

Ex Historia

Volume 6 ♦ (2014)

University of Exeter



Editorial Note

The 2014 volume of *Ex-Historia* comprises a series of high-quality, scholarly articles from postgraduate researchers in eight universities around the United Kingdom and Ireland. Every year, *Ex-Historia* continues to grow in reputation as an open access, peer-reviewed postgraduate journal. This is evidenced by the large number of submissions we continue to attract. In addition, the *Ex-Historia* symposia series, a platform for postgraduates to present their research to peers, has also evolved. Alongside individual papers and presentations, it now regularly includes multiple speaker colloquia and workshops that showcase the ongoing scholarly activities of postgraduate students attached to the vibrant research clusters within the University of Exeter, including the Medical Humanities, Global and Imperial history, and Modern Politics and Policy. Its success is due in no small part to the enthusiasm and dedication of our Communications Officer.

This volume combines an exciting range of subject matters, from the socio-political motives of castle construction in Medieval Sussex to the influences of trade union ideologies on the emergence of the Labour Party in Northampton at the turn of the twentieth century. We are particularly pleased by diversity of methodologies on display. This year's volume incorporates historical articles from postgraduates working within other fields of the Humanities, including English and Classics. This is representative of the increasing emphasis on interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary collaboration in academia. The book reviews section also provides specialist perspectives into current debates across the field of history.

Ex-Historia owes everything to the hard work of all individuals involved in the journal. These include members of the Editorial Team who were involved at every stage of the review process,

the Subject Editors who lent their time and expertise during the initial internal review, and the external reviewers who gave detailed, expert, and timely feedback. Most of all, we are grateful to the contributing authors for their continued dedication to publishing their excellent articles on the *Ex-Historia* open access platform.

We hope you enjoy this informative, interesting, and insightful volume.

Temilola Alanamu & Edward Taylor

Co-Editors, 2013-14



Symposia Report

Since the publication of our last edition, *Ex Historia* have run a termly postgraduate symposia series, with generous support from both the College of Humanities and History department at the University of Exeter. Participation is open to all, with the only requirement being that papers should have a historical focus; we have been especially delighted that colleagues from across the Humanities have presented throughout the course of the series. Before taking up the position of Co-editor, Edward Taylor ran the first series in the Spring term of 2013, which featured papers on topics ranging from 'Merchants and smugglers in South-east Scotland' to 'Gendered narratives in the trials of women accused of genocide in Rwanda'. This diversity in subjects continued into the Summer series of 2013, with papers such as 'Humanism, Protestantism and Capitalism: Tensions within Tudor Drama 1560-1580' sitting alongside 'Encountering the dead within Thietmar of Merseburg's chronicon: ghosts, visions and dreams of the afterlife in Ottonian Germany.'

The Summer series also played host to the first *Ex Historia* colloquium, aimed at exploring issues around the key research groupings of the University of Exeter, with four panellists adroitly addressing the expansion of the Medical Humanities. This successful first colloquium paved the way for further colloquia, with two fantastic and thought-provoking sessions on Imperial and Global History and Modern Politics and Policy, across the Autumn series of 2013 and the Spring series of 2014 respectively. Autumn's symposia saw a continued range of fascinating papers on the forward-thinking research of our participants, from 'Politics by numbers: What computers can and can't tell us about political rhetoric' to 'Using small finds data for temple sites in Roman Britain', before being rounded off by the engaging Imperial and Global colloquium addressing the question 'Imperial and Global History: A Marriage of Convenience?' The most recent

symposia series in the Spring term of 2014 played host to still more captivating papers, including 'From 'Mother of the Nation' to 'Lady Macbeth': Winnie Mandela and Perceptions of Female Violence in South Africa's Anti-Apartheid Struggle, 1985-1991' and 'It should have been called the College of Jude the Obscure': Ruskin College and Hardy's Idea of a University'. Finally, the Modern Politics and Policy colloquium welcomed Professor Richard Toye of Exeter's History department to introduce and contribute to an intellectually stimulating panel debate, which focussed on the question 'History, Politics and Policy: Unlikely Collaborators?'

The *Ex Historia* symposia series has become a well-appreciated and well-attended institution at the University of Exeter, as well as serving as a platform for the work of the journal. We thank all involved in the series throughout 2013-14 for providing such a great selection of papers and contributions, as well as continue to ask all who might be interested in presenting or attending not to hesitate to ask for further information. A further programme of symposia is planned for Summer 2014 and the journal year ahead, and we can only expect a similarly high standard of excellence in papers.

Phil Child

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Matthew Kidd¹

University of Nottingham

The Evolution of the Northampton Labour Party, 1888-1918

In its formative years, the British Labour Party was ideologically, culturally, and regionally diverse. The complex and fragmented nature of the party during this period has made the carrying out of local studies particularly important and existing work in this area has contributed to our understanding of the early relationships and experiences that helped to shape the ideological and organizational trajectory of a number of local parties.² Yet the evolution of the party in Northampton, historically seen as a 'Mecca of Radicalism', has been hitherto relatively neglected.³ Theses at both MA and PhD level have been written on certain aspects relating to the topic, such as the town's early socialists and trade unions, but these often offer one-sided accounts which fail to take into consideration the local and national context.⁴ Other works on the history of the Labour Party in Northampton, while useful, only briefly touch upon important developments prior to its formation in 1914.⁵

The work of Marie Dickie on the ideology of the Northampton Labour Party is, however, particularly valuable.⁶ Dickie's stress on the ideological importance of localism, or 'town

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² For examples see Mike Savage, *The Dynamics of Working-class Politics: The Labour Movement in Preston, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); David Clark, *Colne Valley, Radicalism to Socialism: The portrait of a Northern constituency in the formative years of the Labour Party 1890-1910* (London: Longman, 1981); Peter Wyncoll, *The Nottingham Labour Movement 1880-1939* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985); Peter Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Bill Lancaster, *Radicalism, Cooperation and Socialism: Leicester working-class politics 1860-1906* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1987); Andrew Thorpe, 'J.H. Thomas and the Rise of Labour in Derby 1880-1945', *Midland History*, 15 (1990), 111-28; Jon Lawrence, 'Popular politics and the limitations of party: Wolverhampton, 1867-1900', in *Currents of Radicalism: Popular radicalism, organised labour and party politics in Britain 1850-1914*, ed. by Eugenio F. Biagini and Alastair J. Reid (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 65-85.

³ *Northampton Mercury*, 22 July 1892. Lawrence, pp. 65-85.

⁴ For examples see John Buckell, 'The Early Socialists in Northampton 1886-1924' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Leicester, 1977); William Griffin, 'The Northampton Boot and Shoe Industry and its Significance for Social Change in the Borough from 1880 to 1914' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Cardiff, 1968).

⁵ For example, see George Atwell, 'The History of Northampton Labour Party 1914-1971' (unpublished manuscript, Northamptonshire Central Library, 1975).

⁶ Marie Dickie, 'The Ideology of the Northampton Labour Party in the Interwar Years' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Warwick, 1982); Marie Dickie, 'Town patriotism and the rise of Labour: Northampton 1918-1939' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 1987).

patriotism', to the local Labour Party is certainly convincing, at least for the inter-war period, and has influenced my own study. Furthermore, there is certainly some evidence that particularly local circumstances and peculiarities influenced the trade union and socialist organizations in Northampton even prior to the formation of a Labour Party in 1914, especially relating to the political and economic traditions of the town.⁷

Yet Dickie's analysis of the important developments in labour and socialist politics before 1914 suffers from imbalance. The role of socialist organizations in the formation of the Labour Party, while certainly important, is overemphasized, thus neglecting the equally important non-socialist contribution.⁸ Dickie's failure to engage with the extensive records of the Northampton 'Trades' Council between 1888 and 1914, a body which played an equally important role in forming a Labour Party and which was more representative than the socialist societies at the time, inevitably contributes to this one-sided analysis.⁹ As a result, while Dickie's work raises important questions, more extensive research is needed on the Northampton trade unions to determine how far 'town patriotism' existed before 1914, and what other factors influenced Labour politics during this period.

By situating the evolution of one of the local party's central components, the Northampton 'Trades' Council, within the wider historical scholarship of the development of Labour, this essay considers its complex relationship with local Liberalism, its changing attitude towards state intervention and its increased legitimization amongst political elites in the town. This article argues that although there were attitudinal continuities amongst trade unionists throughout this period, including a strong class independence and awareness, increasing disillusionment with the Liberal government from 1906 and the experiences of the war from 1914 should be considered turning points in the ideological and political evolution of the nascent Northampton Labour Party.

The experiences of the trade unionists and their organizations that would go on to form the local party must be placed in their industrial context. By 1888 the dominance of the boot and shoe

⁷ For example, Jon Lawrence argues 'preponderant occupational groups' such as Northampton's shoemakers 'were able to impose their strong organizational and political identities on the wider community'. See Lawrence, p. 66.

⁸ For example, Dickie suggests the Northampton Labour Party was created by socialist organizations. See Dickie, 'The Ideology of the Northampton Labour Party in the Interwar Years', Introduction.

⁹ For example, whereas the Northampton branch of the Social Democratic Party claimed a membership of 560 in 1909, by 1911 the trades' council represented 6,000 members. See Buckell, , p. 14; Northampton 'Trades' Council, *Annual Report 1915*, in NTC 3 (acc 1977/44), in Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO).

trade in Northampton had made it into a 'virtually one-industry town'.¹⁰ As a manufacturing centre, the town produced 'large quantities' of boots and shoes for the trade in London, the export market, and for the army and navy.¹¹ Between 1886 and 1895, the industry went through a number of changes which saw the growth in the number and size of factories and the concentration of workers into these establishments.¹² During this period, over half of the town's workforce was engaged in the trade, and even other Northampton industries such as printing and engineering relied on the shoe manufacturers for orders.¹³ An increase in demand after 1911 was further augmented during the First World War, when the industry prospered due to army contracts; Northampton became a 'boom town'.¹⁴

The dominance of the boot and shoe trade influenced the composition of local trade unionism. Northampton delegates were present at the foundation meeting of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Rivetters and Finishers (NUBSRF, later renamed the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives) and the town was the location of its first conference in 1874. However, it was not until the 1887 lock-out that the union's position began to improve in the town, as membership only then began to grow amongst the various grades of workers. Northampton-based officials also played an important role in the affairs of the national union; W. B. Hornidge, former president of the local branch in 1891, became General President and then General Secretary, eventually being replaced by Northampton-born E. L. Poulton in 1908.¹⁵

Although men dominated trade union affairs and politics both locally and nationally, the large numbers of women involved in the boot and shoe industry were not ignored. As early as 1892, organizing drives by the NUBSRF targeted women workers and encouraged them to join, and become speakers for, the union.¹⁶ By the end of 1911, when almost half of Northampton's population (both male and female) were employed in the trade, an estimated 1,200 women workers were members of the local NUBSO branches out of a total membership of 6,346.¹⁷ However, it was not until 1913 that the first female delegates were sent to the trades' council and

¹⁰ Henry Pelling, *Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 110.

¹¹ Alan Fox, *A History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives 1874-1957* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958), p. 12.

¹² Dickie, 'Town patriotism and the rise of Labour', pp. 24-5: Previously some of the processes involved in boot-making had been carried out at by 'outworkers' in their homes.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁴ Fox, p. 368.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 104, 258, 330.

¹⁶ National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives (NUBSO), *Monthly Reports 1891-92*, February 1892, in 547/P/1/8, in Warwick, Modern Records Centre (MRC), University of Warwick.

¹⁷ Dickie, 'The Ideology of the Northampton Labour Party in the Interwar Years', p. 8; *Northampton Mercury*, 22 September 1911; NUBSO, *Monthly Reports 1911*, December 1911, in MRC 547/P/1/27.

trade unionism continued to remain weak amongst women workers by 1916.¹⁸ During the war, the trades' council took an interest in the changing nature of women's work, who were now involved in jobs which had hitherto been restricted to men, and encouraged those outside the union to join and agitate for an equal wage.¹⁹ However, agreements between unions and employers relating to female labour were often intended as temporary, and varied opinions were expressed as to women's role after the war.²⁰

It was the local NUBSRF that had played the central role in forming a trades' council, a body intended as encompassing representatives of various trade union societies, in the aftermath of the 1887 lock-out.²¹ Initially the council was concerned primarily with supporting strikes morally and financially, unionising workers in surrounding areas, and writing letters to local politicians and newspapers.²² Dominated financially and numerically by the NUBSRF branches, the trades' council's membership fluctuated until 1911-12, when it began to steadily rise to over 15,000 by 1915.²³ It was during this period of growth that the trades' council, despite its initial tendency towards the Liberals and its apathy towards the national Labour party, worked with the town's two socialist societies to form a Labour Party in 1914.²⁴

¹⁸ NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 15 January 1913, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44); *Northampton Mercury*, 29 September 1916: The National Federation of Women Workers complained of the lack of organised women in the town.

¹⁹ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 22 March 1916, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44); *Northampton Mercury*, 26 November 1915: For example, female labour was used in the preparing, checking and rough-stuff departments of the boot and shoe trade from which they had been 'entirely barred' before the war.

²⁰ For example, at a meeting organised by the trades' council in 1916, one trade unionist argued that although priority should be given to the men whose place had been filled, a guarantee of other employment for the women should be given. See NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 22 March 1916, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

²¹ *Northampton Mercury*, 12 January 1889: As well as the NUBSRF, the Amalgamated Engineers, Amalgamated Railway Servants, Typographical Association, Amalgamated Cordwainers (men and women's branches), Stonemasons, Amalgamated Carpenters, Plumbers and the National Union of Life Insurance Agents were represented at a preliminary meeting.

²² *Northampton Mercury*, 19 October 1889.

²³ Out of 15,870 affiliated members in 1915, 10,971 (69%) were members of the NUBSO. Furthermore, the total income from affiliation fees was £61.2s.6d., with £33.6s.8d. (55%) provided by the NUBSO branches.

Inconsistencies between the membership lists and the statement of accounts in the 1915 annual report explain the discrepancy between percentages. For example, although the National Union of Railwaymen affiliated on a membership of just 1,000 (6%) it was contributing £6.19s.6d. (11%) of the total affiliation fees. See Northampton Trades' Council, *Annual Report 1915*, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc 1977/44).

²⁴ *Northampton Mercury*, 24 October 1890: The local Liberals were even accused of being dominated by the trades' council at the 1890 municipal elections; Northampton Trades' Council (NTC), *Minute Book 16.7.1913-12.7.1916*, 21 October 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc 1977/44): The town's socialist organizations were the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), a Marxist-influenced organization formed in 1886, and the Independent Labour Party (ILP), formed in 1908; Victor Hatley, *Shoemakers in Northamptonshire 1762-1911: A Statistical Survey* (Northampton: Northampton Historical Series, 1971): At the time of the 1911 census, there were 16,961 shoemakers in the Borough of Northampton (male and female) of whom 4,516 were members of the NUBSO (27%). However, trade union membership had almost doubled by 1915.

The relatively late arrival of a unified Labour Party in the town owes much to the continued influence of Liberalism on the town's workers. During the period covered in this article, Northampton was predominantly a one-party town. The almost uninterrupted Liberal success at parliamentary elections between 1880 and 1923 (see Table 1.1), although not matched with consistent control of the municipal council, was partly based on the prevalence of Nonconformism in Northampton.²⁵ Although there was also a tradition of secularism in the town, developed during the struggles to elect the atheist Charles Bradlaugh in the 1880s and continued by the local branch of the socialist Social Democratic Federation (SDF), the political hegemony of Liberalism over a large bulk of local trade unionists continued until 1918 at least.²⁶

²⁵ Pelling, *Social Geography of British Elections*, p. 110.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 110; *Northampton Mercury*, 3 January 1919: The defeated Labour candidate in the 1918 Northampton Parliamentary election admitted that the Coalition candidate's victory was based on the working-class vote.

Total votes gained at Northampton parliamentary elections, 1880-1929

<i>Year</i>	<i>Liberal</i>	<i>Conser.</i>	<i>SDF</i>	<i>Labour</i>	<i>MPs</i>
1880	7,985	5,978	-	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Bradlaugh (Lib)
1881 (B)	3,437	3,305	-	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Bradlaugh (Lib)
1882 (B)	3,796	3,688	-	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Bradlaugh (Lib)
1884 (B)	4,032	3,664	-	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Bradlaugh (Lib)
1885	9,160	3,890	-	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Bradlaugh (Lib)
1886	8,923	7,306	-	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Bradlaugh (Lib)
1891 (B)	5,436	3,723	-	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Manfield (Lib)
1892	10,601	6,886	-	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Manfield (Lib)
1895	10,848*	7,214	1,216	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Drucker (Con)
1900	10,718	8,602	-	-	Labouchère (Lib) and Shipman (Lib)
1906	8,708	8,048	5,010	-	Paul (Lib) and Shipman (Lib)
1910 (J)	10,687	9,033	3,489	-	Lees-Smith (Lib) and McCurdy (Lib)
1910 (D)	12,204	9,435	-	-	Lees-Smith (Lib) and McCurdy (Lib)
1918†	18,010	-	-	10,735	McCurdy (Coalition Lib)
1920 (B)	16,650	-	-	13,279	McCurdy (Coalition Lib)
1922	23,727‡	-	-	14,493	McCurdy (National Lib)
1923	11,342	11,520	-	15,556	Bondfield (Lab)
1924	9,436	16,097	-	15,046	Holland (Con)
1928 (B)	9,584	14,616	-	15,173	Malone (Lab)
1929	11,054	20,177	-	22,356	Malone (Lab)

*The Liberal total includes the votes for an independent Liberal candidate.

†Northampton became a one-member constituency in 1918.

‡The Liberal total includes the votes for an independent Liberal candidate.

However, the religiosity of the Northampton working-class should not be exaggerated. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the expansion of churches and chapels in the town suggests that Northampton experienced a 'golden age' of religious fervour, and it was still considered the 'most Puritan town in England' when Bradlaugh made his first visit in 1859.²⁷ Yet although Nonconformism was certainly stronger than the Anglicanism in Northampton, there is evidence

²⁷ Griffin, pp. 152-53; Fergus D'Arcy, 'Charles Bradlaugh and the World of Popular Radicalism, 1833-1891', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 1978), p. 302: During the 20 years after 1868, 4 churches, several mission churches, and 16 to 18 chapels were erected or acquired.

to suggest that a general lack of interest in religion was more prevalent amongst the town's residents, especially within the working-class.²⁸ On a Sunday in November 1881, only 26% of Northampton's population went to public worship, suggesting that Christianity was a declining force.²⁹ Vicars in the town complained of a wide range of attitudes and behaviour within predominantly working-class parishes, ranging from general indifference to 'disgraceful rowdiness' towards evangelists.³⁰ Shoemakers in particular gained a reputation for their poor behaviour, and in 1881 one vicar claimed that Northampton as a whole was simply 'not Christianised'.³¹ One must be wary, therefore, of overemphasising the importance of religious influence upon voting patterns in Northampton at this time, especially amongst working-class electors.

