, 1927), pp. 72-3.


\textsuperscript{15} The impact of rapid mobilisation upon the ability of an army to take the offensive, deemed critical to the successful conclusion of military operations, was a constant theme in pre-war doctrine throughout Europe. See van Evera, ‘Cult of the Offensive’, pp. 58-63.

\textsuperscript{16} This information was also known by the French military authorities however, due to ‘disagreements among the generals, they only partially acted on it’. See Wolmar, \textit{Engines of War}, p. 137.
been taken to give effect to them, no such thing as a railway timetable on our side of the Channel had been even attempted.\textsuperscript{17}

Over the course of the next four years, Wilson would seek to rectify this situation and ensure that the BEF would be ready to take part in the Franco-German war he was convinced would soon occur.

Conceiving his primary duty upon entering the DMO to be ‘accelerating the mobilisation of the BEF’ to ensure its presence during the critical opening encounters of the war, Wilson immediately had an immense map of the Franco-German-Belgian borderland hung upon the wall of his office.\textsuperscript{18} The map was a graphic demonstration of Wilson’s commitment to the pursuit of a ‘with France’ strategy and it ‘delighted’ the French military attaché upon a visit to the directorate in November 1910.\textsuperscript{19} However, at the start of 1911, Wilson’s personal commitment to the French was not supported by a workable programme. A major obstacle was the level of secrecy attached to the mobilisation scheme and the problems this caused both within the army, in terms of interdepartmental cooperation, and in relation to obtaining the assistance of non-military specialists. For example, the Quartermaster General’s [QMG] department, responsible for the movement by rail of the BEF, had not made detailed arrangements for the transport of troops to the ports, whilst the government had forbidden all contact with the railway companies over whose lines the movements would by necessity have to take place.\textsuperscript{20}

Though understandable on grounds of diplomacy and national secrecy, the decision to detach the railway companies from the planning process severely restricted the amount of work the DMO could achieve in relation to the mobilisation scheme, explaining the condition of the plans

\textsuperscript{17} WO 106/49A/1 Address by Radcliffe, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{18} Callwell, Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, vol. 1, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{19} Jeffery, Sir Henry Wilson, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{20} Callwell, Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, vol. 1, pp. 91-2.
upon Wilson’s appointment. However, during this period the senior executives of railway companies and the officer class of the army were major institutions in British society. Numerous politicians, including the Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey, and other prominent public figures (many with military backgrounds) acted as directors of the largest railway companies and mixed with senior military figures in social circles. Friendly relations were not uncommon between the two groups; however these social relationships were prevented from developing into a working partnership in the realm of mobilisation planning until 20 January 1911. On this date Wilson successfully lobbied the Secretary of State for War, Richard Haldane, to have this restrictive decree overturned.

Despite the critical importance of the efficient use of railways in swiftly mobilising the BEF in the event of war, the army did not possess officers with the technical expertise required to ensure that the railways would be operated in the most effective manner upon the outbreak of war. This lack of specialist knowledge within the military led to a perception within the railway industry that the army underestimated the capacity of the railways to handle the exceptional

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21 This point is borne out by the rising salaries of railway managers in the pre-war period and the increasing numbers being offered knighthoods, particularly from the late nineteenth century onwards. See T.R. Gourvish, ‘A British Business Elite: The Chief Executive Managers of the Railway Industry, 1850-1922’, *The Business History Review*, 47, no.3 (1973), 289-316 (pp. 308-9).


23 As an example of this Colonel Seely, upon his appointment as Secretary of State for War in succession to Haldane in 1912, received a number of letters of congratulation. Among the letters retained by Seely is one from William Paget of the London and South-Western Railway. See Oxford, Nuffield College Library [NCL]: Papers of John Edward Bernard Seely, Lord Mottistone. MSS Mottistone 2: Correspondence 1911-1914, 2/101-116 Letters of congratulation on being made Secretary of State for War, Paget to Seely, 13 June 1912.

24 Jeffery, *Sir Henry Wilson*, pp. 91-2. It is important to note however that this did not mean that the ‘W.F.’ scheme became common knowledge within civil or military circles at this point. The majority of Parliament only became aware of the existence of the scheme when Grey addressed the Commons on 3 August 1914, whilst senior military figures such as Douglas Haig, who was to command the BEF’s I Corps, had scant knowledge of the planning process prior to August 1914. See S.B. Fay, *The Origins of the First World War*, 2nd edn, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1959), p. 542; G.D. Sheffield, *The Chief: Douglas Haig and the British Army* (London: Aurum, 2011), p. 68.

25 The dangers of uncoordinated military command of the railways had been demonstrated during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, where disastrous French Army control of the rail network led to congestion, confusion and ultimately defeat. See A. Mitchell, *The Great Train Race: Railways and the Franco-German Rivalry* (New York: Berghahn, 2000).
burden expected to be placed upon them at the outbreak of war.\textsuperscript{26} Such fears were not alleviated by the production of reports by the Committee of Imperial Defence expressing doubts about the ‘ability of the railway companies to cope with the extra strain that would be thrown upon them in time of war’.\textsuperscript{27} Such judgments were made in spite of the fact that the railway companies and the military enjoyed a close working relationship during peacetime, particularly in the arrangement of movements of large bodies of troops to the annual manoeuvres. Such exercises were often handled under ‘war conditions’, in which orders were not communicated until the last minute to simulate the stresses to be expected at the opening of an actual conflict.\textsuperscript{28} Clearly, then, communication between the two groups was absolutely necessary in order for the railway companies to ensure that suitable trains (in terms of both quantity and equipment) could be made available to the army as soon as they were required.

With permission to conduct conversations with the railway companies secured, Wilson set about the task of producing timetables for the despatch of the BEF, and their required equipment, to the ports earmarked for the embarkation of the force. The preparation of timetables was handled through a system of consultation between either the QMG’s department or the individual home commands and a selected railway company, depending on the nature of the required movement.\textsuperscript{29} The railway company would receive from the military authority a programme containing the details of each and every unit to be moved, such details including: what the unit would consist of in terms of men and equipment; from which station it would commence mobilisation; the day after general mobilisation on which the move was to begin; and the time at

\textsuperscript{27} NCL: MSS Mottistone 11: CID, 1909-1912, 11/1-13 Correspondence and documentation relating to the business of the sub-committee of the CID looking at the transportation and distribution of food and supplies, chaired by J.S., Sub-Committee to consider the desirability of an enquiry into the question of local transportation and distribution of food supplies in time of war, 28 February 1910, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{28} As an example, the London and South-Western Railway was responsible for the movement of ‘26,000 officers and men, 8,000 horses, 70 guns, and 1,200 transport vehicles, necessitating the running of 137 special trains… in the manoeuvre area’ during the summer manoeuvres of 1910. See ‘Railways and Military Operations’, p. 174.
\textsuperscript{29} TNA: PRO WO 106/50 Scheme for mobilisation on a war footing – progress of scheme for despatch of forces (WH/1), Enclosure 1A – Memorandum by Captain H.O. Mance, R.E. (Staff Captain, QMG 2) on the questions raised by the Executive Committee in their Memorandum of 10 December 1912, 1 January 1913.
which it should arrive at the destination port. The railway company was then to arrange all the technical aspects of the move: the provision of rolling stock; the times of passing stations and junctions en route; the working up of a complete timetable; and the necessary steps to ensure that the locomotives and crews required would be available and run to time whenever the need for them arose.\(^30\) Wherever potential clashes arose, the matter would be referred to the DMO who would prioritise the more urgent move.

As Southampton, earmarked for the despatch of the main body of troops, was on the London and South-Western system, the London and South-Western Railway [LSWR] became intimately connected with the development of the ‘W.F.’ scheme.\(^31\) Throughout the development of the schedule the LSWR acted as a ‘secretary railway’, the designated point of contact for all correspondence in reference to the scheme for both the War Office and the other railway companies involved.\(^32\) The projected time of arrival for each train at Southampton was delivered to a specialist staff working exclusively on the mobilisation timetable at the LSWR, and from this arrival time the route for each individual train could be planned back to the point at which it would be required to enter the London and South-Western system. The companies over whose lines the train would pass immediately before it entered the London and South-Western network would then be notified of the time they were expected to hand the train over. From this information that company could then trace the journey further back, either to the station of departure or to the next ‘handover’ station on the route.\(^33\)


\(^32\) WO 106/49A/1 Address by Radcliffe, p. 7.

\(^33\) Pratt, *British Railways*, vol. 1, pp. 112-4.
Once the journey had been traced back to the station of departure, the time of entrainment was entered onto the individual unit’s mobilisation scheme.\textsuperscript{34} However, as the war establishments of certain units were amended each year by the Army Council, the timetables demanded constant revision to take into account the necessary changes and the possibility of specific railway equipment being required. Such changes could also raise the prospect of units being sent to different ports of embarkation, or adjustments made to the priority of their departure. Given the complexities involved, making these revisions was a time-consuming process, both for the DMO and for the larger railway companies.\textsuperscript{35} Wilson for example would note in December 1913 that, despite those involved in the process having nearly two years experience by this point, when working in conjunction with the QMG and Admiralty upon amendments handed down from the Army Council, it took four months for the DMO to effect changes to the timetable.\textsuperscript{36}

The period that followed the Wilson-Haldane conversation was not simply characterised by hard work at the DMO and among the railway companies. The period was one of inter-departmental cooperation between those government departments which existed ‘solely for the purpose of war’ such as the Admiralty and the War Office, and those whose primary responsibility lay in the administration of peacetime Britain.\textsuperscript{37} This cooperation was exemplified in the creation of the ‘War Book’, a series of instructions to be followed by appropriate government departments and industrial concerns upon the declaration of a precautionary period and consequent announcement of an order to mobilise. First published in 1912, and amended following further discussions in both 1913 and 1914, the book acted as a step-by-step guide for officials in areas as wide-ranging as the provision of policemen for the protection of vital railway junctions to the

\textsuperscript{34} WO 106/49A/1 Address by Radcliffe, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{35} The largest railway company in Britain prior to the war, the London and North-Western Railway, received such drastic alterations to their share of the transportation task during the winter of 1912-13 that the company created a special department dedicated purely to the amendment of the scheme to ensure its readiness. See E.A. Pratt, \textit{War Record of the London and North-Western Railway} (London: Selwyn & Blount, 1922), pp. 6-7; Pratt, \textit{British Railways}, vol. 1, p. 29 details the strain of the work on railway employees.
\textsuperscript{36} WO 106/49A/2 Revision of programme: remarks of various directorates, 4 December 1913.
\textsuperscript{37} TNA: PRO CAB 15/2 Minutes, Papers and War Books, Note by the Secretary, 4 November 1910.
despatch of mobilisation telegrams to soldiers. From the 1913 edition onwards, the ‘War Book’ was arranged in chapters by department, so that each group could obtain the instructions relevant to their department without having to concern themselves with orders only applicable to other sections.

The Foreign Office, responsible for giving notice of the possibility of war to the other departments involved, appeared first in the book. Next were the War Office and Admiralty, whose chief concerns were the security of the nation and the mobilisation of the army and navy, followed by the Colonial and Indian Offices, in charge of Britain’s overseas territories. The Privy Council and Treasury, responsible for issuing the proclamation of war and the authorisation of war measures, followed, along with the Home Office and Local Government Board who were to oversee internal order and the relief of distress. The final chapters of the book dealt with the Board of Trade, through whom the railway companies received their instructions, the Customs and Excise Board with their duties in relation to supply and blockade, and the Post Office, responsible for the gargantuan task of delivering the mobilisation telegrams and disseminating official information.38 By crystallising the commands in print, the ‘War Book’ ensured that the response of the government and the required British industries – regardless of the turnover in personnel between the creation and implementation of the orders contained within – would be coherent and organised. Employees at the Board of Trade or the general managers of railway companies, people whose daily focus was primarily upon their peacetime occupations rather than war preparation, could simply consult the book in order to establish ‘best practice’ upon receiving the signal to mobilise.39

39 Copies of all three ‘War Books’ are available. See TNA: PRO CAB 15/3-5 War Book: Summary of action taken by Departments, 27 February 1912-30 June 1914.
Concurrent with production of the ‘War Book’, action continued to take place on the task of transporting the BEF across the sea. On the British side of the Channel, the owners of the port of Southampton, the LSWR, undertook significant railway construction to bring the total length of track within the docks up to thirty-seven miles. Bespoke diagram boards charting the special facilities required by individual units were also set up to allow the port authorities to keep track of the complex demands of the military. Elsewhere, Newhaven in Sussex, the closest Channel port to London, had been chosen as the primary embarkation point for the myriad supplies required by the BEF, whilst Avonmouth, Liverpool, Belfast, Queenstown, Cork and Glasgow were also assigned roles in the mobilisation process.

On the French side, upon the invitation of Colonel Seely four shipping experts investigated the problems to be tackled in the landing of the BEF upon the European mainland. Sir Thomas Royden and Sir Lionel Fletcher took up the challenge and, together with officers from both the naval and military staffs of Britain and France, made a thorough reconnaissance of the Channel ports to be used by the BEF. The shipping of the BEF was a highly technical operation, requiring detailed examination of such questions as berthing facilities, tidal limitations, the number and power of the cranes available and the existence of suitable storage facilities. The recommendations of the Royden-Fletcher report, handed over to the Admiralty in February 1913, were adopted as the basis of the scheme for disembarkation in France.

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40 The LSWR had taken over the port, including the Southampton Dock Company, in 1892; Pratt, British Railways, vol. 2, pp. 1008-9.
43 The four were Sir Thomas Royden (Cunard Company), Sir Lionel Fletcher (White Star), Sir Richard Holt (Blue Funnel) and Sir Owen Philipps (Royal Mail). Royden and Fletcher, ‘in order to fully discharge [the task]… gave up all their private work for many months’. See F.E.S. Birkenhead, Contemporary Personalities (London: Cassell, 1924), pp. 291-2.
44 The extent to which prominent figures such as Royden, Fletcher and the general managers of railway companies were coerced by the government into assisting the military in such investigations, or whether such time-consuming tasks were undertaken with great patriotic enthusiasm, is currently unclear and would benefit from further study.
45 WO 106/49A/1 Address by Radeliffe, p. 4.
The Royden-Fletcher report highlighted that the crane facilities at each of the ports earmarked to receive the BEF: Havre, Rouen and Boulogne, were inadequate for the task of handling the supplies projected to accompany the force. In order to prevent backlogs occurring therefore, it was decided that mechanical transport should be divided and sent to all three ports rather than being concentrated upon one facility. Such recommendations inevitably led to further amendments to the mobilisation timetables in Britain. In light of the vast quantities of data being received, processed and acted upon by the DMO in conjunction with the scheme, regular service updates were demanded by Wilson to verify that the most current information was being acted upon, and that existing deficiencies in the scheme were in the process of being rectified.

These ‘board meetings’ also offered Wilson’s subordinates the opportunity to report on the progress of particular tasks to the Director, for instance on the procurement of lorries to be used by the BEF. The majority of the vehicles required were to be sourced from civilian firms upon mobilisation. Of these, the bulk were to be purchased through a provisional subsidy scheme between the army and the vehicle owner, the rest by impressments upon mobilisation. A census was carried out over the course of 1912 in order to identify suitable vehicles. By September 1913 the DMO was able to confirm that over 600 of the 1000 vehicles required to complete the war establishment of the BEF had been provisionally registered, whilst the QMG’s department were busy overseeing the enlistment of 3,000 men to drive and maintain the vehicles. The number of petrol lorries to be obtained by the Army Service Corps had been reduced to 383 and arrangements for the impressments of the necessary vehicles upon mobilisation had been made.

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46 WO 106/49A/2 Outline of scheme, i. Factors affecting plan of movement and Staff work.
47 WO 106/49A/2. A hand-written note on the file states that the timetables for 1913 had been amended in light of the recommendations of the Royden-Fletcher report.
48 WO 106/50 A list of some outstanding questions to be settled, 29 October 1911.
49 See for example WO 106/50 A list, Harper to Wilson, 17 April 1912; Harper to Wilson, 1 April 1913.
50 A similar census took place to identify the 36,000 horses required to bring the BEF up from its peacetime establishment of 19,000 to its war establishment of 55,000 horses. See Brigadier-General T.R.F. Bate, ‘Horse Mobilisation’, RUSI Journal, 67:465 (1922), 16-25, (p. 19); Lieutenant-Colonel G.F. MacMunn, ‘The Horse Mobilisation of the Forces’, Army Review, 5:2 (1913); reprinted pamphlet version in TNA: PRO WO 138/52 War Office: Personal Files, General Sir John Cowans.
the lorries in question having been earmarked for military use. In all, procedures for the provision of mechanical transport were observed, a year before hostilities commenced, to have ‘reached a point where it may be considered there is no room for anxiety as to provision’. 52

Through careful liaison with suitably qualified civilian experts and the cooperation of British industry, wedded to Wilson’s determination to complete the project and be able to render assistance to the French, details for both the movement of, and logistical support for, the BEF were settled by August 1914. A complete set of timetables had been printed and issued to the relevant units detailing their place station, place of mobilisation and the location of their mobilisation equipment, alongside a series of tables distributed to each of the commands indicating the date after general mobilisation on which every unit had to be ready to move. 53 As Wilson deemed the swift arrival of the BEF to be critical to the success of Anglo-French operations, each unit was instructed that mobilisation would take place at the designated time, regardless of whether the unit had completed their preparations or not. 54

Although Britain’s commitment to the war would be governed by Cabinet decision rather than by the existence of inflexible timetables, the swift arrival of that commitment was dependent upon the efficient implementation of the railway moves worked out over the preceding three years. 55 Each unit or part thereof was allocated to a train, whose projected time of arrival was recorded alongside their departure time from the mobilisation camp. At the embarkation ports,

52 WO 106/50 Mobilisation Requirement – Conference of Military Members held on 10 April 1913 in CIGS’ room, p. 5.
53 TNA: PRO WO 106/49A/8 Expeditionary Force Tables and details of the War Establishments of Units, January 1914; Mobilisation dates by Commands, April 1914.
54 ‘We must mobilise on the same day as France and Germany… We must have every detail of mobilisation, concentration and transport worked out to the last degree’. TNA: PRO WO 106/47 Conditions of a War between France and Germany (E2/25), 12 August 1911.
troops or supplies were allocated to a cross-Channel transport and the serial number of the ship telegraphed to the destination port. This was to ensure that the authorities in France were aware of the contents of each arriving ship and could direct it to the most suitable berth for disembarkation. Finally, following an enforced rest period at the French ports, the units would be arranged into trainloads on the French pattern and transported to the concentration zone. The final step of this itinerary was overseen by the French military transport authorities centred at French Grand Quartier Général who had accepted responsibility for the ‘construction, repair, maintenance, traffic management and protection’ of the BEF’s logistics network for the duration of the conflict.

For all Wilson’s statements emphasising the importance of the BEF mobilising in line with the French, Britain would not enter the war, and therefore authorise a general mobilisation, until the expiration of the ultimatum to Germany on the night of 4 August. This was almost three days later than the French. The delay caused Sir John French, Commander-in-Chief of the BEF, to declare the ‘W.F.’ scheme null and void, suggesting instead that the force should be shipped to Antwerp. Aside from the implications of such a move to Dutch neutrality, the transportation of the BEF to Antwerp had already been discounted as unfeasible on strategic grounds by Grierson’s war game in 1905. As a result of the war game, Belgian reticence to encourage a close relationship with the British military, and Wilson’s obfuscation in the face of alternatives to the ‘W.F.’ scheme, the port of Antwerp had not been thoroughly reconnoitred to assess its suitability

56 WO 106/49B/3 Serial Railway Tables Southampton, 1914.
57 Differences between French military railway policy and the British method meant that the administrative echelons were required to allot units to trains by different methods on either side of the Channel to ensure the most efficient use of the available rolling stock. See WO 106/49A/2 i. Factors affecting plan; TNA: PRO WO 106/49B/7 Wilson-Foch scheme – Expeditionary Force to France, Disembarkation Tables, 1914.
59 For example: ‘it is essential that the Secretary of State [for War] should be fully aware of the difference it will make to the course of the campaign whether we mobilise early or late. It is scarcely too much to say that the difference may be that of victory or defeat’. See WO 106/47 Conditions of a War, 12 August 1911.
60 TNA: PRO CAB 22/1 War Council Minutes of Meetings, Secretary’s Notes of a War Council Held at 10, Downing Street, 5 August 1914, pp. 1-2.
as a landing zone for British troops, nor had the requisite railway timetables from the port to the area of concentration been developed and distributed among the units.\textsuperscript{61}

The scale of the work undertaken by the DMO over the previous four years had demonstrated that ship and rail movements utilising foreign facilities ‘simply could not be improvised at the last moment’.\textsuperscript{62} For the senior commander of the BEF to suggest such a policy at this stage was largely reflective of French’s long-held concerns over the autonomy of his command on French soil, but augured ill for his appreciation of the importance of logistics during the coming conflict.\textsuperscript{63} Any further discussion of Antwerp as a possible destination was terminated via an explanation of the impracticality of amending the mobilisation scheme in such a drastic fashion at such a late stage by Sir Charles Douglas, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Haig’s proposal, for the BEF to remain at home for ‘two or three months, during which the immense resources of the Empire’ could be developed, was similarly discounted. The nature of the understanding between the British and French governments, symbolised by the exchange of letters in 1912, and the lack of resources in Britain for a long war, a result of military spending restrictions imposed by a Liberal government committed to social reform, meant that however small the force relative to the vast armies of France and Germany, British support was expected on the other side of the Channel immediately.\textsuperscript{64}

With the alternatives dismissed, the only remaining practicable mobilisation scheme was Wilson’s. It boasted the benefits of thorough logistical preparation, interdepartmental

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\textsuperscript{63} Philpott, ‘Strategic Ideas’, pp. 465-7. The assumption that French would command the BEF had been in existence for many years prior to the outbreak of the war. See I.F.W. Beckett, ‘Selection by Disparagement’: Lord Esher, the General Staff and the Politics of Command, 1904-1914’, in \textit{The British General Staff}, 41-56 (p. 55).