The continuing popularity of Liberalism amongst the town's industrial workers placed advocates of independent labour politics in a difficult situation. There was little desire amongst the bulk of Northampton's workers, especially before 1910, for a break with the local Liberals who, on the whole, shared their radical views. Duncan Tanner has argued that in southern, Liberal strongholds such as Northampton and Bristol, the newly-formed Labour parties merely 'replicated the bulk of the Liberals' proposals' while also offering support to groups who sought state-based remedies to their problems.³² During this period, if 'Labour was only really successful where the Liberals failed to live up to their radical capabilities', then it is understandable why independent labour candidates in Northampton struggled to break voters away from their traditional allegiances.³³

The complex relationship between Liberalism and the labour movement was not confined to Northampton. In the period prior to the First World War, the national Labour Party's position in relation to the Liberals has been characterised as 'one of humiliating dependence'.³⁴ Throughout this era, a number of developments underlined the continuing influence of Liberalism on the British labour movement; the co-operative movement continued to disassociate itself from the Labour Party, large minorities of members of the largest unions had voted to remain politically

²⁸ D'Arcy, 'Charles Bradlaugh and the World of Popular Radicalism, 1833-1891', pp. 302-3.

²⁹ D'Arcy, 'Charles Bradlaugh and the World of Popular Radicalism, 1833-1891', p. 304.

³⁰ Griffin, p. 155: A Salvationist claimed Northampton was the 'worse town as regards behaviour I have ever visited'.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

³² Duncan Tanner, *Political change and the Labour party, 1900-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 286.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

³⁴ Ross McKibbin, 'James Ramsay MacDonald and the Problem of the Independence of the Labour Party, 1910-1914', *The Journal of Modern History*, 42:2 (1970), 216-235 (p. 219).

neutral, and the powerful Miners' Federation continued to favour a hybrid Liberal-Labour ideology.³⁵

There has also been a suggestion that the Liberal and Labour parties were linked ideologically, especially with respect to the New Liberal ideology which influenced a number of welfare programmes associated with the Liberal governments after 1906, including health and unemployment insurance.³⁶ For Michael Freedon, the influence of this intellectual tendency saw 'the basic tenets of liberalism [...] fundamentally reformulated in a crucial and decisive manner'. Furthermore, the ideological similarities between New Liberalism and Labour suggests that 'the split between Liberalism and Labour was not a question of creeds or programmes'.³⁷

Yet despite these apparent similarities, there was an 'increasing opposition to the Lib-Lab alliance' within sections of the Labour Party prior to the war, the culmination of which changed the nature of British politics.³⁸ Numerous attempts have been made to understand the split between Liberalism and Labour, each with their own distinctive approach and method.³⁹ As Matthew Worley has convincingly argued, the 'differences of emphasis' between social and political approaches to the question 'will no doubt continue indefinitely'. While accepting that challenges have successfully discredited any deterministic reading of Labour's growth, Worley has instead proposed a synthesis of both approaches which would see the 'relationship between social-economics, politics, cultures and the individual as a fluid, multifarious interaction in which a complex range of factors both fed off and affected one another'.⁴⁰

It is this 'multifarious' method which has informed the approach taken in this essay to the Party's evolution in Northampton. Applying this strategy has revealed a number of continuities in class-based attitudes within the trades' council between 1888 and 1918. A number of developments throughout the period, including a growing desire for labour representation and political

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-21.

³⁶ James Hinton, *Labour and Socialism: A History of the British Labour Movement 1867-1974* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1983), p. 96; Peter Dewey, *War and Progress: Britain 1914-1945* (Harlow: Longman, 1997), pp. 10-11.

³⁷ Michael Freedon, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 1.

³⁸ Ian Taylor, 'Ideology and policy', in *The Labour Party: An Introduction to its history, structure and politics*, ed. by Chris Cook and Ian Taylor (London: Longman, 1980), pp. 1-31 (p. 6).

³⁹ For an overview of the historiography on this topic see Matthew Worley, *Labour Inside the Gate: A History of the British Labour Party between the Wars* (London: Tauris, 2005), pp. 1-18. For class-based interpretations, see Ross McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party 1910-1924* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983). For challenges to this analysis, see Tanner. For a more recent analysis see Martin Pugh, *Speak For Britain! A New History of the Labour Party* (London: Bodley Head, 2010), pp. 100-114.

⁴⁰ Worley, p. 6.

disillusionment with the Liberal government, acted as catalysts for the full break with the Liberal Party. These events and developments supplemented, rather than transformed, already-existing class-related attitudes amongst organised workers.

Even prior to the formation of a local Labour Party, Northampton Liberals consistently appealed to these class-based attitudes. Despite the class divisions within the Liberal Party itself, which Liberals attempted to downplay and deny when appealing to workers, there was still often political unity between organised labour and the Party.⁴¹ For a Liberal candidate in the 1890 local elections, his economic status was not the main determinant; he claimed he was *not* standing on a class basis. The candidate's appeals for a 'commonwealth' of all, and for relatively progressive policies and sympathy for the poor, were supported by the local trades' council and the local NUBSRF, despite his position as a shoe manufacturer and an employer.⁴²

This attitude was further expressed by a journalist writing in the Liberal-leaning *Northampton Mercury*, who argued that 'Liberalism knows nothing of class. It only judges a man by his political creed and conduct'.⁴³ In fact, there was little difference politically between the local Liberals and the trades' council at this time. Liberal attitudes towards House of Lords reform, municipal control of monopolies, and an eight hour day for municipal employees were all shared by the trades' council.⁴⁴ As early as 1890, trades' council delegates were elected to the local municipal council with Liberal support and local Liberal journalists consistently emphasised their agreement with most socialistic proposals.⁴⁵ A Liberal and labour alliance was regularly encouraged in the local press and this relatively close relationship even led to accusations that the Liberals were being dominated by the trade unions of the town.⁴⁶

Despite this political unity, the Liberals, including working-men members, sought to downplay the importance of class; politics, it was argued, was the dividing line between people. In an

⁴¹ In 1891, the Liberals put forward two candidates at the municipal elections; Daniel Stanton, a trade unionist, and Henry Wooding, a shoe manufacturer. The candidates had sat on opposite sides of the negotiating table during boot and shoe disputes; a clear example of the class alliance nature of the local Liberals. See Dickie, 'Town patriotism and the rise of Labour', p. 52.

⁴² *Northampton Mercury*, 22 August 1890: John Maddy, a former worker-turned-employer who believed that 'Liberalism could do all that was practicable in Socialism'.

⁴³ *Northampton Mercury*, 24 October 1890.

⁴⁴ *Northampton Mercury*, 16 March 1893; *Northampton Mercury*, 26 October 1889.

⁴⁵ *Northampton Mercury*, 7 November 1890; *Northampton Mercury*, 03 November 1893: The Mercury ran through the SDF programme and argued that the Radicals supported the municipalisation of monopolies and an 8 hour day for municipal employees once trade unions adopted it, but opposed municipalisation of the hospital, the setting up of municipal bakeries and coal stores and was vague on payment of elected officials.

⁴⁶ *Northampton Mercury*, 11 June 1894; *Northampton Mercury*, 24 October 1890.

election speech in 1890, Daniel Stanton, a working-man candidate for the Liberals, argued that 'capital and labour together made England what it is, so the middle and working classes on the council could work together for the common good'.⁴⁷ A fellow working-man candidate, Fred Inwood, also argued that until 'they got the Socialist ideal [...] the interest of the middle-class - the distributors - and the working class - the producers - must be identical'.⁴⁸ These statements neatly summarise the attitude amongst many Liberal members of the trades' council at the time; there was an acceptance of economic divisions based on class, but this was combined with a genuine desire for joint action 'for the common good'.

However, the issue of direct labour representation on political bodies in and around Northampton became a divisive issue for both the Liberal associations and trades' councils. Throughout 1894 two independent labour members were elected to the municipal council in nearby Kettering, the trades' council in Northampton discussed standing its own candidates in municipal elections, and a Labour Electoral Association was formed in Wellingborough for the same purpose.⁴⁹ From officially denying the importance of class and promoting a united, progressive party, the Northampton Liberal organizations responded to these demands by accepting that labour organizations, such as unions and trades' councils, desired to be represented by members of their own class.

The 'shoe war' throughout the boot and shoe industry in 1895 also appears to have influenced the attitudes of trade unionists towards labour representation.⁵⁰ The Manufacturers' Federation, frustrated by union policies with regards to new machinery, arbitration, and illegal strikes, issued a set of 'commandments' aimed at reaffirming employers' rights in the management of factories.⁵¹ Rejected as 'illegal, unjust, unworkable [and] unpractical' by the union executive, a lock-out involving nearly 50,000 workers throughout the country was underway by March 1895.⁵² In Northampton, the militancy of the boot and shoe workers corresponded with

⁴⁷ *Northampton Mercury*, 17 October 1890: Stanton was a NUBSRF delegate to, and one-time president of, the trades' council from 1888 to 1913.

⁴⁸ *Northampton Mercury*, 17 October 1890: By 1890, Inwood had served as president of the Northampton branch of the NUBSRF, as the first chairman of the trades' council, and as a member of the executive of the Liberal and Radical organization in the town.

⁴⁹ *Northampton Mercury*, 2 February 1894; *Northampton Mercury*, 05 October 1894; *Northampton Mercury*, 28 December 1894.

⁵⁰ *Northampton Mercury*, 05 April 1895.

⁵¹ Fox, p. 221.

⁵² *Northampton Mercury*, 25 January 1895; Fox, p. 227.

radicalization of the trades' council.⁵³ A May Day demonstration alongside the local SDF was organised by the trades' council, a rare example of friendship between socialists and non-socialists at this time, and resolutions were passed unanimously in favour of collective ownership.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the trades' council decided to stand independent candidates *against* the Liberals in the municipal elections.⁵⁵ Even former Liberal councillors seemed to be inspired by this increased militancy; Stanton, formerly a Liberal local election candidate and leading NUBSRF trade unionist in the town, was singled out by the Manufacturers' Federation for saying employers would go to hell if they could get a pair of boots cheaper.⁵⁶

Local Liberals sought to keep the demand for labour representation within the confines of the Party, and were largely successful in doing so, by selecting a trade unionist to stand in the two-member Northampton parliamentary constituency during the dispute in 1895. Initially, two potential candidates were proposed, one of which was the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, Edward Harford. Politics was certainly not the dividing line between the candidates, as it was accepted that the two shared similar viewpoints. Yet some delegates at the selection meeting supported Harford's adoption for the simple reason that he was a working-man candidate.⁵⁷

The significance of class, even to local Liberals, can be seen clearly in the election campaigns of Harford and the sitting member Henry Labouchère. Harford's speeches prioritised class appeals over politics, and stressed his desire to represent the class who did not have the appropriate representation for their numbers.⁵⁸ Labouchère, although not claiming to be a working-man, still made use of class appeals in his addresses; the Conservatives should be removed from power because they were an aristocratic government, led by aristocrats who believed the aristocracy should rule.⁵⁹

⁵³ Dickie has argued that despite the 'major defeat' of 1895, Northampton trade unionists were 'now more ready' to support the SDF. See Marie Dickie, 'Liberals, Radicals and Socialists in Northampton before the Great War', *Northamptonshire Past & Present*, 8:1 (1983-84), 51-54 (p. 54).

⁵⁴ *Northampton Mercury*, 10 May 1895: For relations between trade unionists and socialists in Northampton during this period, see Dickie, 'Liberals, Radicals and Socialists in Northampton before the Great War', pp. 51-54.

⁵⁵ *Northampton Mercury*, 13 September 1895.

⁵⁶ *Northampton Mercury*, 5 April 1895.

⁵⁷ *Northampton Mercury*, 14 September 1894: The other candidate was John Robertson, who went on to stand as an independent Liberal candidate in the subsequent election. For more on Harford's candidature see Philip S. Bagwell, *The Railwaymen: A History of the National Union of Railwaymen* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1963), pp. 199-202.

⁵⁸ *Northampton Mercury*, 12 July 1895.

⁵⁹ *Northampton Mercury*, 12 July 1895: The meeting at which he made this statement was large and representative, with both Socialists and Conservatives in attendance.

Despite their difference in social standing, in political terms the two candidates were both advanced Liberals or Radicals. Yet while the political viewpoints of the candidates were undoubtedly important for the Liberals, these were often mentioned alongside class-related appeals. Class and independent labour demands were becoming a reality in local politics, but at this stage trade unions and other labour organizations were content to work alongside Liberals and, through them, members of other classes. Liberal-supporting journalists felt confident in this alliance and often sought to convince workers 'of the futility of trying to get adequate representation upon public bodies without co-operation with their friends, the Liberals'.⁶⁰

However, by 1900 there was no single, unified progressive party in a number of Northamptonshire towns. Splits between Liberals and independent labour candidates had occurred in Wellingborough, Rushden and Kettering throughout the 1890s, mostly in local electoral contests only.⁶¹ Trades' councils and union bodies had, on a number of occasions, considered the idea of running independent labour candidates to challenge both Liberals and Conservatives, and in some cases had gone through with the idea.⁶² Despite the political allegiance of many workers and leading labour men in the towns to the local Liberal associations, there was a feeling of political and class independence that united the trades' council. Any candidate, Liberal or independent, who wished to be elected by the workmen of these towns had to consistently stress their class credentials and their programme for improving the lives of the workers. A resolution which prohibited the council from allying with any political party enshrined this principle of political independence into the rulebook in 1898.⁶³

If the decade prior to 1900 only contained within it the seed of the future estrangement, then it was throughout the period leading up to 1918 that the full fracture between Liberalism and Labour occurred.⁶⁴ From 1900 onwards, the Northampton trades' council started to move more consistently away from the Liberals and began to confidently assert its independence. Resolutions were passed in support of various policies and bills emanating from the national

⁶⁰ *Northampton Mercury*, 4 March 1898.

⁶¹ *Northampton Mercury*, 30 November 1894; *Northampton Mercury*, 28 December 1894; *Northampton Mercury*, 29 March 1895.

⁶² *Northampton Mercury*, 18 May 1894: At the annual conference of the NUBSRF in 1894, the General Secretary William Inskip complained of the poor relationship between Liberalism and labour in Northampton. He had intended to speak at a Liberal meeting but was prevented from doing so due to the trades' council stance on political neutrality, much to his frustration.

⁶³ NTC, *Minute Book 29.5.1895-26.9.1909*, 16 February 1898, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc 1977/44).

⁶⁴ After all, Northampton continued to elect Liberal MPs until 1923. See Dickie, 'Town patriotism and the rise of Labour', p. 165.

Labour Party as early as 1903, and further praise was offered to the Party's MPs due to their action on the Trades Disputes Bill.⁶⁵ The trades' council's advice to electors in the 1906 general election was to ignore the Liberals and vote for 'the only two trade union candidates before the constituency' and a resolution explaining the council's disappointment with the failure of the Liberals to pass an Old Aged Pensions Act, whilst also endorsing the stand taken by the Labour Party, was passed in 1907.⁶⁶ Revealingly, a letter listing those MPs who voted for and against Labour's Unemployed Workmen's Bill was met with surprise by the council in April 1908, as it showed that Dr John Shipman, one of the two the local Liberal MPs, had sided with the majority voting *against* it.⁶⁷

Further disappointment was increasingly expressed by delegates towards the relative moderation of Liberal reforms, with one delegate suggesting that David Lloyd George 'did not understand the needs of the workers'.⁶⁸ The reaction of the trades' council to Winston Churchill's circular on civilian police and the formation of police reserves in industrial disputes led one local journalist to suggest that 'the absolute cleavage of Liberalism and Labour cannot long be delayed'.⁶⁹ At a meeting to discuss the issue, one leading council member argued that 'from the evasive replies of Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons it was quite clear Trade Unionists must take care of their own interests'.⁷⁰

This independent spirit was most clearly expressed in the trades' council's decision to rescind a resolution prohibiting it from carrying out political action separate to the two main parties and the agreement to form a local Labour Party in 1912.⁷¹ The suggestion to remove this resolution from the minute books came from the council's secretary, F. O. Roberts, a member of the local Independent Labour Party (ILP) and a consistent advocate of the formation of a local Labour Party.⁷² Although local unions had already affiliated to the national Party, a local committee,

⁶⁵ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 21 January 1903, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc 1977/44); NTC, *Annual Report 1906*: 'The thanks of all trade union members are due to Labour Members'.

⁶⁶ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 28 December 1905, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc 1977/44): These candidates were also members of the SDF.

⁶⁷ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 19 June 1907; NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 15 April 1908; both in NRO, NTC 1 (acc 1977/44).

⁶⁸ NTC, *Minute Book 20.10.1909-15.7.1913*, 25 July 1911, in Northampton, NRO, NTC 2 (acc 1977/44).

⁶⁹ Attached to NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 20 September 1911, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44).

⁷⁰ Attached to NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 15 November 1911, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44).

⁷¹ NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 11 August 1911; NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 20 March 1912; both in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44).

⁷² NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 11 August 1911, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44): After a failed attempt to form an ILP in the town in the 1890s, a new branch was formed in 1908 and quickly gained an influence on the trades' council. Its authority over the newly formed local Labour Party after 1914 led to the adoption of one of its own members

composed of the trades' council, the ILP, and the BSP (the British Socialist Party, formerly the SDF), was finally formed in Northampton in 1914.⁷³

It would certainly be incorrect to suggest there was a linear, painless progression from Liberalism to Labour for the organised workers in and around Northampton; the pattern of development of both parties in a number of towns was uneven. Some organizations, initially set up to further the cause of labour representation, united with Liberals for electoral contests later on.⁷⁴ Furthermore, some union leaders who had challenged Liberals in contests went on to stand for them.⁷⁵ However, the full organizational split in the progressive party in Northampton had officially been declared by the outbreak of the war, as it had been in many other historically Liberal constituencies throughout the country.

For example, a Labour Party was formed in the East Northamptonshire constituency and, despite being represented by the future Labour MP Leo Chiozza Money, put forward an NUBSO member as candidate in the December 1910 general election.⁷⁶ Further afield, the labour movement in another footwear centre, Leicester, had broken with Liberalism in the 1890s, both organizationally and ideologically.⁷⁷ Despite similarities with Northampton, such as a shared heritage of dissent, an NUBSO-dominated trades' council and a historic reputation for radicalism, Leicester elected a James Ramsay Macdonald as Labour MP in 1906.⁷⁸ In Bristol, where an independent Labour League had been established as early as 1885, an NUBSO candidate unsuccessfully challenged the sitting Liberal MP in January 1910.⁷⁹ In the Colne Valley, where trade unionism was historically weak, an independent Labour candidate was elected in a

as the Labour candidate in 1918 instead of the NUBSRF candidate. Roberts became Labour MP for West Bromwich in 1918. See *Northampton Mercury*, 1 January 1909; *Northampton Mercury*, 5 July 1918.

⁷³ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 21 October 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

⁷⁴ A good example is in Rushden, where the Labour Party, formed in 1894 to challenge both parties locally, worked electorally alongside the Liberals in 1900. See *Northampton Mercury*, 30 November 1894; *Northampton Mercury*, 11 May 1900.

⁷⁵ *Northampton Mercury*, 27 October 1899: Stanton, who was originally on the local Liberal and Radical Union executive and stood as a labour candidate with their support between 1888 and 1891. He stood as an SDF candidate in the 1893 elections before rejoining the Liberals and winning a council seat for them in 1899. A dislike of the SDF, expressed consistently during the negotiations to form the local Labour Party, remained with him until the last years of his life. See newspaper report attached to NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 29 April 1914.

⁷⁶ *Northampton Mercury*, 16 December 1910.

⁷⁷ Lancaster, pp. 115-16.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁷⁹ *Bristol Observer*, 22 January 1910.

1907 in a three-cornered contest.⁸⁰ Furthermore, this experience was shared in other northern constituencies such as Bradford, Halifax, Homfirth, Huddersfield, and Keighley.⁸¹

To understand the split in Northampton, it is necessary to take a long-term look at the period between 1888 and 1918. The idea of a single, unified progressive party seemed to be, at best, wishful thinking on the part of the Liberals by 1900. Any alliance between organised labour and Liberalism by 1900 in Northampton was just that: an *alliance* of separate, but politically similar, movements.⁸² This association continued as long as local Liberalism retained its radical and 'advanced' characteristics. However, leading up to the First World War, there was a growing sense within labour organizations that Liberalism was not an effective method of achieving their own, independent goals; trades' councils became more confident in refusing co-operation with the Liberals and acting alone in the political sphere. Disillusionment with Liberalism went hand in hand with, and was in fact influenced by, a greater awareness on the part of the labour organizations of the need for independent methods and solutions.

The evolution in the relationship between local Liberals and the trade unions took place alongside a growing legitimization of trade unionists in the town, and the increasing influence of socialists within the labour movement. These developments were not unique to Northampton; from its foundation as a small party committed to sectional interests in 1900, the growth of the national Labour Party eventually allowed it, through the war years, to gain 'significant footholds...within the wartime operations of the state'.⁸³ The wartime government's need for industrial co-operation, combined with trade unions' increasing role within the economy and government, led to an acknowledgement of labour amongst political elites which contributed to Labour's increased share of the vote at the 1918 election.⁸⁴

After its formation, the trades' council's lack of size and influence was matched by the newly formed local branch of the SDF, who also had delegates on the trades' council. Relations were initially poor between the two organizations. During a discussion on a proposed May Day demonstration in 1892, the council decided to stand on a separate platform to the SDF as a

⁸⁰ Clark, p. 157.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁸² NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 28 October 1892, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc. 1977/44): The division between Liberalism and an embryonic 'Labour Party' was acknowledged as early as 1892.

⁸³ Hinton, p. 102.

⁸⁴ Larry G. Gerber, 'Corporatism in Comparative Perspective: The Impact of the First World War on American and British Labor Relations', *The Business History Review*, 62:1 (1988), 93-127 (p. 99).

number of trade unionists refused to co-operate with them.⁸⁵ The formation of an ILP in the town was also met with suspicion, with one delegate wondering what this organization was, as he 'knew of no other Labour party except the organised trade unions and their councils [...he] considered that council to be the labour party of Northampton (Hear, hear)'.⁸⁶ A proposal from an SDF delegate from the local NUBSRF to rescind the ban on the trades' council's neutrality led to a heated discussion, with one delegate suggesting that the socialists would not be happy until they had a dictatorship on the council.⁸⁷ Another delegate reminded members that they should represent their societies, not 'outside' organizations that had nothing to do with them.⁸⁸ Although some attempts were made to reconcile the various socialist and labour organizations in the town, a feeling of distrust characterised their relations throughout the 1890s.⁸⁹

Despite this, trade unionists continued to stand for, and sometimes win, elections to local governing bodies in nearby towns such as Wellingborough, Kettering, and Rushden throughout the 1890s.⁹⁰ Northampton trades' council members were appointed governors of a local grammar school and demanded representation as trustees of a local hospital charity.⁹¹ The efforts of the council in relieving distress caused by unemployment in 1901 further gained it legitimacy amongst political leaders in the town, with the Liberal Mayor agreeing with its proposals to alleviate suffering amongst the unemployed.⁹²

Relations between the socialists and trades' council also improved between 1900 and 1914. After an initial period of reluctance, the trades' council began to attend and organise May Day parades alongside the SDF in 1906.⁹³ The trades' council approved of some SDF election candidates (as long as they were trade unionists) and an SDF member was unanimously elected president of the council in 1908.⁹⁴ Various SDF initiatives were also discussed and supported at trades' council

⁸⁵ *Northampton Mercury*, 18 March 1892.

⁸⁶ *Northampton Mercury*, 28 October 1892: This early attempt to form an ILP failed. A new branch was formed in 1908.

⁸⁷ *Northampton Mercury*, 30 November 1894.

⁸⁸ *Northampton Mercury*, 30 November 1894: After 1895 the SDF began to gain an influence within the two branches of the NUBSRF. See Dickie, 'Town patriotism and the rise of Labour', p. 42.

⁸⁹ *Northampton Mercury*, 07 April 1893.

⁹⁰ *Northampton Mercury*, 30 November 1894.

⁹¹ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 29 June 1896; NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 30 June 1897; both in NRO, NTC 1 (acc. 1977/44).

⁹² *Northampton Mercury*, 18 October 1901.

⁹³ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 18 April 1906, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc. 1977/44).

⁹⁴ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 18 November 1908, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc. 1977/44): W.B. Johnson replaced E.L. Poulton as president in 1908. The two SDF parliamentary candidates in 1906 were James Gribble, a local NUBSRF member, and Jack Williams, an SDF organiser. For more on Gribble and Williams, see Martin Crick, *The History of the Social-Democratic Federation* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1994), pp. 305, 318.

meetings during this period, and joint action was taken to hold a local plebiscite on a proposed 'Feeding of Necessitous Children Act' in 1910.⁹⁵

The period leading up to the First World War was characterised as increasing the 'vitality of the trade union movement' in the town, with the formation of new unions, the growth of the trades' council, and the election of a number of SDF, ILP, and trades' council candidates to the town council.⁹⁶ There were also preliminary discussions over the formation of a consolidated Labour organization representing both socialists and the trades' council.⁹⁷ In fact, the failure to form such a body earlier was not due to a lack of desire on the part of the trades' council and the trade unionists; if it were not for the SDF's intransigence over its election candidates, it may well have been created earlier.⁹⁸

Despite the improved nature of the relationship, the foundation conferences of the consolidated Labour Party were heated affairs, with various delegates participating in animated discussions over the name, aims, and organizational structure of the new body.⁹⁹ Even though proposals to commit the new party to a socialistic programme were rejected, the socialist bodies and the trades' council continued to work together inside and outside the new party. However, with the growth in trade union membership in the town, the relative strength of the SDF (renamed the Social Democratic Party, and then the British Socialist Party) within trade unions began to decline, expressed most clearly in their failure to capture the presidency of the trades' council in both 1911 and 1914.¹⁰⁰

Although socialist organizations and trade unionists had both gained a certain level of influence in local politics with their elected councillors, poor law guardians, and magistrates, it was the war years that accelerated this development and which gave labour organizations further legitimacy

⁹⁵ NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 27 January 1910, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44).

⁹⁶ NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 20 March 1912; Newspaper cutting attached to NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 16 July 1912; NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 20 November 1912; NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 12 November 1911; NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 16 February 1913; all in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44): In 1910-11, 50 delegates were on the council representing 24 societies and 6,000 members. In 1911-12, 57 delegates were on the council representing 28 societies and 12,300 members. Branches of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers were formed in the town during this period.

⁹⁷ NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 11 February 1912, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44).

⁹⁸ NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 21 August 1912, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44): After initial discussions with the ILP and the trades' council in 1912, the BSP pulled out of talks to form a united body for labour representation. It subsequently stood municipal candidates under its own name in five wards, ignoring appeals for joint action from the ILP and the trades' council.

⁹⁹ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 29 April 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁰⁰ NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 19 July 1911, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44); NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 15 July 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

and confidence. Almost immediately after the declaration of war, the trades' council began to work alongside other groups and individuals, including employers and other political parties, which it had opposed in the past. The council organised 'Vigilance Committees' in various wards of the town to watch over the interests of the working class in distress and those who felt neglected by the local authorities. A letter was sent to the War Office promoting the boot manufacturers of Northampton, who were 'well equipped' to provide boots for the army, and an invitation from the Mayor to send delegates to a recently formed Relief Fund Committee was accepted by the trades' council.¹⁰¹

Despite its near-unanimous support for the war effort, the trades' council was divided over the question of participating in army recruitment campaigns. The desire to contribute further to the war effort was supported by Gribble and other members of the local SDF branch, who argued that trade unionists should contribute more to a just war fought to uphold the rights of small nations.¹⁰² Anxiety towards the prospect of conscription eventually led the trades' council to send delegates to the Northampton Recruiting Committee, a decision supported by Gribble, who believed that it was the 'supreme duty of everyone to back up the government and carry the war to a successful issue'.¹⁰³ The trades' council requested, and received, permission to send delegates to the Recruitment Tribunal set up to accept or reject candidates, a body which also comprised employers, politicians, and other eminent local individuals. The trades' council's 'patriotic' action on recruitment even led to praise from unlikely sources, including local newspapers and the sitting Liberal MP, Charles McCurdy.¹⁰⁴

In April 1915, Gribble initiated a scheme to help various war-related causes and charities called the 'Northampton Allied War Fund'.¹⁰⁵ The 'Gribble scheme' was a manifestation of his belief that all parties, whether 'labour, socialist, Conservative or Liberal', should sink their differences and work towards ending the war as speedily as possible.¹⁰⁶ The scheme, in which all adult workers were to contribute a sum per head per week to a central fund, was met with approval

¹⁰¹ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 19 August 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁰² NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 18 November 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁰³ Newspaper cutting attached to Northampton NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 27 October 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁰⁴ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 31 October 1915; NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 7 November 1915; both in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁰⁵ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 21 April 1915; Northampton Trades' Council, *Annual Report 1915*; both in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁰⁶ Newspaper cutting attached to NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 30 August 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

from the Town Council and an executive committee was formed.¹⁰⁷ The composition of this committee emphasises the unity amongst various political and economic actors within Northampton at the time; the town's Mayor took the Presidency, whilst representatives from the Manufacturers' Association, the trades' council, various trade unions, the Licensed Trades' Association, the Free Church Council, the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Ladies' Auxiliary filled the other roles.¹⁰⁸ That this scheme, supported by leading political, economic, and religious leaders in the community, was initiated by a socialist and a trade unionist, is a strong indication of how far both movements had come since their formation.

The legitimization of trade unionists and socialists in the town is neatly exemplified in the political careers of two locally important individuals: Gribble and Edward Poulton. Originally representing the NUBSRF on the trades' council, 'Ted' Poulton was elected its president in 1892, took a leading part in the boot trade dispute in 1895, and was elected to a local school board.¹⁰⁹ A supporter of the Liberals and Gladstone, or 'the people's premier' as he referred to him, Poulton was in favour of evolutionary means to improve the lives of workers including the collective ownership of the means of production.¹¹⁰ He was subsequently appointed an alderman on the town council in 1898, became the first working-man Mayor of Northampton in 1906, and was elected General Secretary of the NUBSO in 1908.¹¹¹ He was also, at various times, member of the 'Technical Instruction Committee; Governor of the Northampton General Hospital; active in Sunday school work [...] as a teacher, secretary, and superintendent' and became the Chairman of the town council's Education Committee.¹¹²

James Gribble, who worked as a finisher before the age of twelve, returned to Northampton after his service in the army.¹¹³ As a delegate from the NUBSRF/NUBSO on the trades' council, he joined the SDF and stood for them as a municipal council candidate as early as 1898.¹¹⁴ In 1901, he was involved in various disturbances in the town relating to unemployed demonstrations, which eventually led to his summoning for breaching the peace and for fighting

¹⁰⁷ NTC, *Annual Report 1915*, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁰⁸ Northampton Allied War Fund, *Report of the Annual Meeting*, 1916, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁰⁹ *Northampton Mercury*, 29 March 1895.

¹¹⁰ *Northampton Mercury*, 16 March 1893; Fox, p. 332; *Northampton Mercury*, 13 April 1894.

¹¹¹ *Northampton Mercury*, 18 November 1898; NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 21 November 1906, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc. 1977/44); Newspaper cutting attached to NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 17 February 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹¹² Fox, pp. 331-32.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

¹¹⁴ *Northampton Mercury*, 3 June 1898.

policemen.¹¹⁵ This 'irresponsible agitator' was chosen by his union to take charge of a strike amongst bootmakers in Raunds, a town in rural Northamptonshire, in 1905.¹¹⁶ 'General' Gribble proceeded to organise a march of strikers to the House of Commons, interrupt the debate taking place, and skirmish with policemen, breaking an ankle in the process.¹¹⁷

Initially hostile to the Parliamentary Labour Party due to its lack of a socialist programme, he was nevertheless instrumental in the eventual formation of a local Labour Party, a body which united the various socialist and trade union bodies in Northampton.¹¹⁸ His respected work during the war, which included raising funds for allied causes and working in the recruitment campaigns, led to him being officially honoured by the Committee of the Allied War Fund, a body of his own creation which included the Mayor and other leading individuals in the town.¹¹⁹

The legitimization of the trades' council and various socialist individuals within Northampton was a long, uneven process that was accelerated during the war years. The trades' council seemed well aware of how far it had come as a body; it had, by 1915, moved beyond the 'passing of pious resolutions of protest or commendation on some abstruse subject which concerns this day and generation but very little'.¹²⁰ With the election and appointment of socialists and trade unionists onto various local governing bodies, the local Labour Party built on this influence to achieve a 'creditable performance' at the 1918 election, despite a Liberal campaign against it for being 'taken over by Bolshevik sympathisers'.¹²¹ Labour did not have to wait long to contest the seat again, and Margaret Bondfield was selected to challenge the sitting MP Charles McCurdy in a 1920 by-election.¹²²

The choice of Bondfield highlighted the growing influence of the ILP within labour circles in Northampton. Although by 1920 she was known nationally as an active socialist and leading trade unionist, Bondfield had taken a similar line to Ramsay Macdonald on the war by opposing

¹¹⁵ *Northampton Mercury*, 14 March 1901.

¹¹⁶ *Northampton Mercury*, 22 November 1901.

¹¹⁷ Fox, p. 288.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 336; NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 30 November 1913, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹¹⁹ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 28 June 1916, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹²⁰ NTC, *Annual Report 1915*, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹²¹ Dickie, 'Town patriotism and the rise of Labour', p. 164: One of Northampton's MPs during the war, Hastings Lees-Smith, opposed certain policies of the wartime government and joined the Labour Party in 1919. For his views on the war, see *Northampton Mercury*, 11 October 1918.

¹²² Mary Agnes Hamilton, *Margaret Bondfield* (London: Leonard Parsons, 1924), p. 141: McCurdy had to stand for re-election owing to his appointment as Food Controller.

conscription and joining the Union of Democratic Control.¹²³ Nominated by the ILP, and supported by the national Labour Party, Bondfield received the aid of notable anti-war activists such as Macdonald and Arthur Ponsonby during the 1920 election campaign.¹²⁴ Yet despite the continuing 'tide of prejudice against pacifists', Bondfield managed to reduce McCurdy's majority with a campaign primarily focused on rising prices and profiteering.¹²⁵

In spite of this setback, Bondfield continued to regularly visit Northampton and put 'a lot of work' into the constituency.¹²⁶ After unsuccessfully contesting the seat again in 1922, she was selected to challenge McCurdy for a third time a year later. By this time, Bondfield's prestige had increased with her election as Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and the local Labour Party entered the campaign with confidence of victory.¹²⁷ With accusations of Bolshevism from rival parties brushed aside, Labour campaigned on a positive programme of free trade, the capital levy, improved international relations, and constructive works for the unemployed.¹²⁸ With the announcement of the results, Bondfield recalled that 'the constituency went nearly crazy with joy' and she was carried around the streets by supporters.¹²⁹ The election of Bondfield as Northampton's first ever Labour MP completed the long process of legitimization that had begun in the 1890s.¹³⁰

By the time of Bondfield's election, the local Labour Party had a relatively coherent set of policies and proposals. This ideology was largely shaped by the experiences of its constituent trade unions and socialist societies between their formation and 1918, and the local political and industrial environment. The continuing influence of Radical-Liberalism, an ideology which remained predominant amongst Northampton's workers until the First World War, was certainly apparent.¹³¹ 'Liberal' attitudes towards the House of Lords, education reform, electoral reform,

¹²³ Marion Miliband, 'Margaret Bondfield', *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, ed. by Joyce Bellamy and John Saville, 12 vols (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1974), II, p. 41: Bondfield had been active in a number of unions throughout her life, including the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, the Women's Trade Union League and the National Federation of Women Workers. She was also on the executive of the Trades Union Congress from 1918 to 1924. The Union of Democratic Control was a pressure group formed during the war by a number of leading Liberal and Labour members, and advocated a more responsible foreign policy.

¹²⁴ Hamilton, p. 142.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 142; Margaret Bondfield, *A Life's Work*, (London: Hutchinson, 1948), p. 243.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

¹²⁷ Hamilton, p. 146.

¹²⁸ Bondfield, p. 251.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

¹³⁰ Dickie, 'Town patriotism and the rise of Labour', p. 165.

¹³¹ Lawrence, p. 84.

and limited nationalisation were frequently displayed at least until 1914.¹³² In this sense, 'Labour was not so positively attractive [...] that Liberalism no longer seemed a viable creed' for Northampton's workers.¹³³

There were, however, attitudinal changes throughout this period amongst the trade unionists of the town, especially with regards to the state and government intervention. Anthony Fenley has argued that the philosophy of trade unions was initially 'voluntarist', an idea which suggests that they had an 'ambivalent attitude to the role of the modern State'.¹³⁴ Lewis Minkin has also suggested that a distrust of the state developed from the unions' tradition of independence, self-reliance, and free collective bargaining.¹³⁵ However, as Ross McKibbin has argued, although traditionally sceptical towards the state, the unions were impressed by its power during wartime.¹³⁶ By 1918, the 'Triple Alliance' of unions showed little sign of voluntarism by demanding a 'more radical, explicitly socialist, version of collectivism entailing nationalization of their respective industries'.¹³⁷ This apparent leftward trend within the unions manifested itself in a new found appreciation of the state's role in social and economic affairs.¹³⁸

Attitudes on this issue amongst Northampton trade unionists gradually evolved between 1888 and 1918. Throughout the 1890s, a certain level of suspicion of the state was displayed consistently by members of trades' councils and trade unions. This was most demonstrated in the views of a number of workers towards restricting the hours of employment, an issue which seemed to divide opinion amongst trade unionists.¹³⁹ The Northampton trades' council was split evenly over the question of a parliamentary enforced eight hour day in 1894, although many on the council supported the demand for a restriction in hours worked amongst municipal

¹³² For example, see *Northampton Mercury*, 30 June 1893: The report of an ILP foundation meeting in 1893 highlights ideological tensions between Radical-Liberals and socialists in Northampton.

¹³³ Tanner, p. 385.

¹³⁴ The notion relates to the unions' preference for collective bargaining with employers as opposed to direct intervention by the state into their affairs, which permitted 'unions to give priority to their industrial objectives'. See Anthony Fenley, 'Labour and the trade unions', in *The Labour Party*, ed. by Cook and Taylor, pp. 50-83 (pp. 50-52).

¹³⁵ Lewis Minkin, *The Contentious Alliance: Trade Unions and the Labour Party* (London: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), p. 7.

¹³⁶ McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party*, p. 88.

¹³⁷ Gerber, p. 111: The 'Triple Alliance' was made up of the Miners Federation of Great Britain, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the National Transport Workers' Federation.

¹³⁸ Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1967), p. 44.