\textsuperscript{64} The significance of the Grey-Cambon exchange of letters in 1912 is summarised in Fay, \textit{Origins}, vol. 1, pp. 320-3; The military budget was fundamental in restricting both the size of and the amount of equipment available to the BEF prior to the war. See E.M. Spiers, \textit{Haldane: An Army Reformer} (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980), p. 81.
cooperation, the input of technically qualified industrial experts and, crucially, it could be brought into action almost immediately. The following day Lord Kitchener, freshly installed as Secretary of State for War, decided that four divisions of the six provided for in the mobilisation scheme could be immediately transported to France.\(^{65}\) On 8 August, owing to the interruption to arrangements brought about by what Wilson referred to as the ‘dithering’ of the government over the previous week, the railway programme commenced. 350 trains, comprising an average of thirty vehicles each, were made up ready for despatch to Southampton.\(^{66}\) The schedule demanded that the LSWR put those 350 trains into the port within sixty hours. The level of contingency built into the timetables led to ‘by far the greater proportion’ of trains arriving at the ports between twenty and thirty minutes early, with just one train arriving late, and by only five minutes. The sixty hour target was achieved in just forty-five. Practically every day for the first three weeks of the war, the railways handled between seventy and ninety trains per day, arriving into the port at intervals of just under one quarter of an hour.\(^{67}\)

Britain’s status as one of the world’s foremost industrial powers, possessing an abundance of specialists in myriad fields of business and commerce alongside a dense logistics network, ensured that Britain’s mobilisation strategy was guided by professional advice and that the advanced transportation links throughout the country were employed to the highest standards of efficiency. The BEF in 1914 may have attempted a military manoeuvre more complex than anything previously attempted by a British force but, unlike the German Army’s ‘Schlieffen Plan’, it did not attempt anything that was logistically ‘a gamble’.\(^{68}\) The industrial scale of modern warfare ensured that the effective contribution of a British force required detailed planning and

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\(^{65}\) CAB 22/1 Secretary’s Notes of a War Council Held at 10, Downing Street, 6 August 1914, p. 1.  
\(^{68}\) ‘Schlieffen does not appear to have devoted much attention to logistics when he evolved his great Plan’. See M. van Creveld, *Supplying War. Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 138.
thorough organisation, aspects which demanded a significant investment of both time and resources. In mobilisation at least, unlike in the supply of manpower or munitions, this occurred; the thorough work of the DMO and the employees of numerous railway companies – artfully applied by Henry Wilson towards the strategy he himself favoured – ensured that the BEF took its place on the French left prior to the colossal engagement at Mons that would signify the commencement of Britain’s contribution to the fighting on the Western Front.

As a French artillery officer noted in 1913, the intervention of the BEF in a European war was a military act too serious to be left to the ‘eleventh hour’.69 Unlike Germany and France however, instinctively wedded to the rigid ‘Schlieffen Plan’ and ‘Plan XVII’ schemes respectively, Britain was not committed to an autonomous ‘war by timetable’ in the opening days of the conflict.70 British strategy in the first week of August was, in fact, guided more by political considerations of domestic and foreign policy than by inflexible mobilisation schedules. The decision to go to war, and the time to act upon that decision, were reached by governmental judgment rather than by the demands of railway schedules.71

The work of the DMO, although concealed from both Parliament and much of the army throughout the pre-war period, did not occur within a vacuum. The evolution of the ‘With France’ scheme, from the appointment of Henry Wilson as Director onwards, was influenced by the input and knowledge of prominent civilian business leaders and by the strategy favoured by Wilson himself. It was the technical expertise of a highly-skilled industrial society, guided by a ‘forceful advocate of the continental commitment’, which ensured that the BEF was transported across land and sea in time – and position – to make a telling contribution to the initial battles of

the First World War. As such, it was an illustration of what could be achieved in an industrial conflict given sound, logistically feasible, foundations, and represents Britain’s first step towards the civil-military partnership that would characterise the ‘total war’ to come.

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Structures of Cooperation & Conflict: Local Forces in Mandatory Palestine during the Second World War

From the recruitment of Roger’s Rangers in the Seven Years’ War to the Sunni Awakening, the employment of local forces is a persistent theme throughout the history of warfare. Although at times individual local forces have received narrative attention, there has as yet been no comprehensive study of the nature, structure, function, or experience of these forces. One way these forces differ from institutional forces is their temporary and sometimes ad hoc nature – they are recruited by metropolitan powers in response to a specific emergency, sometimes as a supplement to conventional forces or out of a desire to intervene militarily without committing to large deployments. These forces are by definition paramilitary in their nature, as, for the most part, are their activities. They are not regular police, gendarme, or military forces. Instead, they represent a subset of a broader category of force that includes paramilitaries, unconventional forces, guerrillas, some militias, and auxiliaries. In the last several decades, the establishment of, and cooperation with, such forces tends to belong neither to the main body of conventional forces nor to intelligence agencies, but to the specific sections responsible for special operations or paramilitary activities. Irregular local forces have formed part of crisis response in imperial security and proxy warfare the world over and have thus played a central role in conflicts. This is clearly shown in the case of the Palestine Mandate during the era of the Second World War.

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This paper explores the structure of the relationship between the British imperial authorities in Palestine and the primary local force with whom they cooperated, the Haganah. In Mandatory Palestine, the relationship structures served both the long-term and immediate interests of the Haganah and the immediate interests of the imperial authorities, and maximized the ability of the local force to contribute to regional defence. Only by the objections of those imperial authorities concerned with the long-term status of governance in Palestine and the intermittent need to project an image of control over, or disassociation from, the local forces curbed this function.

Beyond their non-conventional nature and their difference from regular police and military forces, the single factor that unites the broad categories of irregular forces and auxiliaries, including those local forces that operated in Palestine Mandate, is their relation to irregular warfare. Irregular warfare is at best a nebulous and murky concept, and in recent years the problems of defining it have only become more difficult. There seems to be an organizational tendency to define irregular warfare as everything in which most conventional military forces prefer not to engage. This tendency has led to a conflation of the concepts of irregular warfare, unconventional warfare, counterinsurgency, population-centric warfare, guerrilla warfare, and small wars. The situation is made more complicated by the hybrid nature of many wars, including the Second World War. As Michael Horowitz and Dan Shalmon noted in their article on the future of war, ‘major state-to-state wars nearly always include irregular elements and phases’.  

This has, in part, led some scholars to suggest that there is no such thing as irregular warfare or that irregular warfare is regular and conventional warfare is irregular. Nevertheless, a distinct subject area remains, albeit somewhat buried within the variety of definitions.

One factor that contributes to the elusiveness of a definition is the lack of historical study of irregular warfare and irregular forces. Many scholars, including Frank Hoffman and Barak

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Salmoni from the US Marine Corps, have noted this scarcity of research on irregular warfare and therefore irregular forces, including local forces. This study, which consists of an examination of the structural dynamics of the relationship with one set of irregular forces, is part of the effort to address this scarcity. Although cooperation between the Haganah and the British Empire existed in many spheres, including intelligence, civil administration, and conventional military recruitment, the areas that concern this study, are solely those related to irregular forces.

As external threats to Palestine manifested during the war, the imperial authorities built and reinforced co-operative arrangements with the Zionist underground in Palestine in general and with the primary paramilitary of the Jewish Agency, known as the Haganah, in particular. This cooperation was integral to maintaining quiet in Palestine and functioned to such an extent that when other Zionist paramilitaries, such as the Irgun Zvai Le’umi (IZL), took arms against the Empire in 1944, the Haganah effectively suppressed them. This paper addresses the evolution and nature of the security and military relationship between the British Empire and the Haganah throughout the Second World War by examining the relationship’s structure as it related to irregular force cooperation.

In Palestine, as elsewhere, the structure of the relationship between imperial and local actors strongly influenced the nature and operation of local forces. The structure of any relationship consists of the physical and organizational pathways through which the intentions of those involved in relationships become reality – the required bridge between thought and action. Relationship structure incorporates the processes through which actors make decisions and take action, as well as the process by which the allocation of personnel, information exchange, and resource transfer takes place. In short, relationship structure is the actualization of the relationship. Structure also refers to the level of integration between any two given actors. It thus

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6 Interview with Yehuda Lapidot.
determines much of what the actors involved in a relationship are able to accomplish and the means through which they can act.

It would be incorrect to identify a single relationship or relationship structure between the Empire and local forces. It is more accurate to speak of multiple evolving relationships and, consequently, multiple overlapping – and at times contradictory – relationship structures. Each imperial actor, such as the Palestine Government or the military administration, maintained a separate relationship with the Haganah. At times, the various imperial organizations went to great lengths to hide from each other the fact and nature of their cooperation with the Haganah. Thus, in their formation and structure, the various relationships had little reference to each other.

Although many imperial and Allied organizations in Palestine and throughout the Middle East had relationships with the Haganah, this paper focuses only on those who employed the Haganah in a primary role in the Palestine area. These included the Palestine Government and the imperial forces which are called the British Army, as well as what will be collectively referred to as the Special Services: Section D, Military Intelligence (Research) (abbreviated as MI(R)), Special Operations Executive (SOE was formed after a merger between MI(R) and Section D) and Political Warfare Executive.

The key imperial-Zionist relationships that defined the constitution and use of local forces in the Levant were those between the Special Services and the Jewish Agency, the Palestine Government/Palestine Police Force (PPF) and the Haganah, and the British Army and the Haganah. These relationships evolved throughout the war and, consequently, were in a constant state of flux. As relationships among the imperial actors changed, their relationships with the Haganah became tangled. This was particularly the case with the relationships between and

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within the Palestine Government, the British Army, and the Haganah. Additionally, during periods of emergency, auxiliary members of the PPF appeared to assume roles of both soldiers and auxiliaries of various regiments of the British Army. The line between the Special Services-Haganah relationship and that of the British Army and the Haganah was sometimes similarly blurred.

Methodology

To date, there has been insufficient examination of this subject. Many good histories of the Palestine Mandate such as Naomi Shepherd’s *Ploughing the Sand: British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948*, Norman and Helen Bentwich’s *Mandate Memories: 1914-1948*, and Christopher Sykes’ *Cross Roads to Israel: Palestine from Balfour to Bevin*, pay scant attention to irregular forces. General Middle East histories tend to overlook them entirely. Although several sources cover the Middle East during the Second World War, few deal with its military aspects and fewer with paramilitary aspects. All of the various official British and Indian military histories of the campaigns in the Middle East, while naturally concentrating on the military aspects, all but ignore the existence of any local population. Additionally, there are sources which examine security arrangements in Palestine, including *A Job Well Done: Being a History of the Palestine Police Force, 1920-1948* by Edward Horne, *Imperial Sunset: Frontier Soldiering in the 20th Century* by James Lunt, and ‘Securing Palestine? Policing in British Palestine, 1917-39’ by John Knight, but on the whole these too concentrate on regular, uniformed, conventional forces.

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8 Dayan, *Story of my Life*, p. 25; interview with Hayim Kravi.


Several scholars have covered transnational military recruitment and imperial security. However, the focus has remained on regular security and military organization, rather than the irregular forces covered in this study. The studies on conventional imperial security and transnational conventional military recruitment are epitomized by the works of David Killingray, John Darwin, Ashley Jackson, David Omissi, Rob Johnson, and Nir Arielli, among others. In particular, David Killingray and David Omissi’s edited volume *Guardians of Empire* stands out in its examination of conventional military and security organizations in the imperial context.\(^\text{11}\) In all of these works, the role and reality of irregular local forces still requires examination and attention. This study begins that process.

Given the role of the special services in the relationship with the local forces in Palestine, it might be expected that histories of the special services would be more relevant. However, even M. R. D. Foot’s detailed histories of SOE give this cooperation only the briefest mention. Some works, including *Ha’Haganah* by the Chief Education Officer of the Israel Defence Forces, mention the cooperation in terms of the histories of the Haganah and IZL.\(^\text{12}\) These provide general outlines of the activities of one side of the cooperation, but either lack focus on the Second World War period or do not focus on the relations between the various parties, as these are not relevant to their overall narrative.

Several excellent works deal with Haganah-British cooperation in a more conventional military, intelligence, and security sense, but not in the realm of irregular warfare. Clive Jones’ article ‘Good Friends in Low Places: The British Secret Intelligence Service and the Jewish Agency, 1939-45’ provides a good survey of the dynamics of the relationship between the Haganah and the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) but, given his subject, he naturally pays only cursory attention to the irregular force aspects of cooperation. This is to some extent because, as Jones


himself states, ‘despite having an intelligence function, the primary role of the SOE was sabotage and subversion’, and is therefore outside of the brief of his article.\(^\text{13}\) Additionally, much of the focus and strength of the article is its emphasis on the political aspects of the relationship, less on the operational level. Where the article considers the operational level, it is primarily in the case of cooperation in the European theatre of operations, not the Middle East.

Yoav Gelber has produced numerous works on Mandatory Palestine during the Second World War period. Perhaps the most significant for this study are those related to the book *Massada - The Defense of Palestine in the Second World War*, published in Hebrew in 1990.\(^\text{14}\) These include ‘The Defense of Palestine in World War II’, published in *Studies in Zionism* in 1987, and his four-volume history of *Jewish Palestinian Volunteering in the British Army during the Second World War*.\(^\text{15}\) Gelber’s works, while significant for understanding the background and broader themes of security and defence in Mandatory Palestine during the war, have some limitations in terms of this study. While Gelber notes the irregular force cooperation that existed, his primary focus is conventional military cooperation and recruitment. Additionally, in his work on the defence of Palestine, his focus stays firmly on the strategic level, political relations, and what in contemporary parlance would be termed concept of operations. The ongoing process of declassification also limited the scope of Gelber’s work. Many operational documents and files relevant to irregular forces and special operations in the Palestine Mandate underwent declassification since the publication of Gelber’s work. Given the conventional military and intelligence focuses of both Yoav Gelber and Clive Jones’ work, a gap remains when it comes to considering the operational level in general and irregular forces in particular.


To compensate for the lack of sources covering the operational level of cooperation and irregular forces, this paper employs a mixed methodology including a thorough literature review, archival research, and oral history. The archival research was undertaken in several archives around the United Kingdom, such as the National Archives at Kew Gardens, and several archives in Israel, including the Archives of the Haganah in Tel Aviv as well as local archives across the area. The use of a diversity of archival and secondary literature as well as interviews maximized the possibility of cross verification and exposing neglected aspects of the campaigns and cooperation.

Although this study does shed light on the dynamics of the security and military history of Palestine Mandate, it primarily explores the operational level relationship dynamics as an example of irregular force cooperation. As such, it better belongs to a literature that has yet to emerge, a literature that examines military cooperation between local irregular forces, including paramilitaries and metropolitan forces. As this is a still developing field, there is not yet a theoretical literature dealing with the employment of such irregular indigenous forces.\textsuperscript{16} This lack of a theoretical framework provided much of the impetus for the larger project of which this study forms a part, the eventual goal of which is to develop a theoretical literature on irregular local forces. Such a literature will not only fill in the gaps in the regional and military histories, but will also exist in conversation with the historical and theoretical literature on empires in conflict and transnational mobilization. It will thus complement the studies that already exist and augment regionally based works, such as those of Clive Jones and Yoav Gelber.

The lack of literature on this subject, and especially on this case, is to some extent understandable because of the difficulties involved in obtaining trustworthy sources. Many documents employed in this examination only recently underwent declassification, and much is

still unavailable. Additionally, the secrecy and organizational complexity of the Special Services means that many events, decisions, and discussions went unrecorded, and many records were lost, misplaced, or not logically filed.\textsuperscript{17} There are significant and particular difficulties regarding documentary evidence in the Middle East, where the Empire guaranteed that it would not reveal the cooperation of certain groups. Moreover, the organizational culture in the Special Services seemed to discourage the maintenance of detailed records.\textsuperscript{18} At various times, officers received orders to ‘destroy all incriminating documents’, meaning that many documents and details were lost forever.\textsuperscript{19} Finally, even where documents exist there is a question as to their veracity. The politics of special operations and internecine bureaucratic warfare within the special operations and intelligence community were such that, according to Leo Marks, a senior SOE official, ‘people in SOE […] had wilfully misled’ the war diary, which indicates a general willingness to write obfuscatory and official documents and reports.\textsuperscript{20} This renders it necessary to handle any official documents with care and a healthy dose of scepticism unless confirmed, at least in principle, by other external sources.

To counteract some of these weaknesses, this paper also examines sources from archives located throughout Israel, which contain documents from the perspective of the Jewish Agency and the Haganah. These sources are also potentially biased, but they add another point of reference, allowing for greater corroboration. The paper augments these sources by using an oral history methodology, which allows new perspectives and access to information on those aspects of the cooperation unobserved by official British sources.

Oral history is, of course, an imperfect medium and there are problems concerning memory. The methods employed to counteract these issues are those recommended for the critical analysis of


\textsuperscript{18} Note From: AW/100 To: RWW 19 Sept 1945 on SOE History in HS7/86, UK National Archives – Kew (UKNA).

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.

any source, written or oral: independent cross corroboration as verification and close critical analysis. The interview process was designed to expose memory-based discrepancies. All the interviewees cited were interviewed in person and were located through the establishment of contact with extant social and veterans networks, as well as through the cooperation of several archives and historical organizations. There were no translators or third parties involved in conducting the interviews, which were digitally recorded and stored in a secure digital format. The interviews themselves employed both a narrative and interrogative method of questioning, with significant questions repeated in several different forms to expose discrepancies. In many ways, oral history is superior to the verification available to the researcher engaging solely with official sources, as there are few ways to determine whether official reports suffer from lapses in memory or intentional obfuscation on the part of their authors. Fundamentally, this paper takes nothing essential to the analysis as given or stipulated, whether from an oral or documentary source, without independent substantiating corroboration.

**Haganah-Palestine Government Cooperation**

The most durable cooperation between the forces of the Zionist underground and the British Empire was that involving the Palestine Government; tens of thousands of underground members were either directly involved in this cooperation or received training because of it. This relationship ostensibly commenced in 1936, with the outbreak of the Arab Revolt, and continued briefly beyond the cessation of the Second World War.

The Arab Revolt of 1936-9 increasingly forced the Mandate to rely on the Yishuv to augment security capabilities. One of the deficiencies of the garrison in Palestine was its lack of familiarity with local terrain and customs. In an attempt to counter this, the authorities of the British Mandate and military created a structure to work with indigenous forces. In this structure, which can be termed the ‘guides scheme’, recruitment and deployment occurred on an individual
basis. The Yishuv ‘guides’ enjoyed full integration into British regiments, serving in regimental uniform, living with the regiment, and were apparently subject solely to the regiment’s command structure. However, when the unit redeployed elsewhere, the ‘guide’ would remain and integrate into the next unit to arrive. This created a fully organic structure where a guide would stay with the same battalion until it cycled out of Palestine. Beyond this structure, there is evidence that the guides were able to use their status as members of the Haganah to call on Haganah reinforcements for the battalions with whom they served.