¹³⁹ *Northampton Mercury*, 06 March 1891; *Northampton Mercury*, 06 May 1892: In 1891, the Kettering trades' council passed a resolution suggesting that 'the time has not yet arrived when parliament is called upon to legislate on the eight hours question' whereas a resolution was passed at a May Day parade in Northampton calling for legislation on this question just a year later.

employees only.¹⁴⁰ A hostile view towards state intervention was also expressed in reaction to the compulsory vaccination laws, with particular anger directed at fines for non-compliance. One delegate even joked that if the fine for non-compliance was ever applied in Northampton, the vaccination officer would soon find himself in the local river.¹⁴¹

Opinions amongst trade unionists in the town were also divided over the issue of nationalization.¹⁴² The national conference of the NUBSRF passed a resolution in favour of nationalization of the land and the implements of production as early as 1894.¹⁴³ This resolution was, however, criticised by the General Secretary of the union, William Inskip; nationalization as advocated in the resolution was, for Inskip, 'confiscation' which meant 'there was no recognition of ability, that the idle and unscrupulous should be on a par with the thrifty man who exercised his ability and energy'.¹⁴⁴ It was his union's commitment to nationalization that led to his resignation as a potential parliamentary candidate for Northampton.¹⁴⁵

However, at the turn of the century political proposals put forward by the trades' council suggest that the positive potential of state and municipal intervention was beginning to gain more acceptance; one set of statist demands called for the payment of MPs, a free breakfast table for each family, the extension of graduated income tax, an old age pension, an eight hour day for all government departments, consolidation of the Factory and Workshop Act, and the extension of compensation regulations to all workers.¹⁴⁶ Demands for municipal control and ownership of local amenities and monopolies were also being made, with proposals including the creation of municipal bakeries, the corporation erection of artisans' dwellings, municipal lodging houses, public baths, and for the supplying of gas to the town.¹⁴⁷ Details of how these proposals would be implemented in practice were, however, not recorded.

¹⁴⁰ *Northampton Mercury*, 13 April 1894; *Northampton Mercury*, 01 June 1894: Opinions within the NUBSO were certainly not uniform. The national union officially supported the introduction of an eight hour day at its 1888 conference, but it was to be achieved by trade union action alone. Prior to conference, the executive urged members to consider the possible negative consequences of its adoption, such as wage reductions, the abolition of overtime and increased competition from abroad, where shoemakers worked longer hours. See NUBSO, *Monthly Reports Jan 1887-Dec 1888*, May 1888, in MRC 547/P/1/6.

¹⁴¹ *Northampton Mercury*, 20 May 1898.

¹⁴² *Northampton Mercury*, 13 April 1894.

¹⁴³ *Northampton Mercury*, 18 May 1894.

¹⁴⁴ *Northampton Mercury*, 18 May 1894.

¹⁴⁵ *Northampton Mercury*, 12 May 1899. Before his resignation, Inskip presented his political programme to the Northampton NUBSRF branches in 1893-4. It received a mixed response from the local NUBSRF branches due to its moderation, which Fox sees as a sign of a 'movement towards independent working-class candidates with a broadly Socialist programme [...] in the trade union movement generally'. See Fox, pp. 194-96.

¹⁴⁶ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 31 May 1900, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁴⁷ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 19 September 1900, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc. 1977/44).

By 1907, the Northampton trades' council was working more closely with the town's socialists and was advocating various statist measures proposed by the national Labour Party. The council proposed a number of reforms, including old age pensions to be funded by increased death duties, a graduated income tax, and taxation of land values.¹⁴⁸ With reference to the blind, the council believed charity was inadequate; what was needed were municipal workshops, technical schools, and pensions, all to be provided by the state.¹⁴⁹ On education, the trades' council supported a measure in Parliament dealing with improved care and training for adolescents and unanimously agreed that the exchequer 'should bear an increased share of the cost of this national service'.¹⁵⁰ On national insurance, the council unanimously agreed that 'no scheme of national insurance against sickness, disablement or unemployment can be satisfactory which is not wholly – or, at least, mainly – non-contributory, and in which the bulk of the funds necessary are not provided by Parliament'.¹⁵¹ The trades' council, although in favour of the Liberal government's state insurance policy, in principle, was critical of it as 'it [did] not go far enough'.¹⁵²

During negotiations over the formation of a local Labour Party throughout 1913 and 1914, delegates discussed a number of proposals relating to the state's role. When a resolution was proposed to commit the new body to the ultimate aim of the 'socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange', a number of delegates protested and argued that the new body should exist as a piece of electoral machinery only.¹⁵³ The majority eventually agreed not to include this in the party's programme due to the fact that the affiliated societies contained members of all political shades of opinion and that, by accepting this resolution, it would alienate the organization from many workmen.¹⁵⁴ Despite this rejection, perhaps owing more to tactical rather than ideological reasoning, that this proposal was even debated clearly underlines some of the evolving attitudes towards the state amongst trade unionists at the time.

Ideas within the trade unions towards the role of the state in economic and social life were further influenced by the experiences of the First World War. These attitudinal changes were not limited to the Labour Party; there was even some Conservative support for full state control of

¹⁴⁸ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 20 February 1907, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁴⁹ NTC, *Minutes 1895-1909*, 19 June 1907, in NRO, NTC 1 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁵⁰ NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 25 May 1910, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁵¹ NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 25 July 1911, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁵² *Northampton Daily Chronicle*, attached to NTC, *Minutes 1909-1913*, 25 July 1911, in NRO, NTC 2 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁵³ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 22 April 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁵⁴ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 22 April 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

the alcohol industry, as well as the nationalization of key industries such as coal and the railways.¹⁵⁵ The 'much-expanded role' for the state during these years was supported and encouraged by trade unionists in Northampton.¹⁵⁶ At the first meeting of the trades' council after the declaration of war, the business was focused primarily on the impact of the war on the home front and, more specifically, the working-class. A resolution was passed in favour of distributing flour from Canada in accordance with people's necessities, a proposal was made for the local government to regulate the price of bread, and another delegate proposed the setting up of a municipally-owned bakery.¹⁵⁷ The impact of the war on changing attitudes towards state intervention can be clearly seen in a resolution, initially proposed in August 1914, that 'the whole food supplies of the nation' should be taken over by the government.¹⁵⁸ Although the resolution was initially rejected by the council, a similar resolution was unanimously passed just four months later.¹⁵⁹

During the first months of the war, the council was also active in proposing various measures to relieve distress, including the provision of adequate housing for those out of employment caused by the conflict and the feeding of necessitous children of unemployed workers.¹⁶⁰ In 1915, the council agreed with a proposal put forward by an SDF delegate, who criticised the rising price of bread, flour, coal, meat, and other necessities; it was proposed that the government and the Labour Party should take action on this matter.¹⁶¹ One outcome of this resolution was the organization of a joint conference of the local socialist organizations, trade unionists, and other labour-related bodies on the question of foodstuffs and the war.¹⁶² Speakers at the meeting urged the government to set a maximum price for coal, advocated more governmental control of shipping, and proposed a more centrally-organised distribution of coal supplies.¹⁶³ One delegate even argued that all those making profits out of the war should be interned as 'alien enemies'.¹⁶⁴

This increased demand for further state intervention by the trades' council and other labour bodies in the town was not, however, a universal principle. There was continued opposition and

¹⁵⁵ Pugh, pp. 113-5.

¹⁵⁶ Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1984), p. 177.

¹⁵⁷ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 17 August 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁵⁸ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 17 August 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁵⁹ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 20 January 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁶⁰ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 19 August 1914, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁶¹ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 20 January 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁶² NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 20 January 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁶³ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 17 February 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁶⁴ Newspaper cutting attached to NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 17 February 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

hostility to some forms of government interference, most notably conscription.¹⁶⁵ Although the trades' council as a body opposed it and even worked in recruitment campaigns in the town, some delegates did nevertheless support conscription as a way of getting the middle-classes, or 'the fancy sock brigade' as they were described by the speaker, to contribute to the war effort.¹⁶⁶ At a special meeting held on recruitment, delegates argued that the aristocracy and workers were giving their best, but the middle-class 'dodgers' were not; the working class were shouldering the burden and they would 'prove themselves worthy' of the government's trust.¹⁶⁷

At a meeting organised by the local branch of the ILP, itself an affiliate of the newly-formed Labour Party in the town, various state-based proposals were again discussed and accepted.¹⁶⁸ The chair of the meeting believed that 'the man who had gone forth to fight should come back to a position not worsened, but if anything bettered during their absence'. John Bruce Glasier, a leading ILP member, attended the meeting and advocated a larger state control of industry, the nationalization of the railways, state control of agriculture, a right to work bill, the introduction of a minimum wage, an increase in old aged pensions, pensions for widows, and hostels for married soldiers.¹⁶⁹

This new, positive appreciation of the state's role can not only be seen within labour circles in Northampton; it was also stressed clearly in the resolutions, based upon *Labour and the New Social Order*, the programme adopted by the national Labour Party conference in 1918. The proposals urged that the task of post-war reconstruction should be 'organised and undertaken by the Government', and should be based upon 'the gradual building up of a new social order, based, not on the internecine conflict, inequality of riches, and dominion over subject classes...but on the deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution'.¹⁷⁰ This positive appreciation of the role of the state in social and economic life was the culmination of an ideological evolution within the organised working class before 1914, in Northampton and

¹⁶⁵ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 16 June 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁶⁶ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 16 June 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁶⁷ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 7 November 1915, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁶⁸ NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 16 January 1916, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁶⁹ Newspaper cutting attached to NTC, *Minutes 1913-1916*, 6 February 1916, in NRO, NTC 3 (acc. 1977/44).

¹⁷⁰ Labour Party National Executive Committee, *Resolutions on reconstruction to be discussed at the Party Conference on Wednesday, June 26th, 1918, and two following days*, 1918, in London, London School of Economics and Political Science, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Archives - Special, D(4)/968. Other resolutions called on the government to take action on wages, improve current social legislation relating to housing, education and health, and to take control of a wide range of industries.

elsewhere. However, it was the experiences of the war that 'accentuated developments which were already discernible in the pre-war years'.¹⁷¹

The growing acceptance of state intervention influenced the Northampton Labour Party's campaign for the 1918 election, and gave the organization a more defined ideological character.¹⁷² Avowed socialists such as Gribble and Roberts were suggested as possible candidates by local trade unions, but eventually a pacifist member of the local branch of the National Union of Railwaymen was selected, highlighting the growing influence of the ILP within the electoral machinery of the Northampton Labour Party.¹⁷³ A socialist, Walter Halls, advocated a programme of progressive taxation, a six-hour day, a 'national minimum of comfort', and workers' control of their respective industries.¹⁷⁴ However, despite polling over ten thousands votes, Halls accepted that the Liberal majority was 'obtained by the working-class vote'.¹⁷⁵

One should be wary of making generalizations based upon local studies. The social conditions in Northampton between 1888 and 1918 were not replicated in all centres where Labour grew during this period; the history of Radical-Liberalism and the dominance of one industry in particular influenced the nature of Labour's development in the town.¹⁷⁶ The artisanal nature of working-class culture in Leicester, another centre of the boot and shoe trade, certainly shares similarities with the Northampton example.¹⁷⁷ The relative persistence of older methods of production in the industry, especially in Northampton, encouraged a strong emphasis on independence amongst boot and shoe workers.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, the lingering perception that state intervention was impractical in a largely consumer-based industry differed from the attitudes of

¹⁷¹ Fraser, p. 177.

¹⁷² For example, see *Northampton Mercury*, 29 November 1918.

¹⁷³ *Northampton Mercury*, 7 June 1918; *Northampton Mercury*, 5 July 1918; *Northampton Mercury*, 9 August 1918: T.F. Richards, General President of the NUBSO, was also suggested but believed his support for the war prevented his adoption.

¹⁷⁴ *Northampton Mercury*, 29 November 1918.

¹⁷⁵ *Northampton Mercury*, 3 January 1919.

¹⁷⁶ However, even in areas with political and economic conditions similar to Northampton's, Labour's growth and development differed. For example, Derby went Conservative in 1895 and elected a Labour MP in 1900, and in Leicester, socialism had replaced Liberalism as the 'main form of working-class political expression' by 1906. See Thorpe, p. 119; Lancaster, p. 85.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115: Northampton's boot and shoe industry, despite also experiencing mechanization in the 1890s, was not as advanced as Leicester's.

workers in other, more stable industries, such as the dockers and the miners, and may have contributed to the perseverance of Radical-Liberalism in Northampton.¹⁷⁹

Furthermore, the 'advanced' character of local Liberalism, with its relatively positive attitude towards labour representation, was certainly not universal throughout Britain at the time. As Jon Lawrence has argued, the ideological evolution of workers in Wolverhampton from Liberalism to Conservatism during this period is a more common trend than the Northampton example.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, the contrasting development of Labour even in areas which shared Northampton's political and religious heritage, such as Bristol, highlights the regional diversity of the party's evolution.¹⁸¹ Matthew Worley's assertion that 'different determinants [...] played different roles in defining Labour's progress in different places at different times' is certainly supported by these examples.¹⁸²

Nevertheless, a number of the turning points and continuities in the Northampton example contribute to our understanding of Labour's history. The complex relationship between Liberalism and the trade unions appeared to have ended with the formation of a local Labour Party just prior to the war. Yet despite the Radical-Liberal ideological dominance within local trade unions at the time, an attitude of stubborn class and organizational independence existed as early as the 1890s. Events such as the formation of a national Labour Party, the moderation of Liberal reforms, and industrial struggles all acted as 'turning points' in the history of labour in the town, supplementing an already existing spirit of class independence. This underlying attitude, combined with certain political and economic developments, led to the conclusion that labour bodies needed their 'own' political organization.

The experience of the war was crucial for the future progress of the local Labour Party. Although a number of inroads had been made in achieving local representation prior to 1914, the attitudes and actions of the Northampton trades' council and pro-war socialists during the war years accelerated the process of legitimization. The rise to local prominence of trade unionists and socialists contributed to this development, and helped the labour movement gain a foothold within local government, laying the foundation for its post-war electoral success.¹⁸³ The

¹⁷⁹ Tanner, p. 293.

¹⁸⁰ Lawrence, p. 84.

¹⁸¹ Tanner, p. 234.

¹⁸² Worley, p. 6.

¹⁸³ Dickie, 'Town patriotism and the rise of Labour', p. 14.

war also shaped attitudes and altered perceptions towards widespread state intervention, an issue which had hitherto been largely perceived as an impractical solution to Northampton's distinctive economic situation. Although issues such as nationalization and collective ownership had been debated and sometimes supported prior to 1914, the increasingly interventionist role played by the government in organising the nation's resources was overwhelmingly supported by the labour movement in the town. Although there was a 'sharp reaction' against state intervention among other political parties after 1918, the experiences of the war fundamentally reoriented Labour Party thinking on the issue, culminating in the adoption of state-based policies by both the national Labour Party and the local branch in Northampton.

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Counter Recruiting in Parnell's Ireland 1880-1892

Over the past two decades debate surrounding the Great War has become a popular subject within Irish society. It has proven to be so prevalent that, as Timothy Bowman noted, 'we probably know more about Irish units in the Great War than most of their English, Scottish or Welsh counterparts'.² Nevertheless, academic study into Irish military history has only scratched the surface. Little study has been conducted into the Irish regiments of the British Army from their creation in 1881 until August 1914. Given that the Boer War played such a significant role in the advancement of Irish nationalism, it is surprising that it has largely been passed over. Although David French and Edward Spiers have detailed the impact the military had on society, both write in a British context where Ireland does not feature prominently, apart from Spiers' chapter 'Army Organisation and Society in the Nineteenth Century', in *A Military History of Ireland*.³ While Elizabeth Muenger and Virginia Crossman have discussed at length the role of the military during nineteenth-century Ireland, they do not deal with recruitment or its effects on Irish politics.⁴ Richard Hawkins covers similar territory in his article 'An Army on Police Work, 1881-2'; however, he does not demonstrate how Nationalists reacted to the army's deployment.⁵ This has led to comments such as 'the 1914 army never regarded itself as being an occupying force,' by Henry Harris, continuing to circulate in modern literature.⁶ It is little wonder then that Terence Denman pointed out in 1994 that 'the central importance of the anti-recruitment theme in extreme Nationalist ideology has been neglected and deserves more study'.⁷

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² Timothy Bowman, *Irish Regiments in The Great War: Discipline and Morale* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 2.

³ Edward Spiers, 'Army Organisation and Society in the Nineteenth Century', in *A Military History of Ireland* ed. by Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 335-357.

⁴ Virginia Crossman, *Politics, Law & Order in 19th Century Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1996); Elizabeth A. Muenger, *The British Military Dilemma in Ireland: Occupation Politics, 1886-1914* (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1991).

⁵ Richard Hawkins, 'An Army on Police Work, 1881-2: Ross of Blandenburg's Memorandum', *Irish Sword*, 11 (1973), 75-117.

⁶ Henry Harris, *The Irish Regiments In The First World War* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1968), p.1.

⁷ Terence Denman, 'The Red Livery of Shame: The Campaign Against Army Recruitment in Ireland, 1899-1914', *Irish Historical Studies*, 29:114 (1994), 208-233 (p. 232).

Yet Denman's claim has yet to be satisfied. This is strange given that the military's heavy handedness during the Land War allowed Charles Stewart Parnell to unite the various strands of Irish nationalism and trigger what is now termed the 'long gestation'. It is upon this latter point that this paper will focus. I will argue that as a result of the aggressive deployment of the Army during the Land War and the Plan of Campaign, a Nationalist counter recruiting campaign emerged. The Land War created the perfect conditions for Nationalists not only to mobilise the nation behind them but to portray the Army as an instrument of British rule in Ireland and a force used at the behest of landlords. Throughout the Land War and Plan of Campaign, the Army played into the hands of Nationalists by operating in conjunction with the police and the powerful landlord lobby, in trying to curtail the Nationalist agrarian campaigns. To achieve this, the article is divided into two sections. The first will illustrate how Nationalists reacted to the Army's deployment and the second will demonstrate how their reaction affected recruitment.

Although the military pre-empted the Land War when they proposed the re-occupation of vacant military stations in Connacht and Munster during November 1879, it was not until the incident on the estate managed by Captain Boycott that the patience of the Irish Secretary, William Forster, begin to wear thin.⁸ Forster warned Gladstone in November 1880 that 'the present outrages, or rather that condition of the country which produces the outrages, is owing to the action of the Land League, but I believe that now these outrages are very much beyond its control'.⁹ Indeed, even though Forster had proclaimed counties: Galway, Kerry, Leitrim, Limerick, Mayo and parts of Donegal as unlawful, agrarian crime continued to rise as the year came to a close.¹⁰

⁸ Hawkins, p. 76.

⁹ T. Wymess Reid, *Life of the Right Honourable William Edward Forster, 2 vols* (London : Chapman & Hall 1888), II, p. 265.

¹⁰ Criminal and judicial statistics. 1881. Ireland. Part I. Police--criminal proceedings--prisons. Part II. Civil proceedings in central and larger and smaller district courts, H.C. 1882, C.3355, p. 142.

Year	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1880	114	97	83	67	88	90	84	103	168	269	561	866
1881	448	170	151	308	351	332	271	373	416	511	534	574
1882	495	410	542	465	401	284	231	176	139	112	93	85

Even in this early stage of the Land War it was clear that in order for the government to triumph it was going to have to rely on the foundations of the British administration in Ireland: the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), the Army, and the Landlords. The more Army protected Landlords, the more Nationalists were able to label them as part of the opposition or as the ‘garrison’. Michael Davitt alluded to this in a speech in Kansas when he told his audience, ‘that in declaring this war against Irish landlordism, in not paying rent in order to bring down the garrison in Ireland, we know that we are preparing the way for that independence which you enjoy in this great American Republic’.¹² Nevertheless the military continued to play into the hands of the Nationalists. Officers were ordered to practice route marching:

in such a way as not only to exercise the men but also to gain a knowledge of the country and to influence the population [...] It appears for these ordinary patrols, which may be more or less regarded as route marches, no requisition from magistrates will be necessary, and that the presence of peace officers can be dispensed with.¹³

The presence of soldiers passing through the country did little to quell the unrest, in fact it did quite the opposite. As the Army were actively aiding the police, they began to be viewed as one and the same and suffer the similar fate. In Clare, stones were thrown at the county militia.¹⁴ In November 1880, the commander at Tralee asked for reinforcements as there were only 130 efficient men in the barracks. This request came after a mob of 300 townspeople attacked troops on piquet duty at Ballymullen the previous month.¹⁵ On 11 April 1881, a further clash between

¹¹ Outrages (Ireland). Return of outrages reported to the Royal Irish Constabulary Office in each month of the year 1880 and 1881, and in the month of January 1882, H.C. 1882 (7) LV, 615, p. 2, 1883 (6); Outrages (Ireland). Return of outrages reported to the Royal Irish Constabulary Office in each month of the years 1881 and 1882, and in the month of January 1883, H.C. 1882 (6) LVII, 1047, p. 2.

¹² F. Hugh O'Donnell, *A History of The Irish Parliamentary Party*, 2 vols (London, Longmans, 1910), II, p 8.

¹³ London, National Archives of the United Kingdom (NAUK), CO 904/187/98-99, Report on military aid to civil powers (with memorandum dated 1882), 1918.

¹⁴ Dublin, National Library of Ireland (NLI.), Kilmainham Papers, MSS 1071-73.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

soldiers and civilians took place at Dungarvan, where a detachment of the East Kent Regiment was stationed. The incident seemed to be the result of bad blood between the two groups after some of the locals called the soldiers 'bloody slaughterers' or the soldiers referred to the locals as 'bloody Irish'. Either way, such was the ill feeling between the two that the Commander of Forces in Ireland, General Sir Thomas Steele, and the local magistrates agreed that the detachment be removed from the town.¹⁶ On the 14th, stones were thrown at two soldiers of the 1st battalion of the North Staffordshire regiment at Ennistymon. The police quickly arrested one man and brought the soldiers to the safety of their barracks. However those soldiers along with seven or eight others left the barracks and made their way to the Church Hill area of the town where they attacked a civilian named Gaffney and two other men.¹⁷

The military responded to these attacks by establishing nine flying columns in Ireland: two apiece at Dublin and the Curragh, and one at Belfast, Athlone, Limerick, Fermoy, and Cork.¹⁸ The flying columns were not intended to support the police, but to swiftly put down any potential rising or serious attack on the security forces. Gladstone also reacted to the deteriorating state of affairs; on 7 January 1881, Parliament was recalled allowing Forster to introduce a Coercion Bill, the Protection of Persons and Property Bill. The Coercion Act was followed up by procedures making it easier for magistrates to call on the Army for aid. As a result, by the end of July, 192 people had been arrested and detained under the Coercion Act.¹⁹ The Army issued a circular on 22 April 1881, stating that 'protection parties should always be so strong as to render all attempts at resistance hopeless'.²⁰ The roles of the Army and the police were quickly becoming indistinguishable as they appeared together patrolling the country and escorting bailiffs as they evicted tenants from their homes. The results were felt in Tralee where the 1st battalion of the North Staffordshire regiment were sent to replace the 1st battalion of the Northamptonshire Regiment. However, before the Northamptonshire Regiment left, one soldier was attacked without provocation. Despite the change in regiment, the anti-military atmosphere remained, as the police reported the Staffordshire Regiment were 'likewise unpopular with some of the townspeople and subjected to similar ill treatment by them'.²¹ In turn, the commander of the Staffords warned his men to 'refrain from using any language that could be considered derogatory by Irishmen'. These orders had come too late for the Army, who found that:

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Hawkins, p. 78.

¹⁹ Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881. List of all persons detained in prison under the statute, 1881 (171) (209) (273) (316) (372), c. 4, 44 Vict, p. 2.

²⁰ NAUK, CO 904/187/86, Report on military aid to civil powers (with memorandum dated 1882), 1918.

²¹ NLI, Kilmainham Papers, MSS 1071-73.

there are a great number of rough characters in Tralee and the place is anything but quiet [...] Soldiers of other corps stationed at Tralee have also been insulted by the lower classes of civilisation and this leads him to think there is general ill feeling toward the military.²²

Regardless, Forster pushed on and in July decided to further liaise with landlords and sheriffs so that the authorities knew, 'what protection they want, and when and where, thereby preventing them [the Land League] from being masters of the situation'.²³ For Nationalists, the unholy trinity of the Police, Army, and landlords was now complete. In Dublin, Captain C.S. Collingwood found this, writing that,

the feeling of the populace towards the military at this station is now of the worst and most hostile description: The roughs go about in gangs of from six to twenty and take every opportunity of insulting soldiers and it is only by examining constant watchfulness and by stringent measures that I have hitherto been enabled to restrain the men under my command from committing a breach of the peace, which would doubtless result in a serious disturbance. Whether I shall be able to do so to the end is a matter of grave doubt [...] It appears to me that at present everyone who is in any way connected with the maintenance of law and order in this neighbourhood is regarded with hatred.²⁴

Forster and Cowper felt they had to continue with their policy to regain control of the country, irrespective of the consequences. In October, they had Parnell and the Nationalist leadership arrested. At protest over Parnell's arrest in Charleville, a riot broke out and order could only be restored when a detachment of the Royal Scots took aim at the protestors.²⁵ The Government then suppressed the Land League on 20 October and warned they would use 'all the powers and resources at our command to protect the Queens subjects in Ireland'.²⁶ In December, Foster and Steel ordered that joint military and police patrols were to be mainly composed of troops, supplemented 'by such small force of Police as the county can conveniently

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Reid, II, p. 323.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Clifford Lloyd, *Ireland under the Land League: A Narrative of Personal Experience* (Edinburg: Blackwood, 1892), p. 142.

²⁶ Irish National Land League. Proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated 20th October, 1881, relative to an association styling itself the Irish National Land League, H.C. 1882, C.3125, p. 3.

afford'.²⁷ Their order further blurred the lines between the Army and the civil power. This was underlined when Forster had the country divided into six districts, over which there would be a Special Resident Magistrates, to regain control of the country. The Special Magistrates, four of whom were serving Army officers, were invested with almost dictatorial powers.²⁸ By the middle of January 1882, there were 217 soldiers on personal protection duty throughout Ireland.²⁹ There were also a further 1,149 persons under less intrusive protection from the authorities throughout the country.³⁰ In Clare, attacks on individuals were so common that the Special Resident Magistrate for the county, Clifford Lloyd, had huts built every three miles in isolated areas to house patrols of soldiers and police.³¹

Therefore, by the end of the Land War the Army were viewed as an extension of the RIC and as a tool at the disposal of landlords, sent to administer one of the three Coercion Acts passed by Parliament. This attitude is what the commanding officer of Maryborough barracks found in 1881 when he reported that,

since the passing of [the Coercion Act] the Landlords have begun to press for their rents, and the military have been frequently called upon to aid the civil power that they are now in almost as bad odour with the mob as the constabulary, who are looked on with feelings of intense hatred all through this district.³²

Lady Cowper recalled that on St. Patrick's Day, 'there was every sign of dislike and disapprobation both of the Military and the Viceroy. The National Anthem was hissed, as were also the Scots Guards and the Viceroy, and at the end of the show, when the soldiers had marched off, the crowds were dispersed by a large body of police.'³³ Although the Kilmainham Treaty, agreed to on 5 May 1882, brought an end to the agrarian conflict, the hatred shown toward the military did not dissipate. In October 1882, Michael Davitt told an audience in Dublin that,

²⁷ NAUK, CO 904/187/74, Report on military aid to civil powers (with memorandum dated 1882), 1918.

²⁸ For further information regarding this aspect see Hawkins, pp 75-117.

²⁹ Hawkins, p 91.

³⁰ Police protection (Ireland). Return of the number of persons receiving special police protection in each county in Ireland on 31 December 1880, p. 1, H.C. 1881 (1) LXXVI, 641.

³¹ Lloyd, pp. 235-36.

³² Virginia Crossman, 'The Army and law and order in the nineteenth century', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 358-78 (p. 378).

³³ Katrine Cowper, Countess Cowper, *Earl Cowper: A Memoir* ([n.p.]: Printed for private circulation, 1913), p 557.

The whole aim and object of England in governing Ireland was to get money and men. England wanted to rob Ireland of her resources. She had robbed Ireland by unfair and excessive taxation, and she robbed her of her men in order to use them in wars like Tell-al-Kebir.³⁴

Upon receiving the national tribute Parnell commented ‘look about you on your every side. You see over 30,000 soldiers of the regular Army retained in Ireland. You see another more efficient Army of 15,000 policemen for the same purpose.’³⁵ At a meeting of The National League William Redmond once more made reference to the fact that Britain had 35,000 police and military personnel in Ireland and that many of these would be sent to Egypt and Soudan to ‘slaughter the unfortunate people there’.³⁶ The Nationalist campaign worried some in the Irish administration. Edward Jenkinson wrote, ‘recruits have almost ceased to enter our Army, and if ever bad times were to come for England, and we were hard pressed in a large European War, Ireland would be a weakness to us, instead as she should be a strength, and a thorn in our side.’³⁷

Jenkinson had reason to be concerned. In Limerick, where the Kings Royal Rifles Corps were stationed, soldiers who left their barracks were often attacked and stones were occasionally thrown at groups either on duty or off as they passed through the city. Consequently Colonel Hatchell ordered all soldiers who were on duty outside the barracks at night to carry rifles.³⁸ After T.P. O’Connor delivered a lecture in Galway, soldiers attacked a number of people who were in attendance after they were heckled in Eyre Square. The troops smashed the windows of the building in which the lecture took place before the police arrived to quell the disturbance.³⁹ Back in Limerick, soldiers of the Kings Royal Rifle Corps once more attacked civilians outside their barracks. Between twenty and thirty troops armed with their side arms left the barracks and began attacking residents; after the residents took shelter in their houses, the soldiers began to smash their doors and windows. The political nature of the relationship between the Army and the citizens was reflected by the Mayor, who at the following meeting of the town Commissioners said he ‘hoped the people would not notice them, that they will pass them by; that they will make no freedom with anyone of them, but treat them, as far as they could be

³⁴ The Freemans Journal, 10 Oct 1882.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Sir George Fottrell, *Dublin Castle and The First Home Rule Crisis: The political Journal of Sir George Fottrell 1884-1887*, ed. By Stephen Ball, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2008), p. 208.

³⁸ The Freeman’s Journal, 5 Jun 1885.

³⁹ The Freeman’s Journal, 16 Sep 1885.

treated, as aliens in a strange country'.⁴⁰ The matter was then referred to the Lord Lieutenant who had the soldiers moved to Kinsale. Upon hearing the news Colonel Hatchell wrote 'I fear it is too well known that the next regiment would fair no better.'⁴¹ Soon after Edward Jenkinson wrote to Gladstone,

We never were so hated and our government so powerless. The National League rules Ireland, and our government is isolated and completely out of touch and out of sympathy with the people [...] Under such conditions no administration can be carried on.⁴²

In such a climate it is unsurprising that none of the four recruiting officers from the Royal Munster Fusiliers visited one town in County Limerick between 1887 and 1892. Indeed when Colonel Markgill Crichton Maitland attempted to hire local recruiting agents he wrote 'agents are afraid of the work; they get such a bad name among the people'.⁴³ In order to address this problem the Colonel offered one week's pay and leave in advance and believed that if men wore a smarter uniform it would aid recruitment.⁴⁴ This issue was not confined to Limerick. Colonel Maitland found the military would not be able to employ recruiting agents in the South of Ireland 'unless the feeling with regard to the Army changes'.⁴⁵

The bitterness felt against the Army was deepened during the Plan of Campaign. The link between military operations and a Nationalist reaction once more became evident on 10 June 1887 in Athlone. Eight days after the beginning of the Bodyke evictions soldiers from the Royal Berkshire Regiment and the Borders were involved in a fracas with locals in which some soldiers were badly beaten. The following day approximately 300 soldiers left their barracks and began verbally abusing people in the town. However, before the incident became a riot the police arrived and the soldiers returned to their barracks. In spite of this, the next day a similar number of soldiers once more entered Athlone, and began physically assaulting the general public. On this occasion the Police were not in a position to stop the incident escalating as members of the

⁴⁰ The Freemans Journal, 13 Nov 1885

⁴¹ The Freemans Journal, 18 Nov 1885

⁴² Fottrell, p. 284.

⁴³ Report of the committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War to consider the terms and conditions of service in the Army, 1892 C.6582, C.6582-I, p. Lxiv.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. lxv.

⁴⁵ Report of the committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War to consider the terms and conditions of service in the Army, 1892 ,C.6582, C.6582-I, p. 333

public retaliated.⁴⁶ In the aftermath of the incident the Athlone Town Commissioners asked that the soldiers be removed from the town, a plea which was later granted. There were also clashes between soldiers and the citizens of Galway, which resulted in one being stabbed in a clash between forty to fifty civilians and six soldiers.⁴⁷ The Army simply ceased recruiting in Clare until 1892, when a sergeant was sent to 'introduce the redcoat among the people'.⁴⁸

The hostile atmosphere created as a result of the Army's aggressive deployment, led to a decline in the number of men enlisting for service between 1880 and 1883. This was despite the collapse of the Irish economy.⁴⁹ The failing Irish economy is best illustrated on Tables Two and Three showing the collapse of agricultural prices between 1881 and 1891. On the first table the value of each product is greater in 1881 than in 1886. The Knipe Report found that average agricultural prices fell by 23% between 1881 and 1886. During the same period the value of livestock in Ireland depreciated by £9 million. The report also found that 28% of the value of agricultural produce was paid in rent in 1881 and this had increased to 42% by 1886.⁵⁰ During this period the average wage for an agricultural labourer declined from £25 per annum in 1880-81 to £24 in 1892-93. It was against this backdrop that a private's pay was set at £40 per annum, a corporal's £51, a sergeant's £69 and a colour sergeant's, which according to Peter Karsten was the highest rank an average Irish soldier may attain, was £89.⁵¹ When one also considers that Edward Spiers found that 'those who enlisted came primarily from the least skilled sections of the working class. Casual labourers comprised the bulk of recruits from the urban and rural areas', this period should have generated a steady stream of recruits for the army but it did not.⁵² David French agreed with Spiers writing that 'those at the very bottom' were driven into the army 'out of desperation'.⁵³ However Irishmen were electing to emigrate rather than enlist. Between 1881 and 1890, of the 212,813 men between twenty and thirty years of age who emigrated, 176,310 were

⁴⁶ The Freeman's Journal, 13 Jun 1887

⁴⁷ The Freeman's Journal, 24 Sep 1889

⁴⁸ Report of the committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War to consider the terms and conditions of service in the Army, 1892, C.6582, C.6582-I, p. 328.

⁴⁹ For the purposes of this article I will not be examining how the Cardwell reforms affected recruitment. Nor will I be looking at the role the militia played in providing men for the army, as they both would deviate from its focus. Indeed the influence which the Cardwell reforms and that of the Militia held over recruitment could be the focus of another paper.

⁵⁰ Report of the Royal Commission on the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, and the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885. Separate report by Mr. Thomas Knipe, 1887, C.5015, Land Acts (Ireland.), p. 4.

⁵¹ Peter Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792-1922: Suborned or Subordinated?', *Journal of Social History*, 17, (1983), 31-64 (p. 39)

⁵² Edward Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army: 1868 – 1902* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 129.

⁵³ David French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, The British Army, & the British People, c.1870 – 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 37.

labourers.⁵⁴ Although Spiers acknowledges the effect emigration had on recruiting in his chapter in *A Military History of Ireland*, he does not detail the motivational factors behind why Irishmen were choosing to emigrate over enlisting at a time of economic uncertainty. Therefore, we can argue that Nationalist politics did have a bearing on an Irish labourer's decision to enlist. Briefly touching on recruiting during the Boer War, Spiers hints at this stating that 'the anti-recruiting drives of Maud Gonne and her pro-Boer Ladies may have had some effect, but they did not bring Irish enlistment to a "virtual standstill" as her biographer claims'.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Census of Ireland, 1891. Part II. General report, with illustrative maps and diagrams, tables, and appendix, 1892, C.6780, p. 527; Emigration statistics of Ireland, for the year 1881, 1882, C.3170, p. 10; Emigration statistics of Ireland, for the year 1882, 1883, C.3489, p.10; Emigration statistics of Ireland, for the year 1883, 1884, C.3899, p.10; Emigration statistics of Ireland, for the year 1884, 1884-85, C.4303, p. 10; Emigration statistics of Ireland, for the year 1885, 1886, C.4660, p. 10; Emigration statistics of Ireland, for the year 1886, 1887, C.4967, p. 10; Emigration statistics of Ireland. For the year 1887, 1888, C.5307, p. 10; Emigration statistics of Ireland, for the year 1888. Report and tables showing the number, ages, occupations, conjugal condition, and destinations of the emigrants from each county and province in Ireland during the year 1888, 1889, C.5647, p.10; Emigration statistics of Ireland, for the year 1889. Report and tables showing the number, ages, occupations, conjugal condition, and destinations of the emigrants from each county and province in Ireland during the year 1889. 1890, C.6010, p. 10; Emigration statistics of Ireland, for the year 1890. Report and tables showing the number, ages, occupations, conjugal condition, and destinations of the emigrants from each county and province in Ireland during the year 1890, 1890-91, C.6295, p.10.

⁵⁵ Spiers, 'Army Organisation and Society in the Nineteenth Century', p. 341.

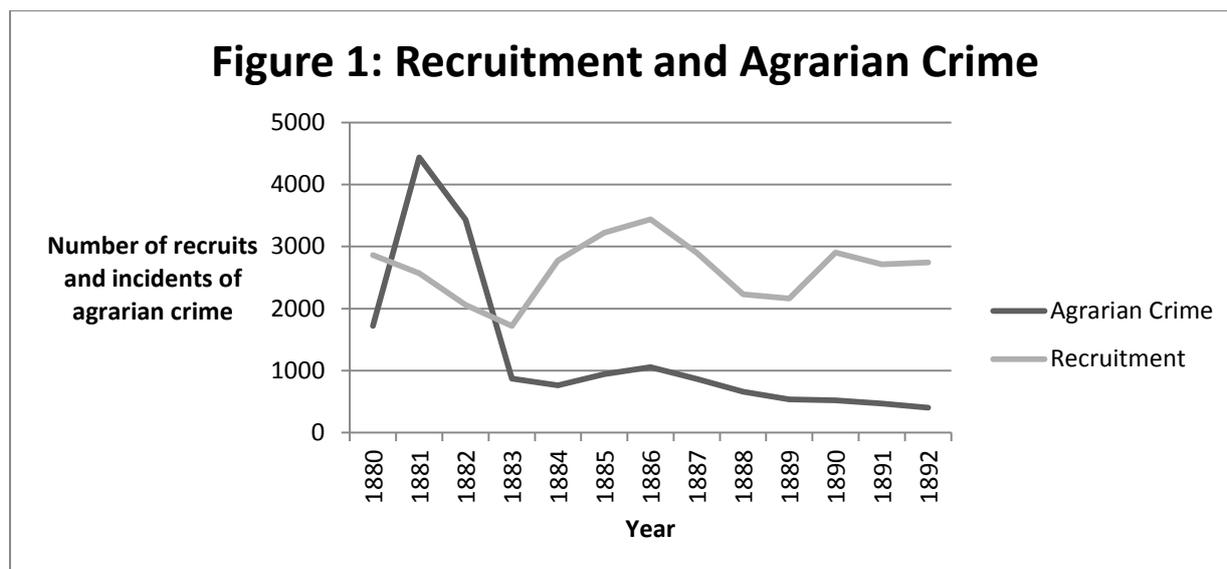
Table 2: Agricultural Prices 1881 – 1886⁵⁶		
Price of Produce per 112 lbs	1881	1886
Wheat	10s 2d	6s 4d
Oats	8s 0d	6s 3d
Barley	7s 9d	5s 5d
Butter	96s 6d	86s 4d
Beef	63s 9d	53s
Mutton	74s 6d	64s 2d
Pork	55s 0d	40s 4d
Potatoes	4s 0d	2s 9d
Hay	4s 4d	3s 0d
Straw	3s 3d	2s
Milch Cows	£19 5s 0d	£14 10s 0d
Two Year Olds	£12 0s 0d	£9 7s 6d
One Year Olds	£7 15s 0d	£5 13s 9d
Lambs	34s 0d	29s 0d
Wool per lb	12 3/4d	8 7/8d

⁵⁶ Report of the Royal Commission on the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, and the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885. Separate report by Mr. Thomas Knipe, 1887, C.5015, Land Acts (Ireland.), p. 4.