The Palestine Government seems to have deemed the guides scheme such a success that, by the end of 1936, it matured into the Jewish Settlement Police (JSP) and Notrim/Ghaffirs scheme. In a practical sense, there was no real difference between the Notrim/Ghaffirs and the JSP. While the JSP existed to patrol settlements and their immediate environs, the Notrim consisted of mobile forces primarily tasked with infrastructure protection. However, the names were largely interchangeable. Members of both had PPF ranks and regular uniforms provided by the Palestine Government. The Haganah and the PPF instructed their training. During this period, the JSP and Notrim had structures to suit these two key stakeholders. Individuals joined the JSP through the Jewish Agency, generally under the encouragement of a Haganah (or in some cases IZL) officer. This arrangement removed much of the weight and expense of the JSP/Notrim from the Palestine Government whilst the Haganah was able to control recruitment, benefiting from the training and arming of much of its own membership. Furthermore, whilst operating within the command structure, the JSP and Notrim maintained a high degree of autonomy, which allowed them to take part in large-scale Haganah operations.

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22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Interview with Yitzhak Verdanon.
27 Ibid.
28 Interview with Oreon Yoseph.
some of which had objectives concurrent with those of the Palestine Government. This allowed the Palestine Government to make use of the Haganah’s resources while providing legitimate cover to armed Haganah cadres. Moreover, as the Palestine Government and the Haganah often had corresponding objectives during this period, this structure allowed them to cooperate while remaining officially distinct.

One more structure of imperial-Zionist cooperation appeared during the Arab Revolt. Best termed a structure of alliance, its basis was direct cooperation and joint operations. The most prominent example of the functioning of this structure was joint operations concerning the construction of a permanent barrier across the Lebanese border. The Haganah brought Jewish workers to the locations, constructed and guarded camps for the workers, and patrolled some of the area. They received augmentation and support from several British detachments. Each partner operated under an independent command structure and within its own logistics network. However, they functioned towards a common objective. This structure returned in a modified form towards the end of the Second World War.

By 1939, the mood of the Palestine Government and the British Army had changed; both now, at least publically, regarded the anti-Zionist provisions of the 1939 White Paper as necessary for internal stability in Palestine. As such, they were no longer comfortable with the Haganah’s level of integration within its security services and were apprehensive of the Zionist paramilitaries’ growing power and efficacy. Moreover, the emergency of the Arab Revolt had come to an end. Given the new anti-Zionist mood and policies of the Palestine Government, its leadership did not want to appear to have extensive cooperation with the Zionist undergrounds. From this point forward, this was, in general, the Palestine Government’s opinion regarding any cooperation with the forces of the Yishuv.

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29 Dayan, *Story of my Life*, p. 27.
During the Second World War, despite the Palestine Government’s unease, the structure of its relationship with the Haganah was in many ways a continuation and reaffirmation of pre-war structures. As war approached, the JSP’s strength and structure increasingly unnerved the Palestine Government. Due to the transfer of forces to Europe throughout 1938 and 1939, the JSP gradually became responsible for many additional military functions on most British bases and critical infrastructure facilities, such as oil pipelines or major roads. The JSP/Notrim grew in strength to around 19,000, a number that independent Haganah formations could reinforce. Although the JSP remained officially weaker than the PPF, the PPF’s Criminal Intelligence Division (CID) became nervous of the jointly structured organization. With the outbreak of war, one of the major features of security policy in Palestine became the disarming of forces participating in the structures of cooperation. This shift in policy would have a lasting impact on structures created during the war – the Haganah became insistent that the design of any structure of cooperation created within Mandate territory should preserve the Haganah’s security against British intelligence and arms seizures.

France fell to Germany in June 1940 and many of its colonies, including Lebanon and Syria, came under Vichy control. This brought the war close to the Mandate and began to change the Palestine Government’s behaviour regarding cooperation with the Yishuv. One of the first issues addressed by increased cooperation with Yishuv forces was the possibility of German and Italian submarines and aircraft reaching Palestine, a threat that demanded the creation of forces to watch for signs of their approach. To fulfil this vital function, the Palestine Government raised two local forces: the Coast Watch and the Air Watch. The forces, consisting of small units deployed throughout the territory, were primarily drawn from the reserve force of the Haganah,

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32 Interview with Hayim Kravi.
34 CID Intelligence Summary No 19/39 17th March 1939, p. 4 in File 47/78, AHTA.
35 G Intel Palestine and Transjordan, 1939-1940 in WO 169/148, UKNA.
37 Interview with Ariyeh Tamlay.
but were commanded by British officers. For the Palestine Government, this was a comfortable reliance on local forces; watchmen received rifles but were given minimal combat training.

As the military situation in Palestine became more precarious throughout 1940, the Palestine Government returned to augmenting its defence capacity through the JSP/Notrim. In late 1939 and early 1940, the Palestine Government had steadily scaled back the programme, but by late 1940, the JSP was expanding again. Its training was increasingly paramilitary, though at this point focused on the use of rifles and other small arms. Its membership was still recruited primarily from the Haganah. In fact, the Haganah oversaw most of its structure, including much of the training and command decision making and some logistics. Oreon Yoseph, who joined the JSP in 1940 and served until late 1941, recalled that the British provided the drill and field training but the Haganah directly provided all other training. Furthermore, at this stage JSP members reportedly received their deployment orders and postings from the Haganah. At the very least, recruits joined the JSP/Notrim not through any Palestine Government or imperial authority, but through the local office of the Jewish Agency or on the recommendation of a Haganah officer. It therefore appears that, by 1940, the JSP’s structure was such that the Haganah actually ran the organization while it was officially under British authority.

This form of delegation by the imperial authorities increased when invasion of Palestine appeared imminent in 1941-2. In 1941, Palestine was on the front line of the war, prompting a change in the Palestine Government’s policy towards locally raised forces from the Yishuv. Expansion of the JSP continued under Haganah leadership and the government employed the

38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Interview with Oreon Yoseph.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
JSP to guard strategic locations in order to free up combat soldiers for other functions.\textsuperscript{45} The structure remained roughly the same; the Palestine Government was nominally in control, while real operational power lay with the Haganah. The Palestine Government was at best unhappy with the structure of its relationship with the JSP and was most reluctant to give it additional capabilities. This was partially because, as the Palestine Government later noted, it was aware that much of the JSP came from the Haganah, which the Palestine Government deemed ‘a menace to security since there can be no guarantee that under the stress of politics, they will not be used against us’.\textsuperscript{46}

The invasion scare of 1941 also led to the creation of a home guard in Palestine modelled on the one operating in Britain.\textsuperscript{47} This organization was especially popular with the urban Jewish community of Tel Aviv, which was underrepresented in the largely rural JSP.\textsuperscript{48} In structural terms, the home guard was virtually identical to its British cousin, with one main difference: it seems to have had dual allegiances to the military commander and High Commissioner of Palestine.\textsuperscript{49} This unusual civil-military allegiance is representative of many problems inherent in the structure of the relationships between local forces and the Empire in Palestine. Unlike in Britain, there was no unity between the government and the military administration in Palestine. The two groups did not necessarily share the same exclusive focus on winning the war. This was at least partially because the Palestine Government tried to preserve as much of its control as possible over all aspects of power in Palestine, a tendency which reflected its concern over the future of the mandate.\textsuperscript{50} Sometimes, as in the case of the home guard, this effort risked muddling operational structures.

\textsuperscript{46} Cypher Telegram from HC Palestine to Secretary of State for Colonies in CO733/448/15, UKNA.
\textsuperscript{47} Recruitment of Palestinian Jews into Settlement Police in CO968/39/5, UKNA.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{50} Jones, p. 413.
The gravest threat to Palestine was Rommel’s advance to the borders of Egypt in 1942. Under these circumstances, the Palestine Government was willing to surrender power. One of the most profound changes to the structure of all security forces, indigenous or otherwise, in Palestine in 1942 was the cessation of allegiance to civil authority; all PPF and associated auxiliaries came under military authority.\textsuperscript{51} The PPF and JSP officially became military organizations with police functions rather than police organizations with paramilitary functions.

There is enough evidence from this period and from early 1943 to provide a detailed understanding of the internal structure of the JSP/Notrim and the structure of the cooperative relationship between the Haganah and Palestine Government which it epitomized. The recruitment and deployment of Yitzhak Verdanon, a Haganah member who joined the JSP during this period, seems indicative of the common pattern. Verdanon approached a Haganah manpower officer and indicated his desire to enter uniformed service, but not the British Army.\textsuperscript{52} The officer placed him in the JSP and sent him to a Haganah-JSP liaison officer; the liaison officer took him to a PPF post and told the British NCO that Verdanon was to be in the JSP at Kefar Giladi (a kibbutz on the Lebanese border) and to ‘enlist him as a pickup truck driver, give him a number, permission and everything’. That is exactly what happened.\textsuperscript{53} This anecdote is typical of the path many recruits took into the JSP. It also demonstrates the absolute integration of the structures of the JSP and Haganah. In terms of recruitment and manpower allocation, it is difficult to see where the Haganah ended and the JSP began. In many ways, this structure was beneficial to both the Haganah and the Palestine Government, allowing the Haganah to control its resource allocation and maintain effective control of the JSP while saving the Palestine Government the effort and expense of the recruitment.

\textsuperscript{51} Horne, \textit{A Job Well Done}, p. 249.
\textsuperscript{52} Interview with Yitzhak Verdanon.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
The JSP/Notrim were organized regional battalions spread across the territory.\textsuperscript{54} Within each battalion, individual units were widely dispersed. In 12\textsuperscript{th} Battalion (Northern Palestine), for example, every kibbutz or Jewish settlement had a garrison of roughly 3-5 JSP, with mobile patrols of Notrim operating from larger bases and police stations.\textsuperscript{55} This dispersal allowed for a remote command structure; each company had a British commanding officer of the rank of captain and a deputy commander of the rank of lieutenant, often stationed dozens of kilometres from the operational posts.\textsuperscript{56} Haganah officers filled all subordinate positions.\textsuperscript{57} The JSP members interviewed in the course of this research all indicated that their only contact with imperial command came during training and on payday; the rest of the time, they operated solely under the authority of the Haganah.\textsuperscript{58} Moreover, on those occasions when instructions came through the imperial chain of command, JSP units would not act on them until they received approval from the Haganah.\textsuperscript{59} The British commanders of the JSP apparently knew this to be the case.\textsuperscript{60} Nevertheless, there was nominal official oversight in the form of a logbook at every JSP or Notrim post, which recorded all movements and patrols of personnel, as well as any removal of weapons from armouries and their return.\textsuperscript{61} However, these records, often amended to cover up activities outside official sanction, are at best of dubious accuracy.\textsuperscript{62} Furthermore, the JSP did not always require the weapons in the armouries as they had some access to Haganah weapon stockpiles, which allowed them to carry out operations off the record and augment their firepower in government sanctioned operations.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{54} Mentioned in most interviews of JSP members.
\textsuperscript{55} Interview with Yitzhak Verdanon.
\textsuperscript{56} Interview with Avraham Rabinov.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Mentioned in most interviews of JSP members.
\textsuperscript{59} Interview with Avraham Rabinov.
\textsuperscript{60} Mentioned in most interviews with JSP members.
\textsuperscript{61} Interview with Yitzhak Verdanon.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{63} Mentioned in most interviews of JSP members.
The training and logistics structure of the JSP involved closer cooperation between the imperial authorities and the Haganah. For example, the JSP, who were part of the imperial structure, and the Haganah in the Galilee region shared a primary base and regional headquarters at Ayelet HaShachar. Training was also a joint enterprise; as was the case in Ein Hashofet, where there was a joint training course. The British knew it as the Corporals’ Course and the Haganah as the Squad Commanders’ Course. The instructors on the course came from the ranks of both the Haganah and imperial forces. This clearly demonstrates that, despite any official statements or protestations to the contrary, the relationship between the Palestine Government and the Haganah was close where the JSP were concerned, built upon a structure of mutual benefit and coordination.

One further form of cooperation existed between the Palestine Government and the Haganah during the period known as the saison de chasse (hunting season). In 1944, the IZL withdrew from its truce with the Palestine Government, declaring open rebellion. Due to the Jewish Agency’s desire to support the war effort and cooperate with the government in London, in the autumn of 1944, the Haganah received orders to assist the Palestine Government in the suppression of this rebellion. It has proven difficult to pin down the complete structure of the relationship, given the available time and resources for this body of research, but local cooperation with the British seems to have taken place at a high level; it seems that direct coordination between British and Haganah operational units was rare. The structures of cooperation were such that this was not a simple case of the Haganah acting either as a local auxiliary or as a pseudo gang working at the behest of an imperial master; rather, one might argue that at times the structures were such that the imperial forces were to some extent subordinate to the Haganah.

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64 Interview with Yitzhak Verdanon.
65 Interview with Avraham Rabinov.
66 Ibid.
67 Report by CID (undated) in File 47/20, AHTA.
68 Interview with Hayim Miller.
An incident related by Hayim Miller, an officer in one of the Haganah intelligence units, best illustrates the structural arrangements of the *saison*. According to Miller, a suspect was located at a cinema in Tel Aviv, at which point Miller contacted Ephraim Dekel, a senior Haganah intelligence officer who was his commanding officer.\(^69\) Imperial forces quickly surrounded the cinema and began detaining all patrons who matched the description Miller had given Dekel.\(^70\) This case demonstrates the regular operating structure of the cooperation. The Haganah provided forces to augment British capabilities, but the forces were entirely independent of the British command and logistics structure. Despite these separate structures, the units of the *saison* could coordinate at a lower level when necessary, though this was primarily to provide time-sensitive information regarding particular unfolding operations.\(^71\) In these cases, it is questionable whether the imperial forces involved recognized the joint nature of the *saison* units or simply acted on intelligence presented to them.\(^72\)

One of the hallmarks of all forms of cooperation between the Haganah and the Palestine Government was the dual nature of the organizational structures. This is perhaps one of the only consistent features of the various forms of cooperation among the structures set up for this purpose. The Haganah enjoyed varying levels of autonomy during the Second World War. However, it never entirely lost its autonomy. The structure of the relationship between the Palestine Government and the local forces of the Haganah thus resembled an alliance of two independent actors, rather than a hierarchical relationship between government and governed. It is worth noting that the autonomy of the Haganah when acting on the Empire’s behalf was a consistent feature of all cooperative structures established between the Haganah and imperial forces.

\(^69\) Interview with Hayim Miller.
\(^70\) Ibid.
\(^71\) Ibid.
\(^72\) Ibid.
Haganah-Army Cooperation

The British Army employed local forces in Palestine for three purposes: recruitment, skilled labour, and force augmentation (including guides and scouts). Each of these objectives required a different structure for its fulfilment. Only the third, however, the provision of guides and scouts to the army from the Haganah, constituted the employment of a local force, and thus comes under the brief of this paper.

As noted previously, individual Yishuv members could volunteer as scouts and guides to be embedded in regiments deployed to Palestine following the Arab Revolt of 1936. The 1941 Levantine campaign saw a need for a new type of scout familiar with the terrain across the border into Lebanon and Syria and not embedded in imperial units. These scouts guided imperial forces to the start line for the campaign and to initial objectives across the border, in some cases taking part in operations to secure these objectives. The Palmach (an elite branch of the Haganah) recruited the scouts under order from the Haganah. The basis of this order was a request for assistance by the imperial forces. The structure of the arrangement was such that the scouts came into the command structure as fully formed units, supplied by both British and Haganah logistics. This allowed the units latitude in their size, which in some cases reached up to three times the size authorized by imperial command. The scouting units of the Haganah then recruited irregular guides of their own from among Arab, Circassian, and Druse residents of the border regions. In this process, individual scouting units did not liaise with the imperial divisions. Instead, they operated under Haganah operations command in Haifa, which liaised with the overall imperial command. Once the campaign commenced, the Haganah units

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73 Interview with Hayim Kravi.
74 Interview with Uri Horowitz.
75 Interview with Uri Horowitz; Dayan, *Story of my Life*, p. 45.
77 Dayan, *Story of my Life*, p. 46.
78 Ibid.
79 Dayan, *Story of my Life*, p. 47.
integrated with the divisional reconnaissance elements before demobilizing upon gaining the initial objectives.\(^8\)

**The Special Services**

**The SOE, Section D & the Haganah**

By far the largest of the special service organizations in the Middle East were the SOE and its predecessors. The SOE also seems to have been one of the few to employ local forces as opposed to individual local agents. The first of the SOE’s precursors to make its presence felt was Section D, which on arrival in Palestine Mandate, in the winter of 1939-1940, immediately began to make arrangements with the Jewish Agency. The initial negotiations took place between senior field officers in Section D: Moshe Shertok, who served as the Head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, and David HaCohen, director of Solel Boneh (the Yishuv’s national construction firm) and a senior figure in the Haganah.\(^8\) At the initial meeting, the parties agreed that all future policy decisions would be reached with equal input from Shertok, HaCohen, and the field commander for Palestine (D/H).\(^8\) In some ways, this set the tone for the structure that was to develop: the parties were separate, but roughly equal.

The Haganah’s semi-clandestine nature and its previous experience with the Palestine Government’s policy changes determined much of the structure of the relationship between the Haganah and the Special Services. According to SOE records, the Jewish Agency did not want to work through official channels for fear of damaging their ‘political ambitions’.\(^8\) As a result, the initial design of the structure was that, in order to preserve the separation of Section D (later

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\(^8\) Dayan, *Story of my Life*, p. 47; interview with Uri Horowitz.
\(^8\) Draft letter from D/L to D/H 21.3.40 in HS3/201, UKNA.
\(^8\) Ibid.
\(^8\) Notes on activities in Palestine Autumn 1940 in HS3/207, UKNA.
SOE) and the Jewish Agency, liaison would only take place at senior levels. The memorandum of the first meeting set out the guiding principles of this arrangement:

the D/H organisation is to be regarded as an entirely separate entity from Friends (the Haganah) and while each is at liberty to make the maximum use of the corresponding organization, they should in principle be separate, particularly in order to protect the interests of Friends organization.

To maintain some form of plausible deniability, the structure was entirely secret, not just from the Palestine Government but also from the military. This compartmentalization caused a number of problems, culminating in the temporary withdrawal of the Section D mission in mid-1940.

Despite this general structure, the Special Services went to great lengths to ensure the Haganah received the cover of official sanction. This sanction took the form of a document that prevented the local authorities from interfering with any of the Haganah’s clandestine work for the Special Services. In practice, this gave the Haganah carte blanche to stockpile weapons and conduct training. Through this sanction and despite the best-intentioned agreements to the contrary, the Special Services and the Haganah were entwined.

Another result of these early negotiations was the establishment of the command and liaison structure, which remained largely unchanged throughout the course of the cooperation between the Haganah and Special Services. In these early days of cooperation, the command structure was self-contradictory. On the one hand, it preserved the principle of separation: liaison was only to take place at the highest levels and D would have no specific knowledge of the Haganah’s

84 Ibid.
85 Memoranda Covering Subjects of discussion at meeting held at Haifa, July 13th, 1940 in File 80/563(2)/12, AHTA.
86 Letter from A.W. Lawrence to David, 31 in File 80/563(2)/11, AHTA.
87 Ibid.
88 Memoranda on a meeting in Haifa, July 13th, 1940 in File 80/563(2)/12, AHTA.
89 Ibid.
capabilities. Rather, the Haganah would suggest projects that were within its capabilities. On the other hand, when D received operational requirements from the army, it was to consider the Haganah’s capabilities.

The Haganah and the SOE established a joint planning structure which was to remain the cornerstone of all their future efforts. This structure consisted of David HaCohen representing the Haganah and a senior field officer from Section D/SOE. The SOE field commander in Palestine retained the ultimate authority to approve operations, but would delegate in most cases.

In 1940, the overall structure of the relationship manifested in two organizational structures, roughly definable as logistics and operations. The principle of separation was best maintained in the realm of logistics. Generally, supplies were procured by D and then delivered to the Haganah, which would maintain them in secret stores outside D’s control. The Haganah for its part kept records of the supplies and made both the supplies procured by D and those already held by the Haganah available for D’s use. At the same time, D established its own arms dumps, solely under British control, which were to be made available to the Haganah should the need arise. There was a similar arrangement regarding wireless stations. The arrangements led to some degree of awkwardness as they placed the SOE in the position of smuggling weapons and explosives into Mandatory Palestine for the use of an illegal, clandestine militant organization. This later became one of the key arguments employed by the Palestine Government in its attempt to disband the SOE in Palestine.