Product per 112lbs	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
Wheat	6s 3d	6s 11.5d	6s 5.5d	6s 8.5d	7s 2d
Oats	4s 10.5d	5s 4d	5s 8.5d	6s 1d	6s 10d
Barley	6s 0d	6s 7d	6s 7d	6s 6.5d	7s .75d
Flax per stone	5s 11d	6s 1.5d	5s8.25d	5s2.25d	5s 11d
Potatoes	2s 3d	2s 6.25d	2s8.25d	3s 0.5d	3s6.25d
Hay	2s 6.25d	2s 0d	1s 9d	1s11.5d	3s 3d
Butter	90s 89d	89s 10d	96s 0d	86s6.25d	103s6.5d
Pork	40s 5.5d	42s 5.5d	43s11.25d	37s3.75d	39s 5.5d
Wool per lb.	0s 10d	0s 10d	0s 9.5d	0s 9.5d	0s 9.5d

I would argue that the politics of the agrarian conflicts would have a negative impact upon recruitment. Indeed the number of recruits does not increase until after Parnell agreed to bring the Land War to an end on 5 May 1882. It was not until after the Kilmainham Treaty that the Army began to withdraw from its role as an aid to the civil power. The number of recruits peaked between 1885 and 1886, as Parnell negotiated with both the Liberals and Conservatives with the view of winning a Home Rule Bill in exchange for Nationalist votes in the Commons. The defeat of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill in April 1886 coincided with the second collapse of the Irish agricultural economy in a decade. In response Nationalists began what was known as the Plan of Campaign in an attempt to protect tenants from evictions. Inevitably, this led to the Army once more being asked to aid the RIC and a further decline in enlistment, despite the fact that the prevailing economic conditions made the environment ripe for recruiting sergeants. However by 1890 Parnell had distanced himself from the Plan and as a result it never had the support or momentum of the Land War. Therefore, its effects upon recruitment were only felt between 1887 and 1890. In any event Parnell's fall in 1892 overshadowed the Plan of Campaign and threw the cause of Irish Nationalism into chaos.

⁵⁷ The agricultural statistics of Ireland, for the year 1891. Division of land; acreage under crops; number and size of holdings; number of occupiers of land; woods and plantations; small fruit; rates of produce; average prices of agricultural produce; noxious insects; number, ages, &c., of livestock; diseases of cattle; exports and imports of livestock; dairy industries; honey produced; number of scutching mills; number of corn mills; silos and ensilage; forestry operations; agricultural schools; wages of agricultural labourers; loans for labourers' dwellings; observations on the produce of the crops by superintendents of enumeration; the weather, 1892, C.6777, p. 21.



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⁵⁸ Annual Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, p. 19, 1886 [C.4677] Army and Militia: Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, p. 15, 1889 [C.5652]:Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting for 1892, 1893-94, C.6906, p. 25;
 Agrarian outrages (Ireland). Return showing, by provinces, the highest number of duly reported agrarian outrages in Ireland in any year between 1844 and 1880; and, of the same for 1880 and for each succeeding year, 1887 (94), p. 1;
 Agrarian offences (provinces) (Ireland). Return by provinces, of agrarian offences throughout Ireland reported to the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, between 1st January, 1887, and 31st December, 1887, 1888, C.5345, pp. 2-11;
 Agrarian offences (provinces) (Ireland). Return by provinces, of agrarian offences throughout Ireland reported to the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, between 1st January, 1888, and 31st December, 1888, 1889, C.5691, pp. 2-11;
 Agrarian offences (provinces) (Ireland). Return by provinces, of agrarian offences throughout Ireland reported to the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, between 1st January, 1889 and 31st December, 1889, 1890, C.6008, pp. 2-11;
 Agrarian offences (provinces) (Ireland). Return by provinces, of agrarian offences throughout Ireland reported to the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, between 1st January, 1890 and 31st December, 1890, 1890-91, C.6327, pp. 2-11;
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Table 4: Recruiting and Politics ⁵⁹							
	The Land War					Home Rule Campaign	
	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886
Numbers Recruited	3446	2567	2062	1738	2776	3224	3438

Table 5: Recruiting and Politics ⁶⁰						
	Plan of Campaign					
	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892
Numbers recruited	2900	2230	2163	2903	2711	2743

The politically charged agrarian conflicts challenged the view that an economic crisis provided an upsurge of recruits. When General Buller told the Cooper Commission in 1887 that ‘there are a lot of idle fellows in the country, who have nothing to do, and with very little labour, they have not much chance of being employed’, the Army would have almost expected an increase in recruits.⁶¹ However, in 1892, General Feilding found the opposite. He observed that, ‘Even those enlisted have been obtained with difficulty from districts which, even 10 years ago, provided the Army with an abundant supply of men of fine physique’.⁶² The recruiting difficulties found nationally were replicated provincially, where men were clearly choosing the alternatives to enlisting during times of political tension.

⁵⁹ Army and Militia. Annual Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1886, C.4677, p. 19.

⁶⁰ Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1889, C.5652, p. 15; Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting for 1892, 1893-94, C.6906, p. 25.

⁶¹ Land Acts (Ireland). Report of the Royal Commission on the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, and the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885, 1887, C.4969, C.4969-I, C.4969-II, p.501.

⁶² Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1892, C.6597, p. 1.

Year	The Land War					Home Rule Campaign	
	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886
Royal Munster Fusiliers (Tralee)	498	422	309	339	423	437	468
Royal Irish Regiment (Clonmel)	461	284	201	188	266	330	329
Leinster Regiment (Birr)	155	103	158	119	120	162	160
Dublin Recruiting District	0 ⁶⁴	232	294	181	621	666	806
Royal Dublin Fusiliers (Naas)	569	433	364	164	455	303	167
Connaught Rangers (Galway)	123	144	132	153	185	202	309
Royal Irish Fusiliers (Armagh)	250	160	120	139	116	237	298
Royal Irish Rifles (Belfast)	0 ⁶⁵	606	373	341	473	725	722
Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Omagh)	222	183	111	94	117	162	179

Year	Plan of Campaign					
	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892
Royal Munster Fusiliers (Tralee)	318	187	157	196	279	386
Royal Irish Regiment (Clonmel)	292	226	333	376	253	307
Leinster Regiment (Birr)	166	171	161	147	205	231
Dublin Recruiting District	693	748	751	922	922	655
Royal Dublin Fusiliers (Naas)	318	145	132	170	213	195
Connaught Rangers (Galway)	123	144	132	153	185	202
Royal Irish Fusiliers (Armagh)	133	122	71	128	97	126
Royal Irish Rifles (Belfast)	523	329	354	679	511	448
Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Omagh)	133	112	65	117	105	131

The tables also demonstrate that despite the Land War being a mainly rural conflict, the effects of the Nationalist counter recruitment campaign were also visible in the urban centres of the

⁶³ Army and Militia. Annual Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1886, C.4677, p. 19.

⁶⁴ During 1880 the Royal Dublin Fusiliers also recruited from the Dublin recruiting district.

⁶⁵ Regiment and district created in 1881.

⁶⁶ Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1889, C.5652, p. 15;
Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting for 1892, 1893-94, C.6906, p. 25.

Dublin recruiting district and the Belfast based Royal Irish Rifles. This fact is also emphasised by the recruiting pattern of the urban dominated Royal Munster Fusiliers, which contained the cities of Cork and Limerick. In each case the numbers of recruits decreased throughout the Land War before increasing during the period before the introduction of the first Home Rule Bill. Throughout the Plan of Campaign in Belfast and Munster, the number of recruits decreased, before increasing after 1892. While the number of recruits increased in the Dublin recruiting district during the Plan of Campaign, it explodes after the fall of Parnell in 1892.

The main difference between the urban and rural districts was in their volume of recruits. The cities of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and Limerick provided their respective regiments with far more working class men than the rural based units such as the Leinster Regiment or Connaught Rangers. Indeed by 1885, only 72 men born in the regimental district of the Rangers were serving in the regiment.⁶⁷ In order to solve both the lack of recruitment and the low amount of Connacht men serving in the Rangers, in 1886, the military authorities were forced to appoint 513 men to the regiment from other sources, of whom 46% were originally from the province.⁶⁸ This came despite the fact that in 1881 Connacht contained 407,021 men.⁶⁹ A full 207,021 more than the 200,000 the army felt necessary for a district to maintain a regiment.⁷⁰ Therefore, Connacht should have easily produced an adequate number of men for the Rangers. Although the Congested Districts Board deemed the entire recruiting ground of the Rangers as unviable, the recruiting figures demonstrate that economics had little effect on recruiting during the agrarian conflicts.⁷¹

The recruiting area of the Royal Irish Fusiliers suffered from the opposite problem. Straddling counties Armagh, Cavan, and Monaghan, its recruiting district contained a male population of 192,397. However, of its total population of 385,198 people, 256,108 were Catholic while only 86,404 were Protestant and 42,686 were Presbyterian, thus ensuring that Nationalist politics

⁶⁷ Army and Militia. Annual Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1886, C.4677, p. 19.

⁶⁸ Army and Militia. Annual Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1887, C.4984, p. 20.

⁶⁹ Census of Ireland, 1881. Part I. Area, houses, and population: also the ages, civil or conjugal condition, occupations, birthplaces, religion, and education of the people. Vol. IV. Province of Connaught, 1882, C.3268, pp. 613 – 618.

⁷⁰ Memorandum by His Royal Highness the Field-Marshal Commanding in Chief on the proposal of the Secretary of State for war for the organization of the various military land forces of the country; and report of a committee on the details involved therein, 1872, C.493, p. 4.

⁷¹ Congested Districts Board for Ireland. First annual report of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland, 1893-94, C.6908, p. 4.

would inevitably affect recruitment.⁷² Colonel Cox complained that as the number of recruits was so low for the Royal Irish Fusiliers, that the 2nd battalion was not strong enough to take the field if the need arose.⁷³ The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, with its depot in Omagh, recruited in counties Donegal, Fermanagh, Derry, and Tyrone, had combined male population of 318,491. It should, therefore have been able to maintain its regiment, but as the recruiting figures show the region did not.⁷⁴ The recruiting pattern of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers was comparable to other regiments which were based in Nationalist dominated areas. This pattern was mirrored in the religious make-up of the population. There were 388,474 Catholics, 131,485 Protestants, and 115,783 Presbyterian.⁷⁵ Once more, the Nationalist majority ensured that politics and recruitment would become intertwined. Although the Royal Irish Rifles dominated recruiting in Ulster, it lost many recruits to other regiments, particularly to Scottish regiments. In 1889, General Roche reported that ‘the officer commanding the 26th and 71st regimental districts informs me that about one third of the Glasgow recruits are of Irish extraction’.⁷⁶ While Colonel E.A. Collins found that the preferred regiment for the militia men in Ulster, who wanted to enlist in the Army, was the Highland Light Infantry.⁷⁷ It would appear then that many Belfast based Unionist recruits wished to enlist in a regiment in which they had historical and family ties, further emphasising the link between politics and recruitment, albeit from a Unionist perspective.

This link was underlined in 1891 by General Feilding, who noted the decline in recruiting and blamed the decrease on ‘the number of emigrants [...] and the opposition of the Nationalist Party to the enlistment of any young Irishman in Her Majesty’s Forces’.⁷⁸ During April 1893, the then Chief Secretary, John Morley, asked Lord Wolseley why ‘the number of Irish non-commissioned officers and men has gone from 237 per thousand twenty years ago to 135 thousand today. I wonder what is the full reason of this immense decline. It can hardly be due to political feeling.’⁷⁹ It was against this backdrop that recruiters were expected to enlist men.

⁷² Census of Ireland, 1881 Part I. Area, houses, and population: also the ages, civil or conjugal condition, occupations, birthplaces, religion, and education of the people. Vol. III. Province of Ulster, 1882, C.3204, pp. 993-995.

⁷³ Report of the committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War to consider the terms and conditions of service in the Army, 1892, C.6582, C.6582-I, p. 129.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Census of Ireland, 1881. Part II. General report, with illustrative maps and diagrams, tables, and appendix, 1882, C.3365, p. 342.

⁷⁶ Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1890, C.5953, p. 7.

⁷⁷ Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1887, C.4984, p. 45.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Hove, Hove Library (HL), Wolseley collection, Autograph Section, MORLEY, John (1st Viscount Morley of Blackburn)/6, Letter from John Morley to Wolseley 13 Apr 1893.

To make a career in the Army more appealing, standards were lowered. In 1886, the military allowed men under twenty years of age who were one inch below the minimum height requirement to enter the infantry provided the medical and approving field officers believed they would become efficient soldiers.⁸⁰ As a result, the number of underdeveloped and impoverished recruits rose from 8% of total Irish enlistment in 1890 to 25% in 1892.⁸¹ Medical staff became so worried about the hygiene of these men that they asked for special baths to be made available for them instead of the regular baths used by soldiers as they might become infected.⁸² Colonel Markgill Crichton Maitland complained of the quality of Irish recruits stating that, ‘the class that enlist in Ireland is almost entirely confined to the destitute; about one tenth of the recruits are a better class of men, and possibly well to do, but the other nine tenths are comparatively destitute or afflicted with red coat fever’.⁸³

In Connacht and Munster, where the actions of the Land League were most prevalent, recruiters were simply boycotted. In the catchment area of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers the military were not helped by the refusal of many local tradesmen to allow recruiting posters to be displayed in their premises, while the Leinster Regiment only managed to display 25% of their allotted posters.⁸⁴ The counter recruitment campaign created an atmosphere in which the Army and its recruiters were not welcomed by Nationalists. The Army were not viewed as a force that policed the empire and fought small colonial wars but one which held and occupied Ireland. As a result, Army chiefs never trusted Nationalists. Lord Wolseley, wrote in March 1895,

I am influenced by the conviction based upon my knowledge of Ireland and Irish ways, that you draw the teeth of the elements of possible internal disturbance whenever you remove from Ireland all regular Irish regiments, all the Irish reserve and all the militia regiments except, Mid-Ulster and Londonderry Artillery and the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Royal Irish Rifles and the 3rd Royal Irish Fusiliers.⁸⁵

The Duke of Connaught agreed with Wolseley when he wrote ‘on the outbreak of hostilities with a European power, it will be expedient to remove all dangerous elements from Ireland.

⁸⁰ Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1888, C.5302, p.20.

⁸¹ Report of the committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War to consider the terms and conditions of service in the Army, 1892, C.6582, C.6582-I, p. Xxxvi.

⁸² *Ibid*, p. 304.

⁸³ Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting for 1892, 1893-94, C6906, p. 329.

⁸⁴ Army and militia. Annual report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, 1890-91, C.6275, p.24.

⁸⁵ NAUK, WO 32/7081, Allotment of Special Reserve battalions of Irish Regiments to war stations in Ireland. Allotment of units and copies of correspondence, 1887 – 1908, Lord Wolseley to the War Office 31 Mar 1895

Consequently all the militia infantry, with the exceptions you mention, will be transferred to England.⁸⁶ Upon the outbreak of the Boer War, any Irish regiment stationed in Ireland was removed and replaced by British units. This attitude was to persist when, in 1912, the Irish Command listed the counties where opposition might be expected in a future war. It is no coincidence that every county in Munster and Connacht, with the exception of Sligo, is listed as they were the most active during the Land War and the provinces in which the counter recruitment campaign was most vociferous.⁸⁷

Although the breakdown in trust was to have long term consequences, in the interim Nationalists had shown that they could interfere with military recruitment. This was to break new ground, as previously it had been seen as impossible. In 1812, the Catholic Church told Daniel O'Connell that 'while they never promoted a soldier's life as the best way to heaven; but that poverty and drunkenness etc. always has and always will drive many into it'.⁸⁸ Even the leading Fenian, John O'Leary, conceded in 1869 that 'it is too often poverty and not his will consents, when a poor Irishman takes the Saxon shilling'.⁸⁹ Nationalists managed to do this at a time of economic turmoil by portraying the Army as a force of coercion and occupation. Consequently the fate of Army recruitment in Ireland would become attached to developments in Nationalist politics. This was to have consequences for the Army during the Boer War and the Great War.

Although the Land War began as an economic crisis, it quickly became political after Nationalists objected to being evicted from their homes by the instruments of British rule in Ireland. The violent scenes witnessed at evictions led to the Army being called upon to aid the increasingly overburdened RIC. However as the violence escalated, the military's involvement deepened. Soon soldiers were not only escorting bailiffs but patrolling the countryside in an attempt to suppress the Land League. Consequently, Nationalists viewed the Army with mounting bitterness and as an affront to their cause. Soldiers were frequently assaulted in politically charged attacks as the country descended into chaos. The nature of the atmosphere in Ireland led to men choosing not to enlist despite the collapse of the economy, breaking with the accepted hypothesis that depressed economic conditions fuel enlistment. Therefore, under Parnell's leadership, Nationalist politics would have a bearing over recruitment. This was not only

⁸⁶ Ibid., Duke of Connaught to Lord Wolseley 25 Apr 1895

⁸⁷ NAUK, CO 904/174/255, Reports on the value of the police in the event of an uprising or invasion and scheme for mobilisation of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC)

⁸⁸ Denman, p 208.

⁸⁹ John O'Leary, *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism* (London, Downey, 1896), p. 74.

displayed during the Land War and Plan of Campaign, but during the first Home Rule campaign, when enlistment increased as the relationship between Nationalists and the Government thawed.