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90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
96 Report from D/HP to A/D in HS3/201, UKNA.
97 Minutes of Meeting 29.7.1940 in File 80/563(2)/11, AHTA.
98 Ibid.
The provision of supplies was not entirely one-sided; Section D and later the SOE found the Jewish Agency’s ability to manufacture explosives was both significant and relatively inexpensive.\(^{99}\) Thus, in the Middle East theatre, the Jewish Agency and the Haganah became the primary source for explosives purchased by the Special Services.\(^{100}\) Section D preserved the principle of separation as they paid for the delivery of the explosives from sources that were, at least in theory, legitimate manufacturers and not at all related to the Haganah.

The principle of separation became more muddled when it came to operational matters, especially training arrangements. The Haganah maintained autonomy in regional operations, within reason. By 1940, the SOE encouraged the Haganah to make exploratory arrangements in the Balkans, Iraq, Iran, and Syria ‘to establish whatever contacts they thought might be necessary for possible sabotage work, without getting involved in Arab politics’.\(^{101}\) For the purposes of training, there was a high level of integration, which increased throughout the war. However, in 1940 this was restricted to training courses in sabotage, with Section D providing instructors and legal protection and the Haganah providing personnel and facilities.\(^{102}\)

The general structure of the relationship between Special Services and the Haganah changed little throughout 1941. However, there was a marked structural change at the operational level. This was primarily due to the creation of the ‘Friends Scheme’, which existed partially because of the need to begin operations in the neighbouring Vichy-controlled territories. The early days of the ‘Friends Scheme’ expanded the training programmes created in 1940 and allowed imperial officers to serve directly in command of newly created Palmach units.\(^{103}\) Whether the officers were actually in command has proven impossible to verify. However, it is apparent that, at the

\(^{99}\) Memoranda on a meeting in Haifa, July 13th 1940 in File 80/563(2)/12, AHTA.

\(^{100}\) Ibid.

\(^{101}\) Report from D/HP to A/D in HS3/201, UKNA.

\(^{102}\) Memoranda on a meeting in Haifa, July 13th 1940 in File 80/563(2)/12, AHTA.

\(^{103}\) History of the SOE in The Arab World in HS7/86, UKNA.
very least, this scheme resulted in operational and tactical level liaison in addition to the previously existing command level liaison.

Despite this, the SOE and the Haganah preserved their separation in operations in the Vichy territories. In the operations to liberate Free French personnel in Vichy custody, the Jewish Agency acted independently, with only minimal oversight from the SOE.\(^{104}\) In this instance, the Jewish Agency was in charge of all active operations, logistics included.\(^{105}\) The SOE said as much in its report on the situation, stating that ‘it would appear that the whole matter, both of arranging payments \(\text{to bribe Vichy officials}\) and for the active work involved were in the hands of Friends’.\(^{106}\) Furthermore, if the SOE required information on the progress or nature of the operations, it had to request it from the Jewish Agency, as there seems to have been no automatic liaison.\(^{107}\)

By 1942, the threat to Palestine’s territorial security was such that the integration of Special Services and the Haganah and, conversely, the ability of the Haganah to act autonomously, both increased. This manifested in several schemes, including the Friends Scheme and the Palestine Scheme. While the Friends Scheme and the special units of the Palmach came into being in 1941, they were more a feature of 1942. The Palestine Scheme, a continuation and expansion of the Friends Scheme with added demolition preparation elements, seems to have been a new development in 1942. However, in some respects, the cooperation’s general structure remained unchanged. For example, a specially appointed imperial officer continued to maintain the liaison, with David HaCohen as the primary upper level contact.\(^{108}\)

One of the evolutionary integrating changes of 1942 was in the logistical structures of the two organizations. According to Uri Horowitz, a Palmach member who first received training at the

\(^{104}\) Report on Escape of Free Frenchmen from Syria in HS3/210, UKNA.
\(^{105}\) Ibid.
\(^{106}\) Ibid.
\(^{107}\) Ibid.
\(^{108}\) Telegram from Cairo to ____ 10.6.1942 in HS3/207, UKNA.
Ben Shemen training facility, which was likely a part of the Friends Scheme, the Palmach received everything they needed, including weapons, materials, ammunition, explosives, and training instructors, from British Intelligence.\textsuperscript{109} From what Horowitz saw, a British colonel with whom the Palmach closely cooperated directed the supplies.\textsuperscript{110} This is particularly interesting as it contradicts the SOE’s initial plans for the logistics of the scheme, which guaranteed that its supplies would remain under imperial control.\textsuperscript{111}

A crisis in early July 1942 provides an unusually clear illustration of the level of logistical and financial integration under the Palestine Scheme. The crisis came at a particularly dangerous time, when many generally believed that invasion would come within a matter of weeks and that the Palestine Scheme was the primary mechanism through which sabotage was to take place in preparation for the expected German onslaught.\textsuperscript{112} By July 1942, the monthly payment to the Jewish Agency for the resources of the Palestine Scheme was ‘considerably overdue’, and this was causing serious problems for the scheme.\textsuperscript{113} The SOE believed that without the payment, the organization created by the Haganah for sabotage and intelligence would fall apart and, further, the SOE’s ability to function in Palestine would be in jeopardy because it was fully reliant on the Haganah for personnel and on the Jewish Agency for supplies.\textsuperscript{114}

The Palestine Scheme featured large-scale structural integration when it came to training. Initially, all Palmach units received training from the SOE.\textsuperscript{115} Later, in the Mishmar HaEmek camp, the units received training from Palmach instructors who had attended what seems to have been an SOE-run instructors’ course.\textsuperscript{116} The SOE still ran special courses such as explosives

\textsuperscript{109} Interview with Uri Horowitz.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} Extract from Note from Cairo sent 4.4.1942 in HS3/207, UKNA.
\textsuperscript{112} Telegram from Jerusalem to Cairo and London 12.07.1942 in HS3/207, UKNA.
\textsuperscript{113} Telegram from Cairo 11.7.1942 in HS3/207, Telegram from Jerusalem to Cairo and London 12.07.1942 in HS3/207, UKNA.
\textsuperscript{114} Telegram from Jerusalem to Cairo and London 12.07.1942 in HS3/207, UKNA.
\textsuperscript{115} Interview with Uri Horowitz.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
course directly. SOE officers, at least in theory, were responsible not just for running the course but also for maintaining camp discipline. The SOE and the Haganah jointly wrote the syllabus at the training camps for both the Palestine Scheme and the Friends Scheme.

The SOE designed the operational structure of these schemes and the Haganah implemented it with relatively little interference from the imperial authorities. The SOE determined that the Palestine Scheme and Friends Scheme forces would operate in six small regional units around the country. The Palmach’s structure mirrored this with six regional companies located in roughly the same locations. Although, theoretically, the regional units were under the control of the SOE, Hebrew was the language of the financial records and reports from regional cells.

As the SOE in Palestine seems to have had few, if any, members with an advanced comprehension of Hebrew, this demonstrates that the SOE could exercise little oversight in practice.

As the immediate threat to Palestine receded, the SOE, among others, grew nervous of the autonomy allowed under these structures and tried to rein in their Haganah allies, and in 1943 all direct cooperation ceased. Nevertheless, the channels of communication and liaison established at the highest levels remained open, and relations between the two organizations remained positive.

The German Unit of the Palmach provides an additional well-documented illustration of the structure of the cooperation between the Haganah and the SOE on the levels of operations and training. In some ways, it was a microcosm of the whole picture. At least at first, both the

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117 Telegram from Cairo to ____ 10.6.1942 in HS3/207, UKNA.
118 Ibid.
119 Minutes from meeting held 14.11.1942 in HS3/207, UKNA.
120 Revised Palestine Scheme in HS3/207, UKNA.
121 Ibid.
123 Memorandum on SOE activities in Arab Countries in HS7/85, UKNA.
124 Ibid.
Haganah and British Intelligence provided logistics. The British provided weapons, explosives, and German uniforms for the unit. The unit’s training was a joint operation. They received training in close quarters combat and assassination from Hector Grant-Taylor, reputed to be one of the SOE’s better instructors in the subject. However, the best instructors of the Yishuv ran other weapons courses, explosives, sabotage, and naval courses. The Haganah also provided the facility to undertake the training while the SOE provided cover to allow it to operate without too much interference from the local authorities. Other than one review by a British intelligence officer, the Haganah was free to run the camp as it saw fit, under SOE cover.

The unit was one of the few cooperative units set up during this period to see any operational deployment. Several members deployed to infiltrate groups of POWs held in an imperial prison and gain intelligence. In this operation, the German Unit members functioned as an organic unit solely under imperial command.

When the SOE and the Haganah began to part ways towards the end of 1942, the unit continued for some time without SOE support. It cached arms and supplies in various ‘slics’ (underground arms dumps) and continued its training clandestinely. However, as pressure grew, British intelligence sought to bring the unit formally under imperial control. This the Haganah would not condone, and the German unit was eventually disbanded.

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125 Interview with Hayim Miller; interview with Avigdor Cohen.
126 Ibid.
127 Interview with Hayim Miller; interview with Avigdor Cohen; interview with Oreon Yoseph.
128 Interview with Oreon Yoseph; interview with Hayim Miller.
129 Interview with Oreon Yoseph.
130 Interview with Hayim Miller.
131 Interview with Avigdor Cohen.
132 Interview with Hayim Miller.
133 Interview with Oreon Yoseph.
134 Interview with Oreon Yoseph; interview with Hayim Miller.
135 Interview with Hayim Miller; interview with Avigdor Cohen.
136 Interview with Hayim Miller; interview with Avigdor Cohen.
Conclusions

In Palestine, the structures of the relationships between the imperial authorities and the local organizations with which they cooperated partially determined the nature and employment of the local forces. The various structures had certain points of commonality and were affected by the long-term goals of the various actors. Thus, the Palestine Government’s wish to maintain its authority affected its relationships and as a result – with the exception of periods of emergency – led it to prefer a structure that attempted to minimize capabilities granted to local forces while maximizing these forces’ contribution. On the other hand, organizations such as the SOE focused more on the immediate war effort and thus were often more open to structures that allowed local forces to gain capabilities and maximize their operational effectiveness. However, in all cases the structures allowed the local forces a large degree of freedom of action. Moreover, the structures served the interests of both the imperial authorities and their local partners. Organizations such as the Haganah had agency and were able to fulfil their own goals of acquiring training and resources while at the same time providing tactical assets and manpower for the imperial authorities.

For the imperial authorities, the relationship structures also fulfilled political objectives. In the case of the JSP, the structure allowed the Palestine Government to claim authority where none existed. In the case of the SOE-Haganah relationship, the structure allowed the SOE to keep the Haganah officially at arm’s length while enjoying, in practical terms, very close collaboration. Yet under the pressure of two invasion scares, first with the threat from Syria and Lebanon in 1941 and subsequently with the German advance in Egypt in 1942, these political goals became secondary to military necessity and structures changed to take fullest advantage of the contributions local forces could make. The imperial authorities granted the local forces more autonomy and allocated them more resources and support. During these times of crisis,
structures primarily reflected the concern about invasion and the design was such as to ensure that local forces could contribute as best suited their capabilities.

Throughout the war, the structures took into account the fact that the local forces were best suited not to a conventional combat role but rather to roles such as scouting, which took advantage of their region-specific knowledge. The structure of the *saison de chasse* also utilized this knowledge and was similarly based around granting local forces autonomy and freedom of action. In short, the structures of the relationships were designed to best serve the interests of both the imperial authorities and the Haganah and to optimize the local forces’ role in the overall imperial order of battle and regional defence. Only objections within the imperial government to the employment of the forces, and the imperial authorities’ occasional need to present an outward veneer of either control or distance in relation to their local partners, tempered this function.
Interviews Conducted in Israel between 01/2010 & 10/2010

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Interview with Avraham Akavia
Interview with Avraham Rabinov
Interview with Avraham Silverstein
Interview with Hayim Kravi
Interview with Oreon Yoseph
Interview with Shlomo Tivishi
Interview with Uri Horowitz
Interview with Yehuda Lapidot
Interview with Yitzhak Verdanon
Interview with Yonah Hatzor

Files at the UK National Archives – Kew Gardens

CO733/448/15 Defence – Local Defence Forces [Home Guard Etc.] 1942.

CO968/39/5: Recruitment of Palestinian Jews into Settlement Police, 1941.

HS3/201 File: SOE Middle East, Subject: Zionists, Dates: Feb 1940-Sept 1940.


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File 47/20

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‘I don’t see why homosexuals feel they should have their own newspapers any more than people who like aubergines’:

The Creation and Construction of Homosexual Group Identity between

1962 and 1985

Continuing debates over whether to legally recognise same-sex marriage are underpinned by arguments about the rights of homosexuals as a group, and whether marriage equalisation is necessary towards State recognition of homosexuality as a ‘normal’ sexual choice. Understanding the historical formation of homosexual group identity, the socially constructed notions of which characteristics are commonly held by those labelled as ‘homosexual’, can usefully deconstruct the tensions surrounding such debates. As such, this article will contribute to our understandings of how homosexual group identities changed between 1962 and 1985. Those dates encompass the so-called ‘permissive society’; what historians Arthur Marwick and Jonathon Green label a ‘pivotal decade’ of non-conformity, sensuality, and experimentation.

The period also saw an explosion of identity politics, facilitating increasingly prominent gay activism. Consequently, the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s represented an important period within an on-going process which created and constructed, moulded and remoulded modern understandings of homosexuality through implicit and explicit negotiations between various groups, notably homosexual advocacy groups, lawyers, medics, politicians, and academics. This

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1 Jennifer Crane (j.m.crane@warwick.ac.uk) is a Wellcome Trust funded first year doctoral student at the University of Warwick researching the emergence of the concept of ‘child abuse’ in the British context between 1960 and 2012. As such, she traces the evolution of this concept from ‘unnable problem’ (Nancy Krieger) into ‘worst possible vice’ (Ian Hacking). She holds a BA in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics from the University of Oxford, and an MA in the History of Medicine from the University of Warwick. This article is based on research conducted during her Masters.


article provides a detailed case study in the progressive and interactive relationships between homosexual interest groups and medical professionals over that time-span.

The work of Ian Hacking offers an analytical framework through which to analyse these ongoing negotiations. In ‘Making Up People’ Hacking charts how experts can create, or ‘make up’, new categories of people by controlling their social and political classifications. The ‘knowledge’ generated and judged by these professionals is ‘taught, disseminated and refined’ within institutions created to manage ‘made up’ people. Made up people become ‘moving targets’ as they change in reaction to these categories. ‘Looping’ occurs as the classifications, in turn, are altered accordingly. Hence, Hacking explores how ‘names interact with the named’ as new categories of humans emerge alongside the invention of the categories labelling them. This article applies this model to explore how homosexual interest groups in the 1970s characterised and reacted to 1960s medical attempts at definition and whether these reactions, in turn, changed the medical categories of the 1980s. By hypothesising the links Hacking’s model would conceptualise between materials produced by medical and homosexual interest groups, this article will generate new and original, yet speculative, explanations of available material, and test the effectiveness of the theoretical model.

No source base can fully explicate medical and homosexual opinions, and their interactions, throughout this period. Two source-bases will be used as limited proxies; the British Medical Journal (BMJ) and Gay News. The former represents the most prominent, popular, and powerful medical journal of the twentieth century, and the latter is an iconic magazine which reached a circulation of 19,000 in 1977. There is no guarantee that those writing in either journal closely examined the other. However, the authors of these important publications represented and contributed to broader trends in homosexual activist and medical dialogues which interactively

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changed political and social discussions throughout this period. As such, the authors of this material arguably indirectly influenced one another through changing broad social dialogues which, in turn, mediated the production of both publications. To identify and trace progressive and ongoing trends over time, whilst providing close examination of these sources at various time periods, the *BMJ* is examined in 1962-5, *Gay News* in 1972-5, and the *BMJ* again in 1982-5.²

Analysis over these time-frames will seek to uncover the extent to which constructed notions of homosexual group identity were understood as socially acceptable, normal, or mainstream by the medical profession during that period. Through two research questions this article will explore two different ways in which medics, at times, presented homosexual group identity as socially unacceptable, abnormal, or outside of the social mainstream. Firstly, the article asks whether advocacy groups and medical professionals negotiated a mutual understanding of homosexuals as ‘within the social mainstream’, or against society as ‘the other’. Whilst contested, otherness is an important concept to understanding group identity. As Richard Hoggart expresses; ‘most groups gain some of their respect from their exclusiveness, from a sense of people outside who are not “Us”’.² Homosexual group identity was ‘socially othered’ to the extent that the application of the label ‘homosexual’ to an individual implied, or even necessitated, their difference to, and exclusion from, prevailing conceptions of mainstream society.

Next, this article questions whether medical experts and homosexuals interactively debated a definition of homosexuality as ‘normal’ or ‘pathological’. A group which is understood as diseased or disordered is socially ostracised from an efficient and ‘healthy’ society. Consideration of pathology, in opposition to normality, is important both because this article contemplates medical experts, and because discourses of homosexuals as diseased were prominent within this

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² *Gay News* was taken from Warwick University Library microfiche. Each microfiche sheet featured one magazine issue between 1972-5, but specific dates were not featured, so references merely state ‘1972-5’.

All issues of *Gay News* between 1972 and 1975 were searched, finding thirty-six relevant articles mentioning pathology or otherness. Within the *BMJ*, ‘homosexual’ or ‘homosexuality’ was searched and fifty-five articles were randomly sampled from the 1962-5 results, and fifty-two from 1982-5.

period. Given the particular authority of medical professionals over questions of pathology, comparisons are drawn between homosexual interest groups’ successful contestations of otherness and pathological definitions. Hence, these research questions explicate both what ‘homosexual group identity’ was during this period and, primarily, how inter- and intra-professional negotiations shaped these understandings.

These questions must also be set within a broader theoretical and historical context. A prominent discussion of homosexuality arises in Michel Foucault’s *History of Sexuality*. Foucault wrote that:

> As defined by the ancient civil or canonical codes, sodomy was a category of forbidden acts; their perpetrator was nothing more than the judicial subject of them. The nineteenth-century homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology.⁹

Foucault is regularly taken to argue that nineteenth-century psychiatrists ‘invented’ the culturally specific notion of ‘homosexuality’ by developing its definition from an act which anyone could perform to a series of acts; performance of which completely defined one within the newfound category of ‘homosexual’. David Halperin emphasises that Foucault did not consider this an instantaneous transition, but merely compares two styles of control by pre-modern legal actors and nineteenth-century psychiatrists.¹⁰

Whilst analysing the emergent nineteenth-century personality type of ‘homosexual’ Foucault hints towards the role of psychiatrists, and thereby experts, in defining and controlling homosexual group identity. In the period under examination, from 1962 until 1985, the role of professional actors was increasingly important as a series of professional groupings aimed to

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analyse and manage homosexuality. The 1967 Sexual Offences Act, for example, legalised homosexual practice between consenting male adults. Discourse on whether to implement this act, how to implement it, and whether to accept its implications was dominated by professional groups. The Wolfenden Committee, which provided the groundwork for this legislation, took evidence from lawyers, psychiatrists, police, and doctors. These actors aimed to further their own agendas by reshaping understandings of homosexuality to their preferred definitions. Notably, whether homosexuality was politically and publicly defined as pathological, criminal, or requiring state control determined the influence and role of medics, lawyers, and government. Jeffrey Weeks goes as far as to claim that the Wolfenden Committee did not set out to consider ‘how to liberalise the law... but whether the law was the most effective means of control’.

Whilst professionals played an important role in the ongoing construction of the homosexual throughout this period, homosexual group identity was not solely imposed ‘from above’. Rather, the role of homosexuals themselves, and homosexual advocacy groups, also merits consideration. These groups have challenged, tested and, as such, changed the shifting legal, medical, and political definitions since the start of the twentieth century, and with increasing vehemence since the 1950s.

Utilising the theoretical insights of Hacking, interactions which changed homosexual group identity can first be explored in relation to ‘social otherness’. Many medical professionals implicitly characterised homosexuals as ‘social others’ by associating them with equivalently socially marginalised groupings. Accordingly, Michael King and Annie Bartlett label the British Medical Association report to the Wolfenden Committee ‘replete with moral disdain for homosexuals, who were considered in the same light as prostitutes’.

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Waters, similarly, draw attention to the work of psychiatrists in categorising homosexuals as within ‘a vast underworld of sexual deviants’.  

Houlbrook and Waters also highlight the efforts of novelists to present some manifestations of homosexuality as socially acceptable. Mary Renault’s *The Charioteer* and Rodney Garland’s *The Heart in Exile*, both published in 1953, are said to have offered readers ‘a map of respectable homosexuality with which to orient themselves’. Similarly, the 1961 film *Victim* is regularly praised by sociologists for dismissing homosexual otherness by presenting a series of sympathetic gay characters being cruelly blackmailed. Whilst the precise impact of these artistic and literary works is impossible to gauge, it seems likely that they had some influence over social understandings. Weeks has also credited the statistical and technical work of social surveyors, such as Alfred Kinsey, in normalising homosexuality. Sociologists, on this interpretation, were able to utilise their semi-scientific authority to ‘discover’ and propagate awareness that homosexuality was widespread throughout the population and therefore ‘normal’.

The role of medical professionals and homosexual advocacy groups in defining homosexuality as ‘normal’ or ‘socially other’ must also be questioned. Of the fifty-five *BMJ* articles published between 1962 and 1965, forty-three define homosexuals as the social other, excluded from prevailing conceptions of mainstream society, in various ways. For example, many suggest that homosexuals are marginalised from ‘normal’ society by attempting to quantify the number of those living within a perceived homosexual underworld. Such articles assume that homosexuals cannot live within normal society. B. James and D. Early, comparatively, believe that individuals must be ‘cured’ of homosexuality so that their sexual drive, family relationships, work record,

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14 Ibid., p. 153.
and moods can all miraculously improve. Homosexuals who are unwilling to embrace cures are compared to other ‘deviant’ groups, including teenagers, illegitimate children, alcoholics, smokers, and transvestites. Within these writings, homosexuals are conceptualised as a coherent and homogenous social collective. For example, J. Alder writes that the study of one homosexual is sufficient to draw conclusions about the whole group. Whilst such articles unproblematically categorise the homosexual as the social other, intra-professional disagreement does exist. Eight articles remain neutral, and do not invoke such normative comment. Furthermore, medical writer F. J. G. Jefferiss even questioned why homosexuality was legally punishable whilst ‘certain forms of heterosexual and marital behaviour with dire social consequence remain outside the law’.

Of the thirty-six articles sampled from Gay News between 1972 and 1975, sixteen contest such definitions of homosexuals as a socially distinct and abnormal group. Roger Baker insightfully wrote that professionals desire to categorise groups ‘within clearly defined limits’ so that ‘homosexuality can be contained and attitudes to it evolved; tolerance, rejection, sympathy, moral outrage, etc.’ Whilst his article accurately characterised the BMJ’s attitudes, most authors of Gay News focused on blaming and demonising police, state, and law for propagating the social

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marginalisation of homosexuals.\textsuperscript{24} Many authors complained that the harsh terms and enactment of the Sexual Offences Act meant that homosexuality was ‘legal, but then again, it isn’t’.\textsuperscript{25} Dramatically, Sebastian Helmore accused policemen and clergy of ‘hypocrisy’ for harshly pursuing homosexuals whilst covertly engaging in their practices.\textsuperscript{26}

Alongside criticising professionals who socially marginalised homosexuals, \textit{Gay News} also attempted to self-define the gay community against mainstream society. One article quoted James Pope Hennessy’s assertion ‘I don’t see why homosexuals feel they should have their own newspapers any more than people who like aubergines’. In retaliation, the author wrote it is not that ‘homosexuals \textit{should} have their own newspaper, but that they \textit{needed} their own newspaper’.\textsuperscript{27} Similarly, numerous articles aimed to reclaim the derogatory notion propagated by medical professionals of a gay underworld by celebrating the range of same-sex social activities available in certain areas. Roger Baker, for example, jestingly contended that Nottingham, not Brighton, was the ‘gayest spot’ in the country.\textsuperscript{28}

In contrast to these normative writings, forty-eight of the fifty-two \textit{BMJ} articles sampled between 1982-5 gave no value judgement on otherness. Instead of engaging in the normative judgement of groups of people these articles tend to offer technical explorations of particular types of diseases. In this context, homosexuals were examined as patients particularly at risk of certain illnesses, with especial focus surrounding AIDS.\textsuperscript{29} Despite this overall trend the positioning of


\textsuperscript{26} Gay News, Card 36 – 4 GR 814– 851, ‘United Sepulchres’ by Sebastian Helmore, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{27} Gay News, Card 38 – 4 GR 892– 930, ‘Was it all worthwhile?’ by Roger Baker, p. 9.


homosexuals as the social other, with a uniquely ‘homosexual way of life’, did not entirely disappear.\textsuperscript{30} Medic M. Keynes, for example, continued to class homosexuals alongside supposedly socially deviant groups; writing that alcoholism, venereal disease, and homosexuality were all unmentionable outside of family circles.\textsuperscript{31}

Examination of primary sources, therefore, suggests that whilst medical professionals regularly defined homosexuals as the social other in the 1960s, their opinions were mixed. Furthermore, by the 1980s medical authorities engaged in a generally value-neutral analysis of homosexuality. Whilst medics may not have been the first profession to recognise homosexuals as differing from heterosexuals merely in sexual object, these experts did radically modify their viewpoints within a relatively short space of time.

Nonetheless, biases shown by medics against homosexuals in the 1960s, as represented within the \textit{BMJ}, continued to taint the attitudes of some homosexuals towards the medical profession in the 1980s, after that initial bias had diminished. One article in the \textit{BMJ} recognised that homosexual patients ‘do not always volunteer’ their sexuality in STI clinics, fearing discrimination from doctors.\textsuperscript{32} Similarly, medical author A. J. Pinching wrote that ‘many homosexuals are rather defensive . . . Many doctors are also seen, rightly or wrongly, as being less than sympathetic to homosexual men.’\textsuperscript{33} Hacking’s model can be applied to explain this material by theorising homosexuals as ‘moving targets’. On this interpretation; by taking control


\textsuperscript{31} M. Keynes, ‘Medical sense and nonsense in biography’, \textit{British Medical Journal}, 26 March 1983, p. 1023.


over their own classifications, and actively embracing their definition as the social other, homosexuals reinforced the dichotomy that was initially so offensive. Looping occurred as medical professionals recognised the distrust they often engendered, and attempted to revise their opinions and practices accordingly. Studying the beliefs and actions of the medical profession or the homosexual community alone during this period will automatically yield simple progressive narratives. One might assume that as medical opinion became more accepting, homosexuals automatically felt more accepted. However, further studies of the interaction between homosexuals and medical professionals in light of Hacking’s model could prove useful in newly suggesting that homosexuals began to define themselves against mainstream society exactly when medics became more accepting of homosexuality.

To further analyse whether homosexual group identity was considered ‘normal’ throughout this period, consideration is now brought to whether the medical profession characterised homosexuals as pathological. Houlbrook has claimed that the 1950s saw a ‘cultural separation between queer and “normal”’ which contrasted to the ‘problematic, unstable, and contested’ sexual boundaries of the early twentieth century. Many theorists attribute the demarcation of this strict divide to the medical profession. Roger Davidson, for example, provides a detailed study of the Royal Edinburgh Hospital; whose Physician-Superintendent saw the homosexual as perverted and psychopathic. Psychiatrists, again, played an important role in medical attempts ‘to uncover sickness, psychological difficulties and unhappiness as intrinsic to homosexuality’. Many historians assess the particular importance of Freudian ideas in this context, which have

37 Bartlett and King, ‘British psychiatry and homosexuality’, p. 109
been taken to relate homosexuality to narcissism as a stage of psychosexual development in which the libidinal object choice was the ego itself rather than an external object.\footnote{Kenneth Lewes, \textit{The Psychoanalytic Theory of Male Homosexuality} (London: Simon and Schuster, 1988), pp. 72-5.}

The role of medical experiments in attempting to ascertain the distinctive characteristics of the pathological homosexual have also been highlighted. Whilst such experiments may be expected to have solidified and strengthened the social demarcation of homo- and heterosexuality, Rebecca Jennings has argued that collective action, for example through the Minorities Research Group and their magazine \textit{Arena Three}, enabled educated, middle-class lesbians to reconfigure their relationship with scientific discourse, presenting themselves as volunteers rather than patients.\footnote{Rebecca Jennings, ‘The Most uninhibited party they’d ever been to’: the postwar encounter between psychiatry and the British lesbian, 1945-1971’, \textit{Journal of British Studies}, 47, no.4 (2008), 883-904.} Similarly, Alan Sinfield suggests that Freudian explanations were only applied to respectable, middle-class homosexuals.\footnote{Alan Sinfield, \textit{The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Movement} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 144, as cited in Waters and Houlbrook, ‘Heart in Exile’, pp. 159-60.} As such, the research foci of ‘otherness’ and ‘pathology’ are connected. Whilst lower-class homosexuals were characterised as disrespectful, pathological, social others, middle-class and educated homosexuals were able to utilise professional discourse to enter the social mainstream. The role of psychiatrists, particularly, in helping willing homosexuals ‘adapt’ to their ‘condition’ has likewise received attention.\footnote{Bartlett and King, ‘British psychiatry and homosexuality’, p. 112; Jennings, ‘The most uninhibited party’, pp. 883-904.}

Historians have also considered the role of anti-psychiatrists in arguing that homosexuality was not pathological. The Counter-Psychiatry Group has been credited for arguing that it was poor social attitudes towards homosexuals that were in fact ‘sick’.\footnote{Jennings, ‘The most uninhibited party’, pp. 883-904.} The role of novelists, social surveyors, and other such unconventional advocates has also been noted. Houlbrook and Waters write that \textit{The Heart in Exile} rejected attempts to classify homosexuality as a disease, though also somewhat presented homosexuality as a condition.\footnote{Waters and Houlbrook, ‘The Heart in Exile’, pp. 159-60.}
Consistent with the findings of the existing literature, forty-seven of the sample of fifty-five BMJ articles published between 1962 and 1965 conceptualised homosexuals as pathological. Many such articles explicitly labelled homosexuality as a ‘disorder’ or a ‘disease’. Other authors referred to heterosexuality as the only ‘normal’ lifestyle choice, and even claimed that ‘right-thinking people felt that the status and success of a nation depended upon a high standard of family life’. The documentation of experiments conducted on homosexuals, aiming to better understand their pathology, was also reoccurring.

Numerous articles discussed the causes and cures of homosexuality, assuming that it was a form of disease without debate. In terms of perceived causes, a psychoanalytic approach was particularly prominent with childhood developments such as an intense relationship with a demanding, overprotective mother, or arrest at the autoerotic stage of sexual development being regularly blamed. Only one article offered a converse viewpoint, writing that ‘a chromosomal anomaly . . . may play a part in the causation of at least one type of homosexuality’. However, the author also noted the role of ‘a particularly close relationship between homosexuals and their mothers’. Psychiatric cures also dominated the preferred responses. Several articles, for example, debated the potential of aversion therapy. C. Allen even argued that whilst

\[\text{References:}\]


Wolfenden may have led people to conclude that homosexuality was not a disease ‘this idea is refuted by successful cures’.\textsuperscript{50}

Whilst the presentation of homosexuality as a disease is distasteful and misguided by contemporary standards, many BMJ authors seem well-intentioned. Articles tend to pinpoint their motivations as finding cures for ‘the unhappy million homosexuals in this country’, or treating ‘the medically ill patient with kindness and humanity’.\textsuperscript{51} Many medics, therefore, whilst acting within the mistaken framework that homosexuals are diseased, ultimately saw themselves as helping individuals to lead ordinary lives, rather than demanding that homosexuals were socially outcast.

\textit{Gay News}, nonetheless, comprehensively rejected the association of homosexuality with disease.\textsuperscript{52}

Most articles reflected the assertion of journalist Liz Stanley that homosexuality ‘like any other sexuality, is about life, about people, about love, and not just about sexual practices. . . human beings cannot be classified into ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’; they are simply different from one another’.\textsuperscript{53} Of the thirty-six articles considered between 1972 and 1975 ten blamed medical professionals for disseminating a view of homosexuality as pathological.\textsuperscript{54} These accusations seemed based both on personal encounters with doctors and psychiatrists, and the reading of contemporary medical literature. \textit{Gay News}, furthermore, clearly recognised and rejected the

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sympathetic, somewhat patronising, medical attitudes highlighted above. One article wrote that doctors think ‘Poor things, they can’t help it, so let’s not persecute them with criminal laws, let’s do it with psychiatry and socially useful activity’.\textsuperscript{55}

Clearly, some authors saw psychology and psychiatry as playing a key role in the characterisation of homosexuality as pathological.\textsuperscript{56} Roger Baker labelled psychology a ‘corrupt and oppressive... ideology’.\textsuperscript{57} Another article invented a stereotypical psychiatrist, Dr Andrew Certainty, who said that whilst homosexuals had no reason to seek psychiatric treatment ‘all homosexuals do suffer from severe disorders, an unavoidable result of their unfortunate condition’.\textsuperscript{58} Particular anger was often expressed over experiments aiming to quantify the unusual characteristics of homosexuals. One article sarcastically reviewed an investigation comparing forty-two homosexual women to forty-two heterosexual women. On the finding that there were no differences in external genitalia the author asked whether researchers expected to find that lesbians had penises ‘as beloved by Victorian porn writers’.\textsuperscript{59} Alongside such articles, \textit{Gay News} also celebrated medical professionals who did not typify homosexuals as pathological. For example, journalists praised the declassification of homosexuality as a mental disorder by the American Psychiatric Association, and celebrated when two doctors’ attempts to reverse this judgement were voted down.\textsuperscript{60}

Medical professionals, similarly, regularly rejected the association between homosexuality and pathology by the early 1980s. In the 1982 to 1985 \textit{BMJ} sample, forty-seven of the fifty-two articles made no value-judgement that homosexuality was pathological. Instead, medics seemed

\textsuperscript{56} Gay News, Card 31 – 4 GR 619-657, ‘Recent Thoughts of DJ West’, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{58} Gay News, Card 35 – 4 GR 775-813, ‘Some of my best friends are homophobic’ by Roger Baker, p. 10-11.
to accept that doctors should speak as ‘medical experts, not as moralists’. Rather than being characterised as intrinsically diseased homosexuals were referred to as high-risk factor groups for certain diseases, with AIDS an especial concern. One article even argued that too much has ‘been made of the fact that most Western patients with AIDS are homosexuals. A virus is unlikely to infect selectively on the basis of race, nationality, or sexual preference.

Accordingly, experiments were no longer conducted to uncover the distinctive characteristics of homosexuals. One article noted that homosexuals were no longer studied as socially distinct but because ‘it is in this group that hepatitis B virus carriage predominantly occurs in Britain’. Further signifying the change in medical attitudes, homosexuals were utilised as representative participants of the population for experiments on particular diseases. Nonetheless, vague evidence remains to suggest that homosexuality continued to be associated with disease. One article, for example, listed homosexuality alongside ‘illegitimacy, cancer, tuberculosis, and diabetes’ as issues that were now publicly acknowledged. By instinctively drawing a connection between homosexuality and disease, the author demonstrated that the powerful beliefs of the 1960s could not instantly fade.

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The historians who have analysed this area, therefore, have provided a broadly accurate characterisation of shifting medical and homosexual opinion. Theorists correctly note that many medical professionals analysed homosexuality as pathological in the 1960s. Nonetheless, historians should also acknowledge the extent of change in medical opinion between 1962 and 1985, rather than simply focusing on the remaining regressive medical understandings. Applying Hacking's model suggests speculative connections between what the medical profession posited, what homosexuals thought them to believe, and how medical opinion changed accordingly throughout this period. In the 1970s, *Gay News* accused doctors of speaking with ‘a disapproving ring’ even whilst merely typifying homosexuals as a high risk group.67 By the 1980s a *BMJ* article advised that whilst knowledge of sexual history was important whilst diagnosing homosexuals care must be taken as such questions may seem invasive and disapproving.68 This model would explain such changing opinions as representative of broader debates in which protests by those classified, the homosexuals, changed the original classifications of homosexuality: ‘looping’ had occurred.

Whilst the medical profession offered more permissive understandings of homosexuality by the 1980s there was a lag before these understandings were publicly disseminated. When a Gallup Poll of 1988 asked about contemporary social problems forty-eight per cent of respondents named homosexuality, compared to only twenty-six per cent in 1965.69 The disjunction between medical and public opinion was particularly apparent over the issue of AIDS. Whilst medics tended to offer a value-neutral approach, understanding AIDS as a medical issue, judgemental assertions about the homosexual community were made by some factions of the public.70 It is worth questioning how quickly the liberalisation of attitudes seen in the *British Medical Journal* was

70 Jeffrey Weeks notes that AIDS was identified by the public and media ‘as a peculiarly homosexual affliction’ in an atmosphere of ‘generalised panic’ in *Sexuality and its Discontents: Meanings, Myths, and Modern Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1985), pp. 44-53.
recognised and accepted by the public and practising professionals. King and Bartlett note that homophobic physicians continued to practice in the late twentieth century.\footnote{King and Bartlett, ‘British psychiatry and homosexuality’, p. 115.}

Alongside implications for the existing literature on homosexuality, this research also raises broader social and historical questions. Notably, this article contributes to the body of literature questioning whether the 1960s constituted a ‘permissive society’. The Sexual Offences Act of 1967, certainly, reflects the assertion of Tom McGrath, editor of the Underground Newspaper, that the 1960s showed that ‘the individual should be free from hindrances by external Law or internal guilt in his pursuit of pleasure so long as he does not impinge on others’.\footnote{Collins, The Permissive Society, p. 13.} However, the above examination of the stigmatisation of homosexuals by the medical community warns against such broad generalisations. Rather, Stuart Hall seems correct to identify a ‘double taxonomy’ in 1960s reforms as a move to greater freedom in the private sphere was balanced by tighter control in some aspects of the public sphere.\footnote{Stuart Hall, ‘Reformism and Legislation of Consent’ in Permissiveness and Control: the fate of sixties legislation, ed. by National Deviancy Conference as cited in Weeks, Sexuality and Its Discontents, pp. 263, 306, 314.} During this period, the liberalty of reforms, such as the Sexual Offences Act, were accompanied by regressive medical discourses surrounding how to cure and control homosexuals perceived to be damagingly impinging upon public space.

This analysis also holds implications for research on the 1960s and 1970s as facilitating the emergence of gay identity politics. It suggests that homosexual group identity in this period was both constructed by medics who defined a ‘social mainstream’ within which homosexuals could not be categorised, and by homosexual activists who purposefully labelled themselves against this society as the ‘other’. Whilst both movements contributed to the formation of homosexual group identity, this article proposes that they did not operate simultaneously. Rather, as medical opinion became accepting of homosexuality during the 1980s, homosexuals continued to reject medical parameters of normality and acceptability. In terms of testing Hacking’s model, initial
findings suggest that such interactions are well captured by portraying homosexuals as ‘moving targets’; their own self-classifications did not change in line with medical conceptions.

Overall, this article has argued that research aiming to understand changing homosexual group identities would benefit from analysis of the dynamic and continuing interactions between professionals and advocacy groups. Hacking’s model provides a useful starting point, offering novel and informative concepts such as ‘made up people’, ‘looping effects’, and ‘moving targets’. This is not to suggest that the full dynamism and complexity of homosexual identity formation since the nineteenth century can be understood by merely applying Hacking’s model once, and to one specific time period. Instead, his model must be replicated and reapplied to numerous consecutive time periods to fully understand how certain classifications continually interacted with named groupings, spawning new categories, and restarting the process.

Furthermore, as group identity is formed not by the interaction between one professional group and one minority alone, but by relations between several groups, this model must also be applied to each relevant group. Such usage of Hacking’s model, this article contends, could bring useful and newfound insight into the interactions underlying changing group identity, and offer an alternative to the recent mass of spatial work surrounding homosexuality.