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‘Protecting the non-combatant’: Chivalry, Codes and the Just War Theory

Over the centuries historians and scholars have documented the devastating effects that war has upon society; yet whilst it is known how destructive warfare can be, wars continue to be waged. There have, however, been attempts to provide rules and regulations to limit the damaging effects of conflict. The Greeks attempted to place restraints on the recourse and conduct of war, whilst the Romans developed a more comprehensive account of the laws of war, suggesting the possibility of universal legal restraints. The aftermath of the Peloponnesian war (431-404 BC) brought new forms of philosophy to Ancient Greece, prompting new ways of thinking about war.² Plato directly addressed the question of war, suggesting that the aim of the state was to establish peace and that war should only be waged for this reason.³ Aristotle continued this idea and according to him, justice depended on human relations and that all humans had their own position within nature. From this perspective he formulated the first ideas about legitimate causes of war and even used the term ‘just war’.⁴ Antiquity saw further thought on the subject expressed by the likes of Cicero, who argued that war may only be fought to protect the safety or honour of the state.⁵ He also went on to echo Plato and say that the ‘only excuse for going to war is that we may live in peace.’⁶ However, it was St Augustine of Hippo, writing in the later part of the fourth century, who then connected it to Christian doctrine in his work *The City of God against the Pagans*.⁷ For Augustine, it was ‘clear that peace is the desired end of war’.⁸ This idea not only continued to be the over-riding theme in his work relating to just war, but it remained a constant as the theory developed further. The modern theory of Just War is presented under two

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² Alex Bellamy, *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), p. 17.

³ Plato, *The Laws*, trans. by T. Saunders, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 31.

⁴ Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. by Ernest Barker, rev. by R.F. Stalley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 199.

⁵ Cicero, *De Re Publica. De Legibus*, trans. by Clinton Keyes (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), pp. 211-13.

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⁷ Augustine, *City of God against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. by R.W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See Book XIX for discussions of ‘just war’, pp. 909-65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 934. It is here that he echoed the thoughts of both Plato and Cicero.

major headings: first, *jus ad bellum* or ‘the right to war’, which seeks to specify principles that define the right of one sovereign power to engage in violent action against another; and second, *jus in bello* or ‘right in war’, which specifies the limits of morally acceptable conduct in the actual prosecution of a war. Despite dedicating less attention to the second of the two parts of the theory, St Augustine provided two principles of *jus in bello*: proportionality and discrimination. It is these concepts that this paper will discuss, looking at how theorists tried to develop this part of the theory throughout the medieval and early modern periods before analysing whether the theory was put into practice and what impact, if any, it made on warring societies.

The first principle – that of proportionality – dictated that only minimum force, consistent with military necessity, could be used. Violent means, which caused gratuitous suffering or otherwise caused unnecessary harm, fell outside the scope of what is ‘proportional’.⁹ The second principle – discrimination – provided protection for the non-combatant, suggesting that soldiers were to distinguish between combatants, meaning those actively fighting, and non-combatants, which included women, children, the aged, the infirm, and wounded soldiers. These two principles were designed in order to reduce the amount of ‘collateral damage’ that warfare could cause, yet it raises the question: could conduct ever be regulated? Simply formulating and speculating on a theory is very different to actually executing it in practice.

Jus in bello, therefore, received less attention than its partner principle, *jus ad bellum*, perhaps because it is more difficult to place realistic restrictions on conduct. The concept of chivalry, a traditional code of conduct idealised by the knightly class relating to times of both peace and war, dominated the medieval period and many of the scholars who contributed to the principle of *jus in bello* were in fact writing about chivalry. There is, therefore, a clear distinction between the medieval and early modern periods. The scholars of the medieval world tended to base their ideas upon the chivalric code; whereas, the writers of the early modern period seem influenced by the law of nations and natural law.

Proportionality

The first real attempt to regulate conduct in warfare appeared in the form of the *Pax Dei* or the Peace of God movement in the tenth century. *Pax Dei* was a movement of the Catholic Church

⁹ John Mattox, *Saint Augustine and the Theory of Just War* (London: Continuum, 2006), p. 11.

that applied spiritual sanctions to limit the violence of private war in feudal society. Peace councils were first held in Aquitaine and Burgundy during the last quarter of the tenth century. In 975, Bishop Guy of Le Puy convoked a large meeting in an open field outside his episcopal city to deal with those who had pillaged the churches of his diocese and he forced those gathered, both knights and peasants, to take an oath to maintain peace.¹⁰ The earliest council, from which Peace canons survive, was held at Charroux in 989. It ordered ‘anathema against those who break into churches. If anyone breaks into or robs a church, he shall be anathema unless he makes satisfaction.’¹¹ Following this, the Truce of God was established in an attempt to limit fighting by forbidding it on holy days. There were as many as 168 recognized saint’s days, which translates to almost half of the year being classified as a holy day.¹² Any violation of this would result in excommunication or similar punishment. Whilst these peace movements were nowhere near to being fully established rules for regulating conduct, the Peace of God attempted to protect the clergy and agricultural labourers as non-combatants; whilst the Truce of God aimed to circumscribe the extent of warfare between knights, which provided a successful foothold for scholars to continue the tradition of attempting to provide ways to regulate conduct.¹³

Around 1140, the Benedictine monk Gratian completed a massive compilation of canon law in the shape of a textbook known as the *Concordia Discordantium Canonum* or more frequently the *Decretum*. Whilst the principle of *jus ad bellum* was given significant attention, Gratian was vague in his dealings with this aspect and made only passing references to the idea that some groups should be immune from the ravages of war and that its conduct be limited to actions deemed necessary.¹⁴ According to Frederick Russell, Gratian felt that if a war was necessary and just then all possible means to victory must be employed including the use of more effective weapons.¹⁵ Similarly, Thomas Aquinas, writing in the mid-thirteenth century, and arguably one of the most famous medieval scholars associated with the theory, also dedicated less time to this principle in

¹⁰ Thomas Head and Richard Landes, ‘Introduction’, in *The Peace of God: social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000*, ed. by Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 1-20 (p. 3).

¹¹ Mansi, ‘Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio’, 19:89-90, trans. by T. Head, in *The Peace of God*, ed. by Head and Landes, pp. 327-328 (p. 327).

¹² *A Handbook of Dates*, ed. by C.R. Cheney, rev. edn, rev. by Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 61-62. It is important to note that many saints were local and so may not have been worshipped by every community. This number is an approximation.

¹³ Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: Conduct and perception of War in England and France, 1066-1217* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 34.

¹⁴ Bellamy, p. 37.

¹⁵ Russell, p. 234.

his *Summa Theologica*, and very little regarding the idea of proportionality. He did discuss whether it was considered lawful to lay ambushes and concluded that ‘ambushes since they are a kind of deception, seem to pertain injustice. Therefore it is unlawful to lay ambushes even in a just war’.¹⁶ Whilst both the Peace and the Truce of God had sparked an interest in regulating conduct, little attention was actually given to this part of the theory by canonists during the medieval period.

It was, in fact, those writing about chivalry who contemplated the idea of regulating conduct in this period. The Middle Ages was famous for chivalry and the chivalric code, by which knights would spend their career modeling themselves on the ideal in order to gain honour and recognition from their peers. Maurice Keen noted chivalry as ‘a word that came to denote the code and culture of a martial estate which regarded war as its hereditary profession’.¹⁷ During this period, *jus in bello* became intertwined with the concepts of chivalry, with many contemporaries writing about the chivalric code. The first of the chivalric scholars was Ramon Llull, a Majorcan philosopher writing in the second half of the thirteenth century, who wrote the *Book of the Order of Chivalry*. He outlined the duties of a knight and what he considered to be acceptable behaviour during times of war, writing ‘for chivalry is to maintain justice’.¹⁸ When going out to fight, the knight was expected to maintain justice and act in a chivalrous way, and this can be seen to be in keeping with the principle of proportionality, for only just and necessary military action was expected. The idea of honour was of great importance, in times of both war and peace. The concept of respect during war relates to Augustine’s principle of proportionality because the chivalric code demanded honour and respect during battle. Llull suggested that ‘A knight ought more to doubt the blame of the people and his dishonour than he should [feel] the peril of death’,¹⁹ signaling how important the idea of honour and respect was in the chivalric code, and in turn the theory of *jus in bello*, at this time.

A century later, Geoffrey de Charny, who lived and died in arms, wrote about chivalry around the time of the founding of the Order of the Star – the French rival to Edward III’s Order of the

¹⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *The “Summa Theologica” of St Thomas Aquinas: Part II (second part)*, trans. by Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Oates and Washbourne, 1916), p. 506.

¹⁷ Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 30. See also Strickland, and Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) for a comprehensive discussion of the topic. Bellamy also discusses the negative effects of chivalry in conjunction with the theory.

¹⁸ Ramon Llull, *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*, trans. by William Caxton, ed. by Alfred T.P. Byles (London: Early English Text Society, 1926), p. 77.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Garter. Charny discussed in detail war, tournaments, and jousting, which focused more upon courtly chivalry and the concept as a way of life. Nevertheless, there was some discussion dedicated to proper conduct within battle and when considering the idea of barbaric behaviour during combat, he condemned this, asserting that ‘those who use arms in this dishonourable way behave like cowards and traitors’.²⁰ He then criticized knights for committing certain crimes within war, such as robbery and pillaging for no good reason and plundering and stealing from the Church, all of which were classed as unacceptable conduct. Yet, whilst Charny did discuss regulations for conduct within war, he was more concerned with encouraging knights to follow certain protocols, like proper warning, than actually mitigating against brutal behavior. He concerned himself with providing restrictions for knights when out in battle; however he also observed, ‘[a]nd yet one should praise and value those men-at-arms who are able to make war on, inflict damage on and win profit from their enemies, for they cannot do it without strenuous effort and great courage’.²¹ It is here that one can detect differences between the concept of chivalry and the Just War theory. Some of the fundamentals of the chivalric code directly contradicted those regulations put in place by the Just War theory, as shown by Charny. This is perhaps partially due to the fact that men writing about chivalry had different concerns when writing about the code. Charny, for example, concerned himself more with courtly chivalry and participation in jousting, tournaments, and glory in warfare as opposed to non-combatant immunity. It is understandable therefore that as result of this, in the main, the *jus in bello* principle remained fairly inadequate as a set of rules for regulating conduct by the end of the medieval period.

During the sixteenth century, the Spanish philosopher, theologian, and jurist Francisco Vitoria questioned how much may be done during a ‘just war’, but then went on to state that ‘in the just war one may do everything necessary for the defence of the public good.’²² This, of course, did not place restrictions upon the amount of damage inflicted and, if anything, went against the original principle of proportionality provided by St Augustine. He also discussed whether it was lawful to plunder. Whilst he believed that if the war could be waged without plundering then plunder was not lawful, he also thought that it was ‘certain that we may plunder them of the

²⁰ Geoffroi de Charny, ‘Le Livre de chevalerie’, trans. by Elspeth Kennedy, in Richard Kaeuper and Elspeth Kennedy, *The book of chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: text, context, and translation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 84-200 (p. 179).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

²² *Political writings / Francisco de Vitoria*, ed. by Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 304.

goods and property which have been used against us by the enemy'.²³ Although Vitoria acknowledged the medieval concept of proportionality he did not provide any further thought regarding the principle. It seems that he believed that one could do all that was necessary in order to secure peace. If anything, there were fewer attempts to build on this part of the theory than in the earlier centuries and Vitoria was not the only early modernist guilty of this. Hugo Grotius, a Dutch jurist and philosopher, famous for his role in laying the foundations for international law, alongside Vitoria and Alberico Gentili, also dedicated little attention to the proportionality principle, simply stating that where the punishment is just, all means of force and violence can be used to execute such a punishment.²⁴ Like Vitoria, Grotius believed that in order to achieve peace and avenge injury, men were able to employ any means possible, which in essence is a failure to regulate the amount of damage that could be inflicted.

Writing in the late-seventeenth century, Samuel Pufendorf, a German jurist and philosopher who provided commentaries and revisions of the natural law theories of Grotius and Thomas Hobbes, simply echoed the sentiments of Vitoria and Grotius, arguing that an army fighting for a just cause had the right to 'apply whatever means seem to be most appropriate'.²⁵ He did, however, provide a slight qualification, believing that it was only 'lawful for me to use *Violence* against my Enemy till I have repulsed the Danger he threaten'd me'.²⁶ Nevertheless, in general these three early modernists' contributions to the development of the proportionality principle were limited compared to the medieval writers. A century later, Swiss jurist Emer de Vattel was no different in his treatment of this principle, writing that, 'we have a right to do against the enemy whatever we find necessary for the attainment of that end, for the purpose of bringing him to reason and obtaining justice and security from him'.²⁷ What differentiates Vattel from his contemporaries is that he made an attempt to discuss tactics within warfare, as Aquinas had, in order to provide some form of regulation. He concluded that assassination and poisoning were contrary to the laws of war, and equally condemned by the law of nature and the consent of all civilised nations.²⁸ Although only a half-hearted effort in applying restrictions to conduct, it was at least an attempt.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

²⁴ Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace: in Three Books*, ed. by Jean Barbeyrac (London, 1738), p. 517.

²⁵ Samuel Pufendorf, *Of the Law of Nature and Nations: Eight Books*, ed. by Jean Barbeyrac (London, 1729), p. 837.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 837.

²⁷ Emer de Vattel, *The Law of Nations: or, Principles of the Law of Nature applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns*, trans. by anon. (London, 1797), p. 346.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

Overall, the principle of proportionality received little attention from the majority of Just War writers. The medieval period saw the rise of chivalry within the knightly class and, whilst aspects of the chivalric code contributed to the theory of *jus in bello*, it equally had negative consequences. The fact that it only applied to the knightly class meant that there was no general set of rules for all of society. Similarly, the idea of glory and honour within warfare did not always mean that knights would act in a just manner. Despite the disparity between concepts, chivalry did contribute to the theory of just war by providing some form of code highlighting acceptable behaviour. If anything it opened the door for future scholars to develop the theory as they had done with the concept of *jus ad bellum*. However, the theory still encountered major obstacles; for example, though theologians customarily condemned the pillaging and destruction of feudal wars and mercenary bands, they continued exempting these acts when they were performed in a just war.²⁹ This less-than-satisfactory treatment of the principle continued through into the next period. Early modern scholars produced few new ideas regarding the principle of proportionality, which resulted in the concept remaining fairly unsophisticated. Whilst writers like Vitoria and Vattel briefly discussed ways to restrict damage inflicted upon society, they were vague and therefore made only a weak impact upon the theory. Although most scholars agreed upon the basic principle of only using the necessary amount of military force, few developed this principle and those who did still failed to produce a solid solution as to how the regulation could be put into practice. That said, ravaging and pillaging were intrinsic elements of warfare and tended to be the most effective methods for submission. Trying to regulate effective warfare was near to impossible.

Non-combatant Immunity

The subject of non-combatant immunity was discussed under the principle of discrimination, which received slightly more attention than that of proportionality. The Peace of God threatened ‘anathema against those who injure clergymen’, and similarly the acts of the council of Elne-Toulouges in 1027 stated that ‘no one would assail in any way a monk or cleric travelling without arms, or any man going to or returning from the church with his kin, or any man accompanying women’.³⁰ Whilst this could refer to both times of peace and war, it shows that there was at least a developing thinking regarding protecting civilians. The principle of discrimination therefore

²⁹ Russell, p. 275.

³⁰ Mansi, ‘Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio’, 19:89-90, trans. by T. Head, in *The Peace of God*, ed. by Head and Landes, pp. 327-328 (p. 334).

was in the minds of even the earliest medieval scholars and it was clear to them that rules needed to be provided in order to protect the common person from the violence and instability that early medieval Europe witnessed. The Peace of God and the Truce of God signalled significant progress within thinking regarding conduct of war and yet Gratian provided little profound thought on the subject in his *Decretum*. The closest Gratian came to a concept of non-combatant immunity was the demand that pilgrims, clerics, monks, women, and unarmed peasants be immune from violence, on pain of excommunication.³¹ This idea was of course no different to the rules provided by the Peace of God.

The late-thirteenth-century philosopher Ramon Llull went into a detailed account about the duties of chivalry, stating that the primary duty of the knight was to defend the Church against unbelievers as well as to protect his secular ruler, the weak, women, and children.³² Yet, regarding actual conduct and non-combatant immunity, Llull says very little on the subject. This also appears to be the case with Geoffrey de Charny. He observed that it was forbidden ‘to harm those persons who are ordained to perform such a noble office as to serve God’, but, in the main, his work was concerned with chivalry as a way of life rather than just during warfare and so, little attention was given to immunity of the non-combatant.³³ Matthew Strickland remarked that the Hundred Years’ War offered the catalyst for increasing formation and development of rules of conduct, and this was reflected by the production of tracts concerned specifically with the ethical and juridical aspects of war.³⁴ It was Honore Bonet, a Benedictine monk writing in the fourteenth century, and Christine de Pisan, an early fifteenth-century Italian poet and court writer to several dukes in the French court, who made important contributions to the development of thinking about non-combatant immunity. Together, their views expanded the categories of protected people and offered further justification for their immunity. Bonet’s ideas were consistent with earlier works, but he furnished a concept of non-combatant immunity more complete than any previous work connected with either chivalry or canon law. He expanded the canonical idea that certain groups should be immune from war because of their social function during peacetime (e.g., clerics, farmers, merchants) to include the chivalrous idea that groups that

³¹ Gratian, ‘Decreti Secunda Pars Causa’, in *Corpus Juris Canonici*, 2nd edn, rev. and ed. by A. Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879), I, pp. 995-97.

³² Llull, p. 25.

³³ Geoffroi de Charny, p. 179.

³⁴ Strickland, p. 32.

were too weak to bear arms should also be exempt.³⁵ The thinking behind this idea was that if the men were too weak, too old, too young, or too sick, 'the battalion would be of little worth.'³⁶

Christine de Pisan devoted time to the subject of prisoners, stating that children and old men were not to be taken prisoner, and that the killing of prisoners was unjust. She also discussed non-combatant immunity by posing the question of whether it was lawful to imprison the common people, defining them as 'labourers shepherds and such folk', and concluded that it was only lawful to imprison them if they had assisted the enemy, for it is not their 'office' to be involved in wars.³⁷ She used the same example for her dealings with priests, commanding that they should be immune unless they meddled in war. As well as condemning the use of violence against priests and clerics, de Pisan also forbade their involvement in arms, writing that 'they ought not to come out of their place for no manner a case but only is permitted to them the defence of the city', meaning only self-defence was a justified reason for their involvement.³⁸ Bonet also speculated over the subject of prisoners, with similar result to de Pisan; however, he believed that while it was unlawful to kill prisoners, there were instances where it was acceptable, such as the possibility of escape.³⁹ De Pisan's work clearly compliments that of Bonet, and A.T.P. Byles observed in the preface of his edited text of de Pisan that 'her indebtedness to Honore Bonet in the last two parts of the book is so great that collation was impracticable'.⁴⁰ Whilst the writings of chivalry were, in the main, dedicated towards the duty of the knight, the concept of immunity of the non-combatant was addressed by a few of the famous chivalric writers, providing a more solid framework as to who was classed as a non-combatant.

Russell believes that medieval canonists sought to exempt non-combatants from hostilities through the Peace of God.⁴¹ This was not a sufficient regulation for non-combatant immunity, nor was it specific enough in determining exactly who was classed as the non-combatant. In general, medieval scholars devoted little attention to *jus in bello*, and whilst a little more time was given to ensuring that non-combatants were given some form of protection, there was still

³⁵ Honore Bonet, *The Tree of Battles*, trans. by G.W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949), p. 130.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³⁷ Christine de Pisan, *The book of fayttes of armes and of chyvalrye*, trans. by William Caxton, ed. by A.T.P. Byles (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 225. Charny also discusses the idea of prisoners in his work *Demands pour la joute, les tournois, et la guerre*, which was written for the Order of the Star. See Geoffroi de Charny, 'Demands pour la joute, les tournois, et la guerre', trans. by Michael A Taylor, in *Joust and Tournaments: Charny and the Rules for Chivalric Sport in Fourteenth-Century France*, ed. by Steven Muhlberger (Union City: The Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002), pp. 96-143.