Through such work historians, policy-makers, and public will better understand how homosexual group identity historically developed, what it means and has meant to be categorised as ‘homosexual’, and how various groups were empowered within the creation and application of these definitions. Understanding the development of homosexual group identity between 1962 and 1985, a time in which the difference between those who liked aubergines and those who

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liked their own gender could be questioned, is necessary to explicate modern debates surrounding the meanings, significance, and rights of homosexuals and homosexuality.⁷⁶

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Political converts: Ideological travellers from Left to Right, 1975-1992

Introduction

This article seeks to investigate what is commonly referred to as the breakdown of the post-war consensus in the 1970s and consequent establishment of a new consensus that has lasted until this day. The term post-war consensus refers to a broad agreement between the three major political parties after the Second World War on the maintenance of a large public sector, high taxation, strong unions and government-owned industry. In the late 1970s a section of the British right challenged this consensus and between 1975 and 1992 this New Right contributed to four successive Conservative Party victories and to the establishment of a ‘new consensus’ with agreements on curbing trade union power, and maintaining the market economy and the Atlantic Alliance. Primarily a movement on the right of the British political spectrum, the New Right was preceded by a Labour government’s abandonment of the Keynesian consensus, which was until then the predominant economic doctrine.\(^2\)

This article demonstrates that this was followed by similar ‘conversions’ from left to right taking place, and being encouraged, during the 1970s. They took the form of publicly declared rejections of socialism or communism and the embrace of right-wing or conservative ideas among public intellectuals. The Conservative Party encouraged it to the extent that there was an attempt to create institutions that would facilitate such conversions. An assessment of such an

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institution is the second aspect of the study. In 1988 former cabinet minister and Conservative Party Chairman Norman Tebbit founded the think-tank *The Radical Society*. Together with, among others, former Labour Party member Stephen Haseler, former Labour Party and then Social Democratic Party (SDP) MP Neville Sandelson and former Liberal Party leader Jo Grimond, he set up the organisation ‘to explore new policies for the 1990s in which Socialism is rejected’. Its inaugural lecture was ‘dedicated to “replacing deference”’ in society and was delivered by Norman Tebbit. Similar organisations included the *Social Market Foundation*, in which the SDP activist and future *Times* columnist Daniel Finkelstein served as director. In 1992 he led a group that SDP founder and former Labour Foreign Secretary David Owen called ‘some of the best and the brightest of the SDP members’ to join the Conservatives. After the SDP merged with the Liberals, Owen refused to join the new party the Liberal and Social Democrats and instead announced his retirement from politics. This political defection is the third aspect of this article since it was the last occasion when the Conservative Party was able to form a broad electoral coalition.

The breakdown of the post-war consensus was manifest within all three major British political parties. By linking three aspects of political conversion it is also possible to illustrate that the Conservative Party was the beneficiary of this breakdown: during the 1970s in the form of political conversions and then in the 1981 split in the Labour Party and the subsequent formation of the SDP and later the *Radical Society*. The 1992 general election was the last election in which the Conservative Party could command a broad coalition whose foundations were laid in the 1970s by the New Right. The common features of this coalition were ‘nationalism, anti-

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communism, hostility to ‘subversive’ elements in society and neo-liberal economics’. This forced the Labour Party to broaden its political platform into what became New Labour.

A ‘Right Turn’: Disillusion with Socialism during the 1970s

In 1975 the concept of political ‘overload’ was introduced by Anthony King, who thought people’s previous overconfidence in government had created an alienation that was manifested in that ‘when things go wrong people blame ‘not “him” or “it” but “them”’. This was due to previous post-war expansion of the public sector in areas such as education and housing, combined with constant economic growth and an attitude manifested in Prime Minister Harold Macmillan’s quote about never ‘having it so good’. Finally, the government had accepted too great a burden and grown to the extent that it became impersonal, and, due to industrial unrest and economic crisis, ‘overload’ became ‘universally accepted’ in the political discourse of the 1970s. It was adopted and developed by journalists such as Samuel Brittan. Events such as the Miners’ Strike in February 1974 and the following three-day week ‘gave rise to a great deal of anxiety about the future of democracy’. Previously, during the 1960s, issues such as education and the permissive society had also alienated contributors to public debate who earlier had seen themselves as on the Left. In 1964 future Conservative Minister Rhodes Boyson, ‘dismayed by the growth of the permissive society’, resigned his membership of the Labour Party. He objected to what he saw as the introduction of comprehensive education for the sake of ideology by Harold Wilson’s Labour Government. According to Boyson it was followed by ‘reforms’ that had nothing in common ‘with the Methodist nonconformist self-help socialism of my father or

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9 Ibid., pp. 132-159.
the socialist belief of my early years’. In 1969 he had contributed to a pamphlet entitled *The Crisis in Education*, the second in a series of so-called Black Papers that were an attack on comprehensive education, seeing it as leading to the erosion of standards. When he was introduced to the right-wing Institute of Economic Affairs, Boyson found his ‘economic allies’ in the institute’s two directors, Ralph Harris and Arthur Seldon. In 1970 they set up the Churchill Press and Constitutional Book Club with the intention, ‘to propagate the ideas of the free market within the rule of law’. As its editor Boyson described how in the 1930s the Labour Party had ‘occupied the moral ground of politics’, but in the 1960s a development had started that would lead to a situation in which ‘the state and trade unions would become no less oppressive of the individual than the worst private capitalists in the past’. Boyson had therefore abandoned Labour and joined the Conservative Party. In 1970 when elected to government the party had such ‘an opportunity, indeed a duty, to govern our people in such a way that they will consciously enjoy the free market in a free society that the only chance for Labour to return to power will be when the party ceases to be socialist’.

The Conservative government led by Edward Heath did not fulfil the expectations of the ‘New Right’. Heath lost an election called in February 1974 and a subsequent one that October. Harold Wilson formed a new Labour government and in 1976 was replaced as Prime Minister by James Callaghan. In 1975 Heath was also deposed as leader of his party and succeeded by Margaret Thatcher. She benefited from the fact that Labour’s small parliamentary majority had disappeared due to by-elections when Callaghan replaced Wilson. Both also had to appease constituency parties that were increasingly left-wing and radical compared to the parliamentary party. This disjuncture manifested itself in increased ideological conflict between the right and

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11 Ibid., p. 78.
the left within the party. Leaders of the left such as Tony Benn said that the left-wing constituencies were ‘keen on democracy, and care about education, planning and democratic control’. Stephen Haseler, the co-founder of the Labour Party fringe organisation the Social Democratic Alliance, saw the right wing of the party as having “softened’ British Social Democracy and consequently made a popular appeal against Marxist advance that much more difficult’. With the fall of the Heath government in mind, he identified the major problem as ‘whether the unions will yield up their present political power to a future duly elected Conservative government’. Barbara Castle also noted in May 1975 that right-wingers such as the Minister for Overseas Development, Reg Prentice, was ‘shaping up to leave the party - or at least the government’. Other potential defectors included former Defence Minister Alun Chalfont, who saw the ‘pathetic retreat over Europe’ as ‘a defining moment’ for his decision to leave the party. Chalfont’s resignation from the party was also due to the fact that ‘the left wing, with the active support of the industrial unions, has virtually taken over’. Hitherto, such a position had been articulated only by institutions such as the Institute of Economic Affairs, but was now being expressed also by former Keynesians such as Chalfont, Samuel Brittan and Peter Jay. After two elections in 1974 the emphasis on such danger also ‘found support amongst leading Conservative ministers like Keith Joseph and … on the Labour side with the advent of Denis Healey’. In 1976 this new-found bipartisan view was manifested in the severe budget implemented after the IMF had granted Britain an emergency loan. Healey saw those who resisted the cuts in cabinet and in the Labour Party as being ‘out of their tiny little Chinese

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16 Ibid., p. 224.
19 Alun Chalfont, ‘Time for the social-democrats to stand up and be counted’, The Times, 23 September, 1974, p. 12; Issue 59199; col A.
Minds’. 21 Paul Johnson, former editor of the New Statesman, was also, like Chalfont, disillusioned with Labour’s dependency on trade unions. In 1976 Johnson addressed what he saw as ‘the first occasion in my lifetime when Right-wing intellectuals seem to win all the arguments’. 22 ‘The turning point in my loyalty to the [Labour] party’ came a year later with the introduction of ‘the closed shop’. 23 Labour and the unions had created a system of belief ‘where conscience is collectivised’ and it ‘may lead to Auschwitz and Gulag’ and Johnson ‘did not intend to travel an inch along that fearful road’. 24 In 1978, when it was expected that James Callaghan would call an election in the autumn, Johnson wrote the script for what was planned to be the Conservatives’ final election broadcast. The theme was the same as in Johnson’s valedictory address to Labour: a warning against ‘the grey and grimy totalitarian state in which the freedom under law … simply will not exist’. 25 Margaret Thatcher thought the suggested broadcast was ‘most moving’ and that it ‘contains everything I want to say’. 26 The passage of Johnson and other former Socialists to the right was eased by their membership of the think-tank the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), founded in 1974. Its director Alfred Sherman tried, in the words of Brian Harrison, ‘to smooth the convert’s path’ by insisting on ‘the non-party and opinion-forming status’ of the organization. 27 This was exemplified by socialist historian Hugh Thomas, who in 1959 had edited an attack on the British establishment which he defined as essentially ‘beyond democratic control’. 28 In 1976 Thomas had recanted his belief in socialism and the Labour Party in a similar fashion to Johnson. He thought ‘the essential reason why Mrs. Thatcher wants to live in a free society is that it enables individuals to exercise greater choice’ and that ‘choice leads to

24 Ibid., p. 332.
responsibility’. In 1979 he was appointed president of the Centre and expressed in a letter to Thatcher ‘what a pleasure it is to continue to work for you from time to time’ and that he was ‘most proud to be appointed Chairman’.30

In 1977 former Cabinet Minister Reg Prentice crossed the floor and joined the Conservatives.31 His decision to defect had grown out of a series of meetings between himself and Thatcher, organised by the Conservative MP Patrick Cormack; she ‘was at first astounded and later enthusiastic’ about it.32 Thatcher understood Prentice’s political value as a sign of her broader electoral appeal, and tried personally to organise things so that he could get the nomination for a safe Conservative seat; this made him ‘very grateful’.33 However, despite Thatcher’s personal involvement, his attempts to find a safe seat were initially unsuccessful.34 The Conservative agents regarded ‘Prentice as being a maverick character, difficult to get on with, and rather lazy’.35 Thatcher’s political secretary Richard Ryder suggested he might be appointed chairman of a ‘Labour Voters for Thatcher Committee’ in order to demonstrate his new allegiance. Patrick Cormack, who had initially convinced Prentice, saw it as a political opportunity to present a renewed Conservative Party with a broader electoral appeal. He had recognised that public debate at the time was dominated by a movement away from collectivism. Among those moving in this way were former Labour MP Woodrow Wyatt, the columnist Bernard Levin, and Professor Max Beloff who in 1973 was one of the founders of the private University of Buckingham. Among other possible defectors who were prepared to publicly endorse Thatcher

32 Interview conducted with Sir Patrick Cormack MP, Portcullis House, Westminster, 2010-02-10, p. 6.
35 Ibid., fol. 2.
was former Deputy Leader of the Labour Party and Foreign Secretary Lord George-Brown. In 1976 he resigned his party membership over the Trade Union and Labour Relations Bill. He saw the bill as having left him with 'a feeling that in the Labour Party we had suddenly lost a sense of individual freedom - we had become some sort of machine'. 36 The Economist regretted his resignation and thought ‘it made the whole soft centre of the British cabinet (and of British politics) a little more alert to the defence of liberty and individualism’. 37 After his resignation he worked as a freelance political commentator and expressed an admiration for Thatcher ‘having a good go’ in her role as party leader. 38 When he sat as a cross-bencher in the House of Lords he was contacted by Thatcher for a series of meetings. Brown was ‘ready to place myself and whatever experience, know-how or just plain “gumption” I have at your disposal’. He ‘would be honoured to accept Cabinet Office’, although he would ‘continue as an independent without party affiliations’ though that would ‘not affect my whole-hearted loyalty to you in this difficult but vital task’ of forming a government. 39

The period of industrial strikes during the 1978-79 ‘Winter of Discontent’ saw the Conservatives gain over Labour in the opinion polls. After the Labour Government led by James Callaghan lost a vote of no-confidence on 28 March 1979 a general election was held on 3 May the same year. The previous industrial unrest had created a situation in which many people decided to vote Conservative for the first time. In the words of the editor of the Sun, Larry Lamb, ‘when I was finally able to bring myself to vote Tory for the first time, in 1979 … I was quite convinced that there was no alternative’. 40 During the 1979 election campaign the paper supported the Conservatives, which it had not done during previous elections. In her memoirs, Thatcher acknowledged that the participation of Reg Prentice, who stood as a Conservative candidate for

Daventry, together with the assistance of ‘other converts from socialism’ in the campaign, ‘was living proof that it was Labour which had shifted leftwards’. But it was ‘not a victory for Thatcherism, as it was to be defined in the following decade’ which would attract further followers from the right of the Labour Party, as shown during the 1980s.


The Social Democratic Alliance (SDA) was founded in 1975 by a group of councillors, trade unionists, and former parliamentary candidates. Its manifesto stated that the Labour Party was ‘in danger of being driven from its historic course by an intolerable dogmatism alien to socialist tradition’. Its chairman Peter Stephenson, who was the editor of the revisionist journal Socialist Commentary, warned that ‘there are genuine differences of opinion and the party cannot go on papering over the cracks for ever’. The organisation was seen as a counterweight to the Tribune Group and was therefore endorsed by cabinet ministers such as Roy Jenkins and Reg Prentice. When Prentice resigned from the Labour Government in 1976, the SDA thought he had, by doing so, ‘restored principle and integrity to the moderate wing of the Labour Party’. The Labour National Agent, Reg Underhill, who had previously pressed for the expulsion of the Trotskyist entryist organisation Militant Tendency from the party, ‘thought it was possible’ that Prentice would stand against the party in a by-election and that another MP sympathetic to the SDA, Neville Sandelson, would follow his example. Sandelson had organised a letter that was sent in support of Prentice to the Newham constituency party and was signed by 201 Labour

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42 Ibid., p. 100.
44 Penny Symon, ‘Labour group faults leadership’, The Times, 18 June 1975; p. 4; Issue 59425; col B.
MPs, including most of the cabinet.\textsuperscript{48} When Prentice, in the words of Eric Heffer, proved to be ‘a Tory in Labour’s ranks’, the right of the party and the SDA in particular were discredited.\textsuperscript{49} However, during the 1979 general election, the former chairman of the Tribune Group, James Dickens, who had replaced Prentice as a candidate in Newham, resigned his candidacy. He cited Trotskyite influence in the constituency party as his reason for doing so. This, together with the fact that he had previously been named as one of the ‘danger men’ whom Callaghan had been urged by the SDA to disown, made the SDA secretary Douglas Eden declare that they ‘found it very interesting that even a former chairman of the Tribune Group is not Left-wing enough’.\textsuperscript{50} Sandelson, like Prentice an outspoken critic of the Left, faced a hostile constituency party and, with the mandatory reselection procedure after the 1979 election defeat, stood to lose his seat. Before the 1980 party conference Sandelson warned that such changes would create a situation where a ‘real danger now lies in a possibility that this “ungovernable” party might become the government of the country’.\textsuperscript{51}

In January 1981 former Labour Ministers Roy Jenkins, David Owen, Bill Rodgers and Shirley Williams signed the ‘Limehouse Declaration’. It was a response to the recent party conference which they saw as ‘the culmination of a long process by which the Labour Party has moved steadily away from its roots in the people of this country and its commitment to parliamentary government’.\textsuperscript{52} They proposed a ‘Council for Social Democracy’ and Sandelson belonged to their ‘known sympathisers’ but was omitted from the earlier plans because he was, in the words of

\textsuperscript{52} ‘Limehouse Declaration’ <http://www.liberalhistory.org.uk/uploads/LimehouseDeclaration.pdf> [Last Accessed 2010-08-21]
Ivor Crewe and Anthony King, ‘thought to be too leaky’. Both Sandelson and Haseler supported the concept of a ‘social market economy’. During the 1970s the CPS and Keith Joseph argued the case for it in Britain but it ‘never featured in the key slogan of Thatcherism’. Instead, the concept was adopted and promoted by David Owen and the SDP within the parameters of their overall task of ‘breaking the mould’ of British politics. But, along with the general secretary of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union (EETPU), Frank Chapple, who initially supported the Limehouse declaration and was a member of the SDA, Haseler and Sandelson gradually became disillusioned with the new party. Sandelson was disappointed over having lost his bid to sit on the SDP National Committee and his seat in the 1983 general election. When SDP MP John Horam defected to the Conservatives, Sandelson applauded the decision and declared he ‘would be considering his own future within the SDP’. During the 1987 election campaign he also urged supporters of the SDP-Liberal Alliance to vote Conservative in order to keep Labour out of office. He was disappointed with the planned SDP merger with the Liberal Party and discussed with Richard Ryder and Tristan Garel-Jones whether the ‘Independent’ or ‘Continuing’ SDP, set up by David Owen, needed to ‘seek some kind of relationship with the Conservatives’. Sandelson promised that ‘if the Conservative leadership agrees to this procedure, then I will undertake to sell it to Owen’. The SDA also declared that ‘Social Democrats of all parties and none should not only accept Mrs Thatcher’s social revolution but positively and wholeheartedly support it’, since ‘as longstanding

56 Ibid., pp. 18-21.
61 Ibid., p. 2.
Social Democrats we naturally support an enterprise culture which opens up unprecedented opportunities for working people and trade unionists, and is removing traditional barriers'.\(^62\) In order to promote this, ‘an advisory panel of academics and politicians is being formed and will be announced shortly’.\(^63\) So the SDA maintained ‘a think-tank institute should be set up for Social Democrats of all parties’ to cooperate with the Conservatives. The idea of naming the new think-tank *The Conservative Social Democracy Institute* was also brought forward because Social Democrats now needed ‘to embrace the radical change which the Thatcher revolution has established’.\(^64\) The aim of the new organisation was ‘to encourage a new emerging consensus in British politics [in which] success is now less derided within our national culture’.\(^65\) Its opening statement declared that ‘The Radical Society, whose members will be drawn from across the political spectrum, seeks to make a contribution to constructive thinking in the new individualist era.’\(^66\)

As well as Sandelson and Haseler, the original founders were former Labour Minister Lord Marsh, Norman Tebbit, Conservative peer Baroness Cox, and Frank Chapple. Thus, the connection with Thatcher was, as shown, present from the start of the Society, with prominent members being Cox, the IEA Director Arthur Seldon, and, above all, Tebbit. Many who initially joined the Society were disillusioned with the Labour Party or the SDP and attracted to the Conservative Party and to Thatcher’s leadership; Tebbit and Cox, of course, had no such reappraisal to make. Another initial member of the Society was former Liberal Party leader Jo Grimond, who was invited to address the Society on the topic of ‘The Individual in the New

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\(^62\) Statement issued by Lord Chapple, Mr Brian Walden, Mr Neville Sandelson, Dr Stephen Haseler, Dr David Carlton and Mr Roger Fox of the Social Democratic Alliance, ‘Social Democrats Announce Support for Thatcher’s Radicalism’, October 15 1987, fol. 1.

\(^63\) Ibid., fol. 1.


\(^66\) Ibid., fol. 1.
Society’ while its inaugural lecture was given by Tebbit on the topic of ‘The New Consensus’. Tebbit, who had retired from the government, chose to be involved with the Society because ‘political debate outside the narrow confines of parliamentary party struggles is much needed’. He asserted that the Radical Society ‘could provide much of the competition to the Government which it was not getting from the opposition’. His inaugural lecture was advertised as helping the Society in its intention ‘to enlarge political thinking beyond conventional party politics’, with the fundamental instincts being ‘to put liberty before equality under minimal government’. The post-war consensus had turned the Conservatives, ‘always blessedly non-ideological and non-doctrinaire’, into a party ‘almost without ideas’. It had created a vast array of ‘sectional interests’, which since 1979 had been confronted by the Thatcher government ‘in a way that had been unknown for years’. The government had ‘confronted not only trade unions but Tory industrialists and middle-class vested interest groups too’. So, due to ‘a radical’ and ‘populist’ Conservative Party, ‘the bastions of class privilege, intellectual snobbery, producer monopolies and cartels are falling’. It was replaced by a ‘new consensus’ which ‘those in the Labour Party’s pragmatic or office-seeking wing’ argued must be accepted. Finally, Tebbit hoped that ‘The Radical Society will originate and disseminate the ideas to carry forward the open, non-deferential, competitive and responsible society we have seen coming in the last decade’.

Conservative MPs such as Chris Patten, who served in the government as Minister for Overseas Development, were also approached to join as patrons. Patten, although happy to deliver a lecture to the Society, thought that ‘Groups aimed at stimulating new thinking of this kind function best at

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68 In his autobiography he developed the argument that ‘the struggle of Labour moderates still within that Party to bring its policies into the late twentieth century suggests that Haseler and Sandelson have touched a responsive chord’. However, it was also assumed that, in the words of The Economist, he used the society as a platform ‘while he waits for Mrs Thatcher to ask him to take over the Tory leadership’, since he had vowed ‘to keep pushing the Government away from “woolly-thinking consensus”’.  
arm’s length from Government’. With the Society’s political affiliation in mind, Haseler suggested its agenda should be developed in order not ‘to lapse into the obscurity of another fringe organisation’. As someone who previously wanted the SDP to embrace ‘the lasting legacy of Thatcherism’ by ‘pushing radical economic and social change to its outer limits of possibility’, he also urged the society and the politicians associated with it to embrace constitutional change.

During the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool in 1989, the Society held a fringe meeting at which John Major was the main speaker in his capacity as Chief Secretary to the Treasury. In his lecture he outlined six questions politicians should consider when deciding policy as they were essential ‘for the Conservative Party and all genuine radicals to put … into practice in the 1990s’: ‘Will it enlarge freedom and extend opportunity, will it make producers and providers more accountable and responsive to consumers and will it help those who want to become less dependent to take more responsibility for their own lives’; ‘will it improve life for the worst off in society, will its effect be environmentally sound and last, but not least, will it enable individuals to make the maximum contribution to society’. His conclusion was that ‘our appeal as radicals is unashamedly populist’ with the core message consisting of a will to let people choose for themselves. Major had followed Tebbit in presenting a personal manifesto on how to strengthen the radical appeal of the Conservatives, and thus also proposed himself as a candidate to succeed Thatcher. The continuous links with the Conservative Party worried Sandelson, who in 1989 had resigned as president of the Society. He feared they would alienate non-Conservative members, and in a letter to Arthur Seldon said that it was never the intention to align the society ‘to any political party’ which now seemed to be the case with ‘recent meetings

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held at a Conservative Club with Conservative audiences addressed by Conservative MPs.\textsuperscript{76} However, Sandelson had not ceased to support the party and offered to its Director of Presentation to publish a collection of ‘a dozen or so contributors giving their reasons as to why they would find it impossible to vote Labour at the next General Election’.\textsuperscript{77}

‘Labour has not changed enough’: The support of the Continuing SDP for John Major during the 1992 general election.\textsuperscript{78}

According to Anthony King, Margaret Thatcher, prior to becoming Prime Minister, ‘did feel herself to be an outsider and did think of herself in those terms’.\textsuperscript{79} There was ‘every sign of a sense of distance - including psychological distance - between herself and many of those with whom she had to do business’.\textsuperscript{80} As a result, she cultivated a style of confrontation that initially appealed to those traditionally non-Conservative such as the founders of the Radical Society. During her premiership the perception of her as candid and refreshing was, however, replaced by the impression that she was hectoring and stubborn. This resulted in her being forced to resign in 1990, a decision at the time seen as having originated from the ‘wisdom of the crowds’, since the Conservative Parliamentary Party held the opinion that the party would lose the next election with her as a leader, whereas this forced resignation was later seen as a mistake.\textsuperscript{81}

Concerning her successor, David Owen, the leader of the ‘Continuing SDP’, nourished the hope that he or she would ‘continue with the counter-revolution’ and do so ‘in terms which most SDP supporters approve’.\textsuperscript{82} Owen was seen as having ‘staked out his claim to the slice of political territory wedged between the left of the Conservative Party … and the extreme right of the


\textsuperscript{77} Neville Sandelson, ‘Letter to Harvey Thomas, Director of Presentation Conservative Central Office’, 22 October 1990, in Ibid., fol. 1-2.


\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 445.


Liberals and the SDP. When the Continuing SDP was disbanded in 1990, his followers agreed to ‘let the corpse of the SDP get cold’. Ideologically they felt themselves closer to the Conservatives than the newly-formed Liberal and Social Democrats. They therefore ‘formed a club called Fellow- Travellers, but refused to join a party led by ‘That woman’. A significant step was taken by the Conservative Party to accommodate the Continuing SDP when the political leadership changed with the departure of Thatcher.

In his first statement as Prime Minister, John Major promised ‘to build a country at ease with itself’. Initially Major also approached Owen to establish positive relations in parliament. Thus he agreed with Thatcher who previously had expressed the opinion that Owen’s ‘natural home was the Conservative Party’. Right-wingers in the party such as Alan Clark also thought of him as a suitable Foreign Secretary. Furthermore, Major also tried to widen the appeal of the party by emphasising that, unlike his predecessor, he ‘disliked ‘isms” and ‘liked people’. Chris Patten, who was appointed Party chairman, supported this strategy when he discussed dates for a general election in a paper published in January 1991. Under the heading of ‘target groups’ the main problem was identified as being that ‘the latest polls suggested that the main shift in votes since the last general election had been a switch from Liberal Democrat to Labour’. The Conservative election manifesto was therefore designed to be ‘effective policy, not ideological confrontation’, with an emphasis on the counter-revolution approved by David Owen. Major hoped for his endorsement at the general election and it was also speculated that Owen would be

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83 Crewe and King, SDP, p. 423.
88 Hogg and Hill, Too Close to Call, p. 83.
89 Ibid., pp. 106-107.
offered a place in the cabinet where he would serve as a ‘Social Democrat’.

But when the Conservatives denied the existence of the offer, Owen regretted the failure of ‘an honest attempt … to break the convention that politicians of different parties cannot co-operate’. Therefore, despite the fact that the Conservatives had ‘successfully blunted their ‘cruel image’ by replacing Margaret Thatcher with someone seen as more ‘caring’, Maurice Saatchi suggested that the party should fight the election ‘on the old economic battleground’.

On 11 March 1992 John Major announced an election to be held on 9 April the same year. During the election campaign the Conservatives were often behind Labour in the opinion polls. According to earlier Gallup polls ‘Major was widely regarded by the British voter as being caring, trustworthy, competent, likeable and as someone who listened to reason’. This was important for David Owen, who was worried that Labour’s Neil Kinnock ‘might become Prime Minister’, a view shared by those of his supporters who had refused to join the Liberal Democrats. Previously, they had found ‘the Tory triumphalism of the 1980s distasteful’ and could therefore not have joined the party. However, they still recognised that it ‘seemed that again and again, the Right was more, well, right’. On 17 February twenty-two leading SDP activists had joined the Conservatives, allowing Major to claim that ‘the Tory Party was now the “natural home” for former Social Democrat supporters’. It put pressure on David Owen, and it was widely anticipated that he would follow the activists into the Conservatives. The reason he would do so was thought to be the Maastricht Summit, which he had described as a ‘most outstanding

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95 Owen, *Time to Declare*, p. 790.
97 Ibid., p. 3.
achievement’. In 1991 SDP MP and former Labour Minister John Grant predicted that ‘Owen’s rhapsodical endorsement could yet tip the balance in the handful of marginal seats that could well decide the outcome’ of the election. Finally, in an article in the Mail On Sunday, Owen called the election ‘dispiriting’, saying that this led him to attach ‘more weight to personality and to a politician’s actual record’ when he had decided to endorse John Major. He warned the Conservatives not to rule out a deal with the Liberal Democrats, with cabinet seats for Paddy Ashdown and former Liberal leader David Steel. The major reason for not voting Labour was that ‘Mr Kinnock’s record of misjudgement means that he does not deserve to become Prime Minister’ and therefore those that lived in marginal seats were urged to vote Conservative. He would vote for the Liberal Democrats in his own seat, which was a Labour-Liberal marginal, because he wanted proportional representation. But since he also wanted ‘this country well-governed’ he endorsed John Major as Prime Minister. When Major won the 1992 election he had been able to gather the same kind of non-socialist coalition as had Thatcher in the 1980s.

Conclusion

After the 1992 general election defeat John Smith replaced Neil Kinnock as Labour leader. Kinnock had begun a process of modernising the party, continued by Smith and his successor Tony Blair. The ultimate result was ‘New Labour’ and their general election victory in 1997. ‘New Labour’ was seen as a non-socialist party, non-dogmatic in nature, and it followed the consensus on the market economy to such an extent that ‘the language of the market came to an increased prominence in both Labour’s internal discussion and its policy agenda’. This, along

102 Ibid., p. 15.
with the fact that Neville Sandelson re-joined Labour in 1996, can be regarded as a result of the ‘new consensus’ that had been established by Thatcher.

Bringing together the three different aspects of political conversions from left to right between 1975-1992 illustrates why the New Right managed to gain the political initiative which New Labour in turn managed to seize from them. The Right filled the vacuum of ideas created when the Keynesian consensus was abandoned. Therefore, it is arguable that converts were attracted to Thatcherism due to the fact that the right had already gained the initiative. In the 1970s and 1980s this was manifested in that Thatcher attracted political converts to her cause and in the attempt to preserve and develop that radicalism in a political think-tank. Along with the suspicion of the Labour Party, John Major was able to capitalise on this during the 1992 general election. An architect of New Labour, Peter Mandelson, has stated that the voters saw ‘no choice at all’ between ‘a dogmatic, ideologically pure socialism or a Prime Minister, even a Tory Prime Minister, who had allowed them to buy their council houses’.  

This was also assisted by the fact that the Conservatives appeared to be welcoming new supporters and not rejecting them. When John Major replaced Thatcher as Prime Minister he renewed this impression. Peter Hennessy described the period from when Major assumed office in 1990 until his election victory as ‘the high days of Major’s consensual, consultative style’, also reflected in the fact that it was the last election for thirteen years where the Conservatives attracted ‘converts’. Without the breakdown of post-war consensus in the form of governmental ‘overload’ and industrial unrest, intellectual disillusionment with Labour would not have occurred and the Right would not have been seen as an alternative. Finally, ‘New Labour’ accepted the hegemony established by the Right and then emulated the coalition that had benefited both Thatcher and Major.

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105 Mandelson, *Third Man*, p. 79.
107 Ibid., p. 283.
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Histories


This most recent addition to the Anthem Perspectives in History series offers readers an examination of the life and reign of King John (1169-1216), the controversial English monarch whom historians generally perceive to be one of the country’s most despised sovereigns to date.\(^1\) However, far from merely paraphrasing historical commentaries already available to condemn the figure of John further, it is instead the contention of Graham E. Seel’s text to offer a rebuttal to the oft-unquestioned ‘ill-repute’ (p.5) of the ruler. Building on the recent work of similar, like-minded medieval historians, the present edition thus strives to ‘develop [such] sympathetic treatment[s] of John’ (p.9), and therefore to provide a continuation of this revaluation of the monarch’s rather disastrous reign, basing its various conclusions on important contextual elements which might have compromised the sovereign’s seventeen-year rule.\(^2\)

Seel’s volume commences with an outline of the monarch’s sovereignty, which those unfamiliar with King John will undoubtedly find useful. Illustrations of the Angevin family and also of the Angevin empire at the time of John’s ascension are provided (similar illuminations appear throughout the text), and concentration in this opening chapter centres on the current historical reception of the figure as a ‘Maligned King’ (p.4). Seel broadly accounts for the affluence of this understanding of the monarch, showing how ‘[t]he image of King John as an evil tyrant’ (p.7) developed from the late Middle Ages, and has continued to flourish in twentieth and twenty-first century popular culture. Channel 4 documentaries, Seel notes, have located John alongside the likes of Adolf Hitler, Attila the Hun and Vlad the Impaler;\(^3\) and even the *BBC History Magazine*

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\(^1\)*See Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Monsters: History’s Most Evil Men and Women* (London: Quercus, 2008), which places King John alongside some of the most decidedly (and unarguably) ‘evil’ figures in Western history.


\(^3\)The series of documentaries, titled *The Most Evil Men in History*, aired on Channel 4 in the 1990s. The second episode (‘Bad King John’) addressed the medieval monarch, whilst Attila the Hun, Adolf Hitler and Vlad the Impaler were the subjects of the first, fifth and thirteenth episodes, respectively. Idi Amin, Joseph Stalin and Rasputin also made appearances, aptly indicating how the seemingly nefarious John is understood both within the academy and in popular culture.
has, in recent years, fronted its publication with the uncontroversial declaration that John was, indeed, a ‘bad king’. Though some historians of the past century have leant towards a more balanced and, in some cases, sympathetic understanding of the monarch, our collective understanding of King John, as Seel shows, is nevertheless rather decidedly negative.

In embarking upon his converse argument proper, Seel’s second chapter (‘John in the Shadows, 1167-1199’) addresses the life of Prince John ahead of the death of his brother, King Richard I. Specifically, the author addresses the potential that John’s behaviour during these years can be read as a manifestation of his inherently poor leadership qualities: ‘that John’s actions before he became king provide evidence that he was ill-equipped to govern’ (p.19). His discourse is threefold, addressing the Irish Campaign of 1185; aspects of the prince’s ‘unfettered ambition’ (p.21) during the years 1189-1194 (which, some allege, hastened the death of his father); and John’s attempts to usurp his brother’s authority whilst the king was absent on crusade. All chapters addressing the life of John include a timeline of the period of focus, a narrative on the events discussed, and a series of subsequent ‘interpretations’; this clear, repeated structure makes for fluid reading and quick, efficient referencing.

Seel continues to address the state of England before John’s reign in his third chapter (‘An “Imperial” Inheritance?’), in which the nature of the Angevin empire is discussed at length and in considerable detail. Scholarly opinion regarding the collapse of the empire under John’s reign is somewhat divided, and interpretation has the potential to partially pardon or to further condemn the king: it has been argued either that forces outside of John’s control resulted in the subsequent collapse of the empire in 1203-4, or instead that the empire’s collapse ‘is significantly the responsibility of John’ (p.28). As a final preliminary discourse before addressing the reign of

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4 See BBC History Magazine, June 2010. The publication carried the following headline on its front cover: ‘Bad King John – how he saved England from a French invasion … by dying’.
King John, it is the intention of Graham E. Seel here to provide his reader with a discussion of such an interpretative binary.

The remaining chapters in Seel’s volume (four to eleven) concentrate on the actual reign of King John, which commenced with the death of Richard I in 1199 and concluded with John’s own death in 1216. Focus centres mainly upon England’s fraught relationship with France, and with the emergence of the Magna Carta; however, Seel also brings John’s relations with the Papacy, contemporary judicial practices and economy, and the Civil War of 1215-6 into discussion chronologically as he offers readers a wide-reading interrogation of the nature of King John’s sovereignty. Conclusions offered by the text naturally fulfil its original intention: broadly speaking, ‘that John was not the literally diabolical character’ (p.169) that previous recovery of the monarch has led students and scholars of medieval history to believe. Admittedly, the author notes also that ‘[the] quest to determine the nature and attributes of any historical personality is never straightforward’ (p.169), and the title of Seel’s conclusive chapter (‘Conclusion: Will the Real King John Please Stand Up?’), whilst tongue-in-cheek, also betrays the problematic nature of historical biography itself. Nevertheless, Graham E. Seel’s text eloquently shows how the conventional perception of King John, both within the academy and in modern popular culture, is something of a widespread misconception: far from being an inherently evil, devilish rogue, the present volume dynamically asserts the complex multiplicity of John’s character – including both the unconventional good, and the necessary evil.

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In *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture*, Wouter Hanegraaff presents a historiographical analysis of the study of esotericism, also known as the occult, magic, or witchcraft. The book is extremely comprehensive and engages with contemporary methodological debates related to this fast-growing field of academic enquiry. Hanegraaff presents the first historiography of the esoteric from the perspective of various thinkers and how they each would have imagined it in their own time. His analysis begins in antiquity and traces the path of the esoteric from Plato to the present day, including such well-known names as Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and encompassing more modern thinkers such as Carl Jung and Frances Yates. He also addresses a number of lesser-known thinkers including Jacob Thomasius, Ehregott Daniel Colberg, Gottfried Arnold, and Jacob Brucker. Hanegraaff makes the argument that historiographical methodology should be the mode of enquiry for the study of esotericism. He maintains that it should first and foremost be firmly grounded in: ‘a straightforward historiographical agenda’ (p.378) because it is empiricism that made it possible for Western Esotericism to be admitted to the academy (p.356).

The book first presents the concept of Platonic Orientalism (pp.12-17), or the idea that in the ancient world Platonism was understood as divine wisdom that was derived from the orient, as influenced by Pythagoras and Zoroaster. In this environment, philosophy was understood as the pursuit of divine wisdom and salvation of the soul (p.15), which would ultimately influence the development of later esotericisms. Furthermore, Hanegraaff argues that, during the Renaissance, ancient pagan knowledge was perfectly compatible with Christian belief, and indeed a necessary prerequisite for understanding the nature of Christianity (p.17). However, as others have argued before him, Hanegraaff maintains that all of this changed with the Reformation. Similar to
Weber’s theory of the ‘disenchantment of the world,’ Hanegraaff holds that the Reformation was a turning point at which the pagan came to be reified as ‘the other’ in opposition to Christianity. He argues that this was a time when removing Platonism from the church was seen as the cure to its corruption (p.96).

Hanegraaff then discusses the Enlightenment paradigm in which reason becomes the universal yardstick for evaluating the truth or seriousness of any worldview. He argues that during this time period Platonism, Hermeticism, and Paganism are dismissed as being synonymous with irrationality (p.149-150). In line with the most recent literature on the topic, however, he also argues that the eighteenth century cannot be reduced to the Age of Reason (p.377). Most commentators, including Alex Owen, would agree that the Enlightenment can no longer be perceived as a straightforward march toward the rational, given the rise in occultism and spiritualism, and the continued intermingling of science and the esoteric that occurred during this period.

Hanegraaff maintains that a more neutral historical methodology is required to revisit the pagan influences on Western culture. He says that this will aid in: ‘exploring the many blank spaces in our mental maps and filling them with colour and detail, so that they become integral parts of the wider landscape that we already knew’ (p.378). In other words, historiographical methodology will enable us to rethink our history in a way that will facilitate the reintegration of this lost spiritual homeland of our pagan past.

Hanegraaff also maintains that much scholarship on esotericism has taken a religionist approach (p.370), or is pursued by people wishing to defend a particular set of religious views. He rejects this approach. Indeed, he notes that Antoine Faivre, one of the key founders of the discipline of Western Esotericism, was initiated as a Freemason in 1969 (p.340). Hanegraaff also
acknowledges that Faivre’s religionist period has had considerable impact on how he developed his notion of Western Esotericism (p.341). This goes to the heart of the debate over whether practitioners of the esoteric arts can be scholars of Western Esotericism in an unbiased fashion. Hanegraaff also points out that around the time that Faivre moved into the Chair for History of Esoteric and Mystical Currents in Modern and Contemporary Europe, his religionist methodology became less explicit (p.348). For Hanegraaff, it was the movement away from this religionist approach that made Western Esotericism more acceptable to the academy. He notes how scholars such as Christopher McIntosh, Ellic Howe, and Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke emphasised its significance as a historical factor whose presence and influence could not be denied (p.355).

Hanegraaff also takes issue with Faivre’s definition of Western Esotericism which he argues: ‘originated as a Christian and religionist notion of “true” esotericism and retains its fundamental anti-doetic, anti-idealistic, and anti-dualist perspective’ (p.354). He notes that Faivre’s definition likely excludes Swedenborg’s theosophy, the idealism of Guénonian Traditionalism, and Gnostic/Cather dualism (p.354).

While Hanegraaff makes a persuasive argument for historiographical methodologies, the question must be asked: Why restrict ourselves to one methodology? Does the choice of methodology not go to the heart of a scholar’s academic freedom? Is not the pursuit of truth best served by giving scholars the opportunity to move among multiple methodologies? Is it not our responsibility to ensure that the academy accepts all forms of scholarship on the esoteric? In the rediscovery of rejected knowledge in Western culture, of all things, there needs to be openness to many possibilities. Surely we can make room for the philosophers, phenomenologists, anthropologists, classicists, and scholars of visual culture and literature, in the study of heterodox religion. Surely they can do a great deal to inform the debate on these
important topics that have influenced so much of Western culture. In the same spirit of flexibility, the discipline would also benefit from an opening up of the definition to include more esotericisms than those originally outlined by Faivre. For if Western Esotericism is truly to have a place in the academy of the future, then we within the discipline would likely be served by remaining open to all perspectives.

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*Geography and the Production of Space* starts with a timely question about one of the historical challenges facing the United States ever since its inception as a nation, i.e. spatial overflow and expansion: How did 19th century American literature initiate a conversation with unprecedented makeovers in space and place, on intermittently constitutive, yet contested, spatial scales—ranging from home and region to nation and the globe?

In trying to provide an answer to this question, Hsu does not follow chronology; rather, in an effort to read history through the multiple and contested lenses of literature, he espouses Marxist spatial theories—developed by cultural geographers Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, and Neil Smith—to literary products of, mainly, non-canonical American authors, ranging from 1798 gothic novel *Wieland* by Charles Brockden Brown to *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* by Sui Sin published in 1912. Such espousal takes place on several different sites throughout the book, starting with an elaborate conceptual take on “scales of identification” as the introduction, and the backdrop against which the book develops.

‘Scales of identification’ opens the discussion on spatial scales not by, say, a quote from Thoreau about nature, but by what Hsu terms ‘a spatial allegory’, inspired by *The Course of Empire*, a series of paintings by Thomas Cole (1834 to 1836), in order to first visualise what he aims to further conceptualise (p.1). Nineteenth century subnational, national, as well as transnational terrains of shaping U.S. identity as a nation, he argues, were in conversation with American literary products on multiple levels; such conversation ‘reflected—and helped produce—readers’ identifications with domestic, urban, regional, national, and global spaces’ (p.3).
Against such a backdrop, Chapter one takes gothic fiction and political pamphlets of Charles Brockden Brown to examine how the destabilised democratic nature of the new nation could be saved and re-established by its extension beyond the national scale, ultimately justifying an act of expansion like the Louisiana Purchase which raised and addressed geographical anxieties in its turn. Chapter two turns its focus to urban-household detective stories in order to further complicate the inter-scalar anxieties of the century as imagined, filtered and narrated by American writers Poe and James. Chapter three offers a reading of post-Civil War missionary activities, especially in China, with two ends: missionary work as exportation of slavery with a Christian—and hence global—yet domestic—and hence local—tone; and, further, missionary work as extension of the US capitalist arms into the Chinese market: a spatial fix to both the domestic issue of slavery and that of production surplus on a global scale. Leaving the celebratory works of the previous chapter aside, chapter four examines paradoxical scalar tensions in the works of canonical authors Whitman and Melville: the globe understood as a unifying as well as an isolating fabric. Looking at works by Sarah Orne Jewett, Frank Norris, and Booker T Washington, chapter 5 examines how regions—as the once powerful and self-sufficient South—as producers of globally needed commodity, attempted to make sense of their regional identity as global, or at least as connected to global capital markets. A short epilogue, entitled ‘Scales of Resistance’, extends the scalar tensions into the 20th century. Being a consolidated overseas empire, the US global influence offers 20th century writers further scalar alternatives, including the colonial territory—on the transnational level, wherein colonising as well as colonised selves appear as trans-scalar actors, moving between the subnational and the transnational levels.

The result, as far as a book on American literature is concerned, was the not-always-straightforward literary translation of ‘spatial fix’ as a series of historical attempts within the US, and between the US and the outer world to outsource internal crises and tensions by extending
capitalist arms to external markets. Surfacing on in a wide range of literary genres, such attempts ultimately resulted in a complication of the scene on newly added transnational, yet local and regional, yet global scales (pp. 11-12).

The result, as far as a book on American history is concerned, was the bearing-contradictions-and-anxieties coming to terms of the American literate public of the century with a frequently renewed, multi-scalar, cartography of their world as re-imagined by, among others, American slave-holders, politicians, ideologists, railroad engineers, land-owners, missionaries, and capitalists.

To summarise, Geography and the Production of Space is not a history book within the once-not-so-penetrable disciplinary boundaries of historical research; neither is it a book on literary criticism per se. Rather, to borrow from Linda Orr, it is a twenty-first century ‘revenge of literature’—and by extension, of cultural geography—on the disciplinary inviolability of history as practiced in the nineteenth century. It is, in other words, a singular result of interdisciplinarity as thought and practice, which asks its theory-minded readers to be equipped with historical, cultural geographical, as well as literary patience to find it an abundant read.

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Alan Karras’s attempt to write an account of ‘contraband and corruption in World History’ is laudable in the bravery of its undeniably broad conception, situating itself within the current (particularly American) academic fetish for ‘Global History’. In this volume, part of a series entitled ‘Exploring World History’, Karras attempts to deal with his vast and heterogenous subject area predominantly through making a series of partly thematic generalizations, seldom linked to any specific location or period of time (although it seems that he is usually referring to his own area of interest: the eighteenth-century Caribbean). He illustrates these assertions with a limited number of examples, harvested primarily from the British Library and Public Record Office, although a few come from the French colonial records held at Aix-en-Provence. These examples are then analysed thoroughly and extensively in a manner that pays credit to Karras’s skills of source criticism, but can often extend into the twin perils of stating the obvious and sometimes extrapolating maybe a bit far beyond the information the sources actually provide.

Karras’s basic argument is that smuggling (again, in its timeless, placeless form) was a crime which divided state from society. As tax evasion, it formed society’s response to the exactions of the state and was not viewed by society as a crime. As such, it did not bear the attributes of proper crime, particularly violence, except as a very last resort. Karras’s argument here suffers from the over-riding problems of this book: his habit of making broad generalizations without an acceptance that there were specific differences in different times and places for specific reasons. He presents smuggling as a sort of ‘social crime’ (although this is not a term he uses), a crime functioning as resistance against a social order or, in Karras’s case, the exactions of the state, and largely accepted by society as such. In this, he could perhaps consult some of the
historiography depicting eighteenth-century British smuggling as social crime, which for the most part has not been quite as squeamish as Karras about accepting the frequent role of organized crime and gratuitous violence in smuggling.

Moreover, in an argument which rests heavily on drawing a dichotomy between state and society, Karras never really defines what he means by the two, or where he sees the distinction lying; this is a real loss for a subject area which opens up so many interesting avenues in the state vs. society debate. Although Karras does touch on the difficulties caused by those supposed to be enforcing the laws breaking them, perhaps his lack of nuance is caused by the examples he studies: largely cases where a distant imperial government sent out representatives to administer colonies or provinces, so a distinction between representatives of the central state and local communities is easier to see. We have the colonial eighteenth-century Caribbean, 1940s French Indochina, and the ‘imperial state’ of mid-nineteenth-century China with its Manchu ruling class. Perhaps considering smuggling occurring closer to the metropolis, where the dividing line between state and society is slightly harder to distinguish, might be helpful.

Karras’s second chapter is a digression. He states that the problem with the academic study of smuggling is that most people cannot distinguish smugglers from pirates. If this is a problem, the solution seems fairly simple: piracy and smuggling are distinct crimes, but the personnel involved were not always distinct. For instance we have examples of privateers-turned-pirates engaging in smuggling in the eighteenth-century English Channel. Karras tends both to over-complicate and over-simplify his answer. Without ever really defining piracy or smuggling, he asserts that the distinction lies in the personnel involved and the lack of violence in smuggling (both not always true), and the fact that piracy challenges the social order whereas smuggling does not – an assertion which does not fit hugely well with Karras’s ‘social crime’-type view of smuggling.
Instead of looking further into the assumptions he is making, Karras launches into a discussion of modern-day Somali pirates, a digression within a digression.

Karras is strongest in his third chapter, where he discusses smuggling from the perspective of political economy. His discussion, in broad terms, of the development of what Adam Smith termed ‘the mercantile system’ and its relationship with smuggling is interesting and an example of where a ‘Global History’ perspective works. The subsequent discussion of what various thinkers – from Bentham to Habermas – might have thought of smuggling is less helpful. His extrapolations on what Adam Smith and Marx might have said about smuggling often do not quite equate with what they actually said on the subject. Karras uses this to launch into the second part of his argument, which he expands on in his last two chapters. Here smuggling provides a sort of safety valve for the public to let off its free trade steam without having to rise in revolution against the state which restricts its freedom to ‘truck, barter, and exchange’, and as such has to some extent been tacitly allowed by states which ostensibly condemn it. This is one of the more thought-provoking ideas of the book, but Karras provides little historical evidence to support it, and indeed some historical states have proved remarkably successful in stamping out smuggling: for example nineteenth-century Britain.

Relatively little serious academic literature on the subject of smuggling has been published, and this attempt to look at the bigger picture is certainly welcome. However, what Karras has produced is rather disappointing: a book which takes a small number of examples, most of which the author is not particularly familiar with, and uses them to produce largely over-simplified generalizations which are ahistorical in the sense that they exist outside any particular time and place or the recognition that differences exist between locations and periods. ‘World
History’, despite its best intentions, is often disappointingly vague and hamstrung by the inability of anyone to be an expert in *everything*.

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Kelly J. Baker’s *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK’s Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* delivers an intriguing new approach to the standard account of the Ku Klux Klan’s reincarnation in the Jazz Age. Instead of providing a narrative of the Klan’s brief existence, Baker, a religious studies professor at the University of Tennessee, borrows from the field of ethnography to reconstruct the mentality of a citizen of the Invisible Empire. Baker presents the America of the 1920s through the eyes of a Klansman - covering practically every aspect of the Klan’s ideology, from their conceptualizations of nationalism to the role they ascribed to women. Throughout the study, Baker makes the case that the Klan’s commitment to Protestantism defined practically every other part of their mentality and ideology, a daring yet substantiated claim. To back up her arguments, Baker has completed a thorough analysis of the Klan’s official and national weekly, the *Imperial Night-Hawk*, and its replacement, the monthly magazine *The Kourier*.

Although there are notable exceptions, the results of Baker’s analysis are, for the most part, rather underwhelming. Her account of the mentality of the 1920s Klan is intended to be a break from the dominant trends in Klan historiography that recently have centred on microstudies at the state and county level; studies that emphasize the heterogeneous and ‘populist’ nature of the Invisible Empire. Though this bold departure from the dominant conventions is certainly a refreshing and welcome change to the subject, Baker has not addressed the issues that brought the historiography of the Klan to the microhistorical level in the first place. This microhistorical perspective has accounted for the substantial regional variations between Klans across the country, with detailed case studies by Shawn Lay or Leonard Moore showcasing the regional
identity of the various Klans. Baker disregards this approach, explaining that these variations are more indicative of regional character than anything else, but neither her research nor her evidence can really back up her case. Baker fails to address why the Klan was so different, for instance in Indiana in comparison to Texas; her account does not even outline the noticeable transformation the Klan underwent with the leadership coup of Hiram Wesley Evans in late 1922. Gospel According to the Klan fails to recognize the complexity of the Klan, perhaps because its research is predicated on only two of the Klan periodicals and neglects the wealth of evidence from other popular Klan newspapers, such as The Fiery Cross that held sway in the Klan strongholds of the Midwest.

Baker’s study is not entirely inadequate; it certainly provides a useful synthesis of the musings of Klansmen and Klanswomen for readers new to the subject. Understanding how the Invisible Empire’s citizens saw the world can be an arduous task, but Baker’s account provides an accessible account of the matter, freeing the reader from having to trawl through pages of repetitive Klan literature. More importantly, the anthropological methodology applied in this study has certainly produced an innovative account. Baker uses these methods to introduce the reader to the uncomfortable mentality of the Klan in an honest and uncompromising manner that allows the Klansmen and Klanswomen to speak for themselves, without dismissive or distortionary commentary on behalf of the historian.

Overall, Baker’s study is disappointing. Her anthropological approach seems promising, but the overall account offers little new to the subject. Basic mistakes, such as repeatedly referring to historian Stanley Coben as Stanley Cohen, or implying that General Nathan Bedford Forrest (1821-1877) was an officer in both the Reconstruction and 1920s Klan, certainly raise questions

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about the quality of the research in this study. Hopefully, the merits of this book will arouse curiosity in Baker's field of religious studies and widen interest in the history of the intriguing Ku Klux Klan.

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As a volume of essays on the history of modern Britain, *Classes, Cultures and Politics* both marks Ross McKibbin’s retirement and demonstrates the lasting influence of his work. In addition to forming a *Festschrift*, the stated purpose of the collection is firstly to build directly upon McKibbin’s contributions to the field and secondly to ‘illuminate the history of modern Britain’ through the use of innovative sources and approaches to the past. On both counts, *Classes, Cultures and Politics* undoubtedly succeeds.

As the book’s title suggests, the core collection of fourteen essays takes as its basis McKibbin’s work on modern British history, in particular his seminal *Classes and Cultures*. Yet while the essays are nominally divided into the titular categories of ‘Classes’, ‘Cultures’ and ‘Politics’ respectively, it is testament to McKibbin’s influence on the contributions that such divisions hardly seem necessary. The core collection is also supplemented by a series of contributions concerned with McKibbin directly. In an introductory essay charting McKibbin’s bibliographical record, Peter Ghosh presents a forceful case for the historiographical significance of McKibbin’s works, arguing that their approach and style ensure that they will continue to be read for a long time to come. Yet equally fascinating is Boyd Hilton’s biographical introduction, and the reflections of those other contributors who have known him; such contributions give a very real sense of the man behind the historian and, while perhaps incidental in the wider scheme of things, they undeniably add to the volume.

*Classes, Cultures and Politics* represents to a certain degree an extension of McKibbin’s work. Janet Howarth’s chapter on the culture of working-class women, for instance, directly follows on from
*Classes and Cultures*, assessing the changes and continuities which occurred in the decades after 1951. In a similar manner, Joseph McAleer builds upon McKibbin’s analysis of attitudes to the pre-war healthcare system through the exploration of literary sources, examining the use of the National Health Service as a setting in the romantic fiction of Mills & Boon. By making use of McKibbin’s approaches in this way, the contributors not only present the reader with a collection of highly interesting and engaging essays, but also underscore the sheer potential for further such research.

However, while building upon McKibbin’s contributions to the discipline, *Classes, Cultures and Politics* is by no means uncritical of his work. Andrzj Olechnowicz, for example, takes issue with McKibbin’s ascription of a ‘quasi-magical’ status to the monarchy; questioning McKibbin’s reliance on the works of Geoffrey Gorer and Kingsley Martin as evidence for a partly magical or sacred monarchy, Olechnowicz argues that such an interpretation fails to recognise the knowingness underlying the official languages of monarchy. Indeed, Olechnowicz is not the only contributor to question McKibbin’s use of Gorer. Peter Mandler, in his contribution, argues that Gorer’s *Exploring English Character* is essentially unsafe as evidence of British social attitudes, its findings having been predetermined by Gorer’s somewhat unorthodox assumptions about the problems of English society and their causes. Perhaps the most interesting critique of McKibbin’s work lies, however, in William Whyte’s chapter on the fiction of Richmal Crompton. Wholeheartedly embracing McKibbin’s use of Crompton as an observer of middle-class culture, Whyte then proceeds to convincingly argue that the Conservatism evident in Crompton’s work was not so much the largely negative construct identified by McKibbin in *Ideologies of Class*, but instead that of a middle class ‘unthreatened by modernity’. It is in this aspect, at once a critique and an expansion of McKibbin’s work, that the volume’s main strength lies.
If a criticism is to be levied at *Classes, Cultures and Politics*, it is perhaps that in its efforts to illuminate the history of modern Britain the lights shine too brightly and risk blinding the reader. The sheer diversity present within the collection, both in terms of subject matter and approach, undermines the book’s ability to present a coherent whole; each contribution shines its own spotlight on an aspect of Britain’s past, but no overarching viewpoint of modern Britain emerges. Its failure in this respect is, however, arguably the greatest quality of *Classes, Cultures and Politics*. If the volume simply used McKibbin’s approaches to provide a single, sweeping account of modern Britain, it would be entirely unnecessary; *Classes and Cultures* and *Parties and People* already exist, and are unlikely to benefit from simply being rewritten by other hands. Instead, *Classes, Cultures and Politics* serves as a complement to McKibbin’s work, developing his approaches while at the same time tempering his conclusions with a reaffirmation of modern Britain’s complexity. The result is a collection which leaves the reader with, if not so much an overview of modern British experience, a clear impression of how the study of modern British history looks set to develop over the coming years.

In summary, *Classes, Cultures and Politics* forms a particularly useful companion to McKibbin’s work and will be of immense value to the researcher of modern British history. In this sense, it serves as a truly fitting tribute to McKibbin’s career.

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Historians understand that a decade is always longer than ten years. This maxim is illustrated in Thomas Borstelmann’s new book, *The 1970’s: A New Global History from Civil Rights to Economic Inequality*. It begins in 1968 and ends sometime in the Eighties, during the Reagan Era. More importantly, the book makes a prior decade - the wild Sixties - peacefully evolve into the Seventies and beyond, and assumes that the decade following, the conservative Eighties, somehow discordantly and chaotically began in the Seventies.

*The 1970’s* is an intellectual adventure clearly anchored in U.S. history, although it enjoys moving along a ‘glocal’ (local communities thinking globally) narrative. Borstelmann envisions a retreat of politics from the international stage and the assurgency of free-market ideology all over the world. At the same time, individualism becomes a civic religion, and economic insecurity a permanent feature of mass culture. With this backdrop Borstlemann begins, in Chapter One, by examining both national and international crises, followed in the next chapter by focusing on the relationship between Civil Rights and U.S. democratic reform. Borstlemann wastes little time delving into free market ideology: discussing it on a local, state, and national level in Chapter Three, followed in the next chapter with the same free market ideology but on a global basis. Borstlemann concludes his book with a chapter on the resurgence of religious movements, especially the religious fundamentalism in the Muslim world of the Middle East and Christian evangelism in America. Finally, in Chapter Six, he proposes an articulated synthesis of increasing social equality and the mounting economic inequality of the Seventies.

Borstelmann’s underlying argument is that the Seventies were more important than historians realise. This is not a new argument. Historians such as Schulman (*The Seventies: The Great Shift in*
American Culture, Society, and Politics, and Berkowitz (Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies) both made the same arguments in their own right. Schulman affirmed the Seventies needed re-examination, pointing to a major shift of balance and power in American politics, culture, and economy; Berkowitz assumed the end of postwar economics and sceptical attitudes towards government’s ability to positively affect society were balanced by the successful protests of women, gays and lesbians, and people with disabilities in order to achieve greater legal rights and social recognition. Editor Dan Berger’s book The Hidden 1970s: Histories of Radicalism is a recent addendum to the list. At the same time, the reaction to these social movements as well as the issue of abortion gave birth to conservative religious organizations. Consequently, the Seventies were not a decade of transition, a grey interlude, but a time of renewal and regeneration.

Similarly, Borstelmann also argues that the 1970s are definitely not an “in-between” decade, but articulates his point in a more sophisticated way. His fundamental argument is that in the Seventies, the United States became a more inclusive and less equal society. In this decade, two unrelated trends shaped the American cultural mind-set and established themselves in the international stage - namely an increasing social inclusiveness and a rising economic inequality. Not coincidentally, the two characters portrayed on the cover page of the book are the leaders of the civil rights movement. Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., and the icon of the modern conservative movement, President Ronald Reagan.

How did this complex shift happen? Borstelmann explains that, because of the accumulating social frustration and disappointment caused by Vietnam War, economic downturn, and Watergate, faith in the private sector and the individual replaced trust in the federal government and society. Keynesian macroeconomic management retreated and the free market surged. At the same time, however, the same federal government and the state legislations retained the path of the previous decade and extended civil rights to women, people with disabilities, and racial
and ethnic minorities. As a result, democracy became more inclusive and opened its doors to new constituencies.

In search of a recognizable symbol of that decade, Borstelmann avoids the obvious, revealing a clear preference for the less obvious Jimmy Carter. A ‘man of his times,’ a contradiction in terms, an outsider in politics, and a Southerner with a taste for racial integration, Carter was a business man, and an egalitarian Democrat.¹ He was a free-market devotee and yet a conservative evangelical. According to Borstelmann, Carter ‘embodied the egalitarian, market-oriented individualism’ of the Seventies.² The first president to refer to himself as a ‘born-again Christian,’ the only president to appeal to the ecological conscience of his American fellows, the weak president of the Tehran hostage crisis, the idealistic president that appealed to the puritan tradition of selling to Americans a plan of austerity. In choosing Carter rather than Richard Nixon as the polar character of the Seventies, Borstelmann inevitably locates the focal point of the decade in the post-Vietnam, post-Watergate period.

The central thesis, more democracy and free market, creates a consistent narrative that has the disadvantage of minimising social crisis and the cultural damages of rising inequality. If anything is missing in the book, it is the desperation of a generation of minority people entrapped in a resurgent racial apartheid, the disillusion of the Vietnam veterans coming back home, and the frustration of a middle class at risk. If anything might be included in the book, perhaps it was the blood of the soldiers in Vietnam and the starvation of the poor at home. What Borstelmann sometimes describes as a barbeque party in the backyard was also a painful walk in the desert. That said, The 1970s. A new Global History from Civil Rights to Economic Inequality offers a masterful reconstruction of the main political events, principal characters, and cultural traits of the decade.

² Ibid., p. 273.
It is a compelling narrative of inclusion and inequality, the historical saga of a generation, and a remarkable addition to the growing body of literature focused on the Seventies.

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