³⁸ de Pisan, p. 283.

³⁹ Bonet, p. 152.

⁴⁰ de Pisan, p. vii.

⁴¹ Russell, p. 273.

questions relating to whom these people were. Thomas Aquinas wrote that ‘the life of righteous men preserves and forwards the common good, since they are chief part of the community. Therefore it is no way lawful to slay the innocent.’⁴² That said, he did not explain what he felt defined the righteous or the innocent, and for many knights and soldiers their perception of who was classed as innocent may have differed from that of Aquinas and his fellow theologians and canonists. It has been argued that, rather than attempting to eliminate war altogether, the scholastics, more realistically and modestly, tried to reduce the incidence of violence.⁴³ However, their attempts seem feeble and therefore of very little use to the continuing plight of regulating conduct within warfare.

Vitoria’s thoughts on the principle of discrimination followed suit by simply employing the doctrine of double effect, a set of criteria first proposed by Aquinas in his treatment of homicidal self-defence in his *Summa Theologica*. It claimed that sometimes it is permissible to cause such a harm as a side-effect (or “double effect”) of bringing about a good result even though it would not be permissible to cause such a harm as a means to bringing about the same good end. Although the innocent might not be deliberately targeted, Vitoria permitted their accidental killing in certain circumstances, stating that ‘it is never lawful in itself intentionally to kill innocent persons’.⁴⁴ He then proceeded to define the innocent as children, women, travellers or visitors, clergy and monks. Whilst this provides a satisfactory restriction, Vitoria then went on to agree that ‘it is occasionally lawful to kill the innocent not by mistake but with full knowledge of what one is doing if this is an accidental effect.’⁴⁵ This adoption of Aquinas’ theory meant that there was no development in the aim to decrease the amount of damage and loss of innocent lives during times of warfare. Vitoria continued to discuss what was lawful in the dealings with enemy combatants in terms of when it was considered legitimate to kill them and enslave them, yet there was still minimal distinction between the combatant and non-combatant. He permitted the innocent to be taken for ransom but not imprisonment, yet the means of enforcing this point was not discussed. He also wrote that ‘one may lawfully enslave the innocent under just the same conditions as one may plunder them’, meaning that if they assist the war effort then they may be imprisoned.⁴⁶ Yet, as with many of his points, Vitoria failed to consider that at times of war, soldiers would fail to make such distinctions in the heat of battle or combat and most likely

⁴² Aquinas, p. 507.

⁴³ Russell, p. 308.

⁴⁴ *Francisco de Vitoria*, p. 315.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

enslave everyone, claiming that they were assisting the enemy. Vitoria did devote more attention to this principle, more so than the majority of his medieval predecessors; however, very few of his ideas were original and most were unsatisfactory in terms of providing real protection for the innocent.

Vitoria's contemporary, Alberico Gentili, a sixteenth-century Italian jurist best known for his work relating to international law, was less restrictive on the question of non-combatant immunity and his logic mirrored the canon law view that people should enjoy immunity from the ravages of war according to their peacetime function. He argued that women and children should not be killed; however, he permitted the killing of women if they undertook male duties or led the people into fornication. Likewise, clerics, farmers, traders, and travellers were given immunity because they performed important peacetime functions. Whilst Gentili added little to this strand of the Just War tradition, he insisted that prisoners should not be killed, even if their numbers were so large that they could not be guarded, because soldiers were not guilty of anything other than defending the rights of their sovereign.⁴⁷ Whilst this was aimed at the soldiers, this too provided protection to any innocent people who were unlawfully enslaved. Quite surprisingly, Hugo Grotius, like both Vitoria and Gentili, contributed little new thinking to the theory. This seems peculiar because Grotius' work, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, was a reaction to the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), self-consciously aimed at redressing what he saw as the disturbing trend towards the view that the sovereign could wage war for any reason.⁴⁸ That said, W.S.M. Knight suggests that, in actual fact, 'Grotius lays no claim to originality, but rather clearly and definitely indicates his indebtedness to others for all that he says on the subject'.⁴⁹ He adopted Aquinas' doctrine of double effect without revision and aligned his thinking with canon law and the chivalric tradition by identifying specific groups who should be immune from deliberate attack. Grotius believed that killing everyone found in the enemy's territory was not illegal, writing that 'when war is proclaimed against a nation, it is at the same time proclaimed against all of that nation'.⁵⁰

It seems that even by Grotius' time, the principle of *jus in bello* was still providing scholars with considerable difficulty when attempting to produce a set of rules regulating the way in which war

⁴⁷ Bellamy, p. 61.

⁴⁸ Charles Edwards, *Hugo Grotius, the Miracle of Holland: a Study in Political and Legal Thought* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981), p. 116.

⁴⁹ William S.M. Knight, *The life and works of Hugo Grotius* (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1925), p. 201.

⁵⁰ Grotius, p. 563.

was fought. Similar to Grotius' view, Vattel's approach held that all enemy citizens were potential enemies. However, he rejected the idea that this made them legitimate targets, writing:

Women, children and feeble old men, and sick persons come under the description of enemies and we have certain rights over them, inasmuch as they belong to the nation with whom we are at war [...] But there are enemies who make no resistance; and consequently we have no right to maltreat their persons or use any violence against them, much less to take away their lives.⁵¹

Unlike Grotius, Vattel proposed two safeguards. The first was a re-articulation of the doctrine of non-combatant immunity, not dissimilar to canon law. Individuals who offered no resistance, or clergy, whose manner of life was wholly apart from the profession of arms, were to be immune from violence.⁵² The second was an early form of *jus in bello* proportionality. Vattel expressly ruled out the total destruction of cities and agricultural land, insisting that he who committed such acts declared himself an enemy to mankind. This may be seen as a more realistic view toward non-combatant immunity and definitely the most logical way of thinking.

The principle of *jus in bello* provided those contributing to the Just War Tradition with the same problems that have existed in both the medieval and early modern period. The development of this principle has been far less successful than that of *jus ad bellum*, and there has been little resolution to the various flaws within the theory. The chivalric code dominated the majority of the medieval period, and whilst this code lent certain concepts and ideas to the theory, there was also conflict between the two. Chivalry was not just a code for conduct within warfare, but also a lifestyle designed for the aristocratic warriors. Johan Huizinga believed that chivalry was the ferment that made possible the development of the laws of war. He wrote that 'the notion of a law of nations was preceded and prepared for by the chivalric ideal of a good life of honour and loyalty.'⁵³ Whilst this may be the case, and there is, of course, no doubt that chivalry did contribute to the theory, it would be incorrect to assume that its impact was completely positive. Traditionally, war had given men the opportunity to achieve honour through individual acts of valour and courage, which could lead to unnecessary violence. Adopting a less romantic

⁵¹ Vattel, p. 352.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 352-53.

⁵³ Johan Huizinga, 'The political and military significance of chivalric ideas in the late Middle Ages', in *Men and ideas: history of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance: essays by Johan Huizinga*, trans. by James S. Holmes and Hans van Marle (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1960), pp. 96-207 (p. 203).

viewpoint to Huizinga, Strickland acknowledged that given the nature of medieval warfare, the chivalric code was not realistic in granting immunity to non-combatants.⁵⁴ The fact that the peasantry, whether in battle or in the fields, might be cut down with little compunction only highlights the limitations of the code as a mechanism for limiting the misery of warfare. Because warfare was rapidly developing by the end of the Hundred Years' War – with the introduction of professional standing armies, stricter regulations and new weaponry, such as guns and gun powder – it became clear that the chivalric code was no longer suitable for regulating war. Keen has argued that chivalry was once a cultural and a social phenomenon which retained its vigour because it remained relevant to the social and political realities of the time.⁵⁵ Once times began to change and this secular code became less relevant, its influence faded.

Theory versus Practice

Despite limited development across the two periods, the theory still provided some degree of notional control over conduct. It would, therefore, be useful to examine whether there is any evidence of adherence to its basic rules in practice. In order to assess the impact of the *jus in bello* principle, a major war from each period will be examined with the hope of not only finding evidence of the theory being put into practice but also demonstrating contrasts and highlighting comparisons between the periods. Perhaps the most prominent war of the medieval period was the Hundred Years' War, fought in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries between France and England. The second war to be discussed will be the 'Thirty Years' War, which was fought during the first half of the seventeenth century which pitted the Holy Roman Emperor, his Habsburg forces, and their allies against the Protestant states of the Holy Roman Empire and their allies. It is likely that due to the limited progression of thought relating to *jus in bello* there will be less evidence of knights and soldiers respecting the vague restrictions surrounding conduct. Although this principle did not change much between the periods, there may still be some indication as to which period the theory impacted upon the most. The problem surrounding detecting evidence of the theory is that the chroniclers and contemporaries may well have been aware of the regulations provided by the Just War theorists and therefore altered their works in order to comply with these regulations. Nevertheless, despite this, contemporary accounts still provide an idea of how the theory impacted not just on the knights and their leaders, but also on the chroniclers and contemporary witnesses. The chroniclers of the Hundred Years' War tended to

⁵⁴ Strickland, pp. 335-37.

⁵⁵ Keen, p. 252.

focus their attention upon telling tales of chivalry, especially seen in the work of Jean Froissart, and they sometimes glorified acts of destruction in order to emphasise the bravery and strength of the force. Froissart created the legend that was the Black Prince, embellishing his chivalric actions in war whilst glossing over incidents that were perhaps less than honourable. The *chevauchée*, for example, was a raiding method designed to weaken the enemy by burning, pillaging, and generally wreaking havoc in enemy territory in order to weaken productivity. This was in direct conflict with the principle of *jus in bello*, especially the strand of proportionality, and so Froissart therefore said very little of the *grande chevauchée* of 1355/6. Although he was strongly supportive of Edward III, Jean Le Bel, a Flemish chronicler and an older contemporary of Froissart, provided perhaps a less romanticised portrayal of conduct within war. According to him, Edward and his marshals ‘rode on at great speed, destroying all as they passed, to Mareuil, where they burned the town, the fortress and the priory, and so many small towns round about’.⁵⁶

Proportionality appears to have been ignored during the medieval period, possibly owing the fact that warfare was not just about battle but also about submission. Not only is this shown in the works of Le Bel, but many other primary documents provide information suggesting this was the case. Despite its defiance of the principle of proportionality, the *chevauchée* was the most popular tactic used during the Hundred Years’ War. An extract from a source recording the events of the *grande chevauchée* (1355/56) explained how the Prince of Wales [i.e. the Black prince] ‘rode towards [the Ile-de-]France, burning and devastating the counties of Perigord and Limousin and all the country of French Gascony’.⁵⁷ Similarly, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, a French chronicler who wrote extensively about the later part of the Hundred Years’ War, recounted how Henry V ‘marched toward Arraines, burning and destroying the whole country, making numbers of prisoners and acquiring a great booty’, which again must be seen as disproportionate use of military force therefore ignoring the restrictions of *jus in bello*.⁵⁸ Even the Prince of Wales himself admitted to causing extreme damage during his description of his *chevauchée* in 1355 when he explained how they ‘rode through the country of Armagnac, laying waste the countryside. And then we marched through the country round Toulouse where many good towns and fortresses

⁵⁶ Jean Le Bel, ‘Edward lands in Normandy’, trans. by Peter E. Thompson, in *Contemporary chronicles of the Hundred Years War: from the works of Jean Le Bel, Jean Froissart and Enguerrand de Monstrelet*; trans. and ed. by Peter E. Thompson (London: Folio Society, 1966), pp. 57-68 (p. 66). See also *Froissart’s Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by John Jolliffe (London: Harvill Press, 1968).

⁵⁷ ‘The Poitiers Chevauchée’, in *The wars of Edward III: sources and interpretations*, ed. by Clifford J. Rogers (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 164-66 (p. 164).

⁵⁸ *The chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, trans. by Thomas Johnes (London: Smith, 1845), p. 337.

were burnt and destroyed.⁵⁹ Whilst it is only to be expected that during times of war there will be damage to the land on which it is being fought, the proportionality principle dictated that the use such force was acceptable only when it was absolutely necessary. Moreover, the majority of accounts detailing this type of destruction emphasised that it was the innocent towns that suffered. An extract from the records of Bertrand Carit, Archdeacon of Eu, recorded that ‘78 parish villages large and small were completely or in large part burned, plundered, and laid waste by the enemy in the year [13]39’.⁶⁰

Whilst it is clear that the principle of proportionality was ignored during active warfare, this is not to say that the intention of remaining within the limits of this principle did not exist, nor does it suggest that there was no awareness of such rules. The *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, for example, told how Henry V commanded the army that ‘under pain of death there should be no more setting fire to places and that churches and sacred buildings along with their property should be preserved intact.’⁶¹ Le Bel also recounted how Edward III had given orders that on pain of death no one was to rob or pillage the dead or the living without his permission.⁶² This again shows that there was some constraint placed upon the soldiers. Whether or not these kings had any real intention of remaining within these restrictions is debatable and most contemporary documents which describe the horrific effects of warfare suggest that they did not, except of course documents that were clearly propaganda or written on behalf of the king. This might be deemed too cynical a view, for there is still some evidence of acknowledgement of the rules surrounding conduct. One news bulletin report that was in circulation between the political elites, reporting Edward III’s Lochindorb *chevauchée* of 1336 does show that there was some compassion and good intention present in the minds of the men. Although it reported that there was burning of countryside, it did also relay that ‘out of reverence for the Holy Trinity, in whose honour the church there was built, Elgin was spared burning.’⁶³ This may not seem particularly noteworthy, yet it does show that whilst it is evident that the principle of proportionality was rarely followed, it was not completely ignored.

Similarly, the discrimination principle was seldom adhered to. Primary documents relating to the wars in France all report men laying waste to the land and burning the entire countryside, and so

⁵⁹ Rogers, p. 153.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁶¹ *Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth*, trans. by Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 27.

⁶² Le Bel, p. 72.

⁶³ Rogers, p. 49.

one must conclude that during these instances it is unlikely that non-combatants would have been spared. A large majority of sources in fact say less about the treatment of the supposed innocent, but their discussions of the principle of proportionality indicates that the discrimination concept of *jus in bello* caused little impact during warfare. A further extract from the records of Bertrand Carit, Archdeacon of Eu, told of how the villages in devastated areas suffered greatly and the ones that suffered the most were ‘many craftsmen, farmers, merchants, and also people of the church, in addition to many noble women and wives’.⁶⁴ Whilst these group of non-combatants were not killed during battle, they certainly were not protected either. Another contemporary account entitled ‘The Ravages of War’, by a Parisian named Jean de Venette explained how ‘the English destroyed, burned, and plundered many little towns and villages in this part of the diocese of Beauvais, capturing or even killing the inhabitants’.⁶⁵ Whilst this source was written by a French author about English actions this is not to say that it exaggerated the killing of the innocent. Some sources, such as the *Gesta*, suggested that strict orders to treat civilians with respect were given, but the reality was that despite every set of rules for war, including that of *jus in bello*, for the majority of the time the non-combatants were not protected nor were they spared.

This seems to be the case also by the early modern period. The ‘Thirty Years’ War was initially caused by the increasing oppression of the Protestant states within the Holy Roman Empire. When European leaders such as Christian of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden became involved it was originally to protect the oppressed Protestants and put an end to the suffering within the Empire. Whilst it is obvious that the personal agendas of such leaders stretched further than solely protecting the innocent within the Empire, one would expect to see evidence of the rules provided by *jus in bello* being put into practice, for the protection of the non-combatants was arguably one of the main aims of the war.⁶⁶ However, due to the plethora of contemporary sources relating to the sufferings of the civilian population, it is clear that the regulations laid down by the Just War theory had just as little impact as it had done during the Hundred Years’ War.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶⁶ For example, see the manifesto of Gustavus Adolphus, in *The causes for which the most high and mighty prince and [...] Lord Gustavus Adolphus of the Swedes [...] is at length constrained to move with an armie into Germany* (London, 1631), p. 1.

In the manifesto, Gustavus Adolphus claimed that he only took up arms for ‘the public good, for his own safety and the preservation of his friends’.⁶⁷ Clearly the manifesto was a product of propaganda in order to align with the restrictions laid by the concept of *jus ad bellum*; however, this sentence corresponds with the second concept of the tradition. The ‘preservation of [...] friends’, suggests that Gustavus Adolphus’ motives were to protect the innocent; a concept that one would then expect to see followed through. However, as in the medieval period, the supposed intentions provided by the kings and leaders in their manifestos or commissioned biographies were very different to what actually happened during war. Both principles of *jus in bello* were mostly ignored, with little evidence suggesting that one was deemed more important than the other. The sack of Magdeburg in 1631 is famous for the utter brutality visited upon both the land and the population. The official Swedish report explained how the defenders were so outnumbered that no people were spared by the enemy and whoever the soldiers encountered, they slew. It reported how ‘they raped wives and virgins, tyrannised young and old...and spared no one. The whole city was plundered until it was bare. Finally everything was set alight and totally burnt down.’⁶⁸ The source continues to tell of how badly treated the clergy were, revealing that ‘they were first massacred in their library and then burnt along with their books. Their wives and daughters were tied behind horses, dragged into camp, raped and terribly molested.’⁶⁹ This report alone provides enough evidence to conclude that despite the general development in thought and etiquette that the early modern period experienced, actions within warfare had anything but evolved.

Evidence suggests that military leaders were aware of the restrictions and, whilst they had little control over the actions of their soldiers, one can detect a faint desire to remain in keeping with the rules. One such source of proof is taken from Maximilian of Bavaria’s warning to his men about billeting in 1637. He told his men that billeting was a burden for the people and that they could no longer handle it, even if they had not suffered in any other way. He felt that ‘the few still remaining, poor and oppressed subjects plead for redress in such lamentable circumstances, that it would make a stone feel compassion.’⁷⁰ He then forbade billeting,

⁶⁷ ‘Gustavus Adolphus’s Manifesto, 1630’, in *War, Diplomacy and Imperialism, 1618-1763*, ed. by Geoffrey Symcox (London: Harper and Row, 1973), pp. 102-14 (p. 113).

⁶⁸ ‘The sack of Magdeburg’, in *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg*, ed. by Hans Schulz, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1917), I, pp. 95-96 (p.95). See also ‘The sack of Magdeburg’, in *Germany in the Thirty Years War*, ed. by Gerhard Benecke (London: Arnold, 1978), pp. 34-36 (p. 34). The report was taken from a letter from Salvius to the Riksråd, Hamburg in May 1631.

⁶⁹ ‘The Sack of Magdeburg’, in *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg*, ed. by Schulz, I, pp. 95-96 (p. 95).

⁷⁰ ‘Maximilian of Bavaria warns against billeting’, in *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg*, ed. by H. Jessen, 2nd edn (Dusseldorf, 1964), p. 377. This extract is also in Benecke, p. 71.

whereby civilians were expected to provide lodging for soldiers, and ordered them to leave the people alone during winter in order to protect them from certain death. That said, a further argument could also suggest that there were other motives present when trying to protect the non-combatant that were not related to acknowledgment of the theory. Perhaps they were conscious of alienating a population that they were trying to win over. Whilst investigating rare incidences of non-combatant protection, it is imperative to be aware of the fact that ultimately in warfare the immunity of the non-combatant was not a priority in the minds of the military leaders. But despite this, actually regulating the actions of soldiers was difficult and from the majority of sources it could be argued that, even if it was not their priority, they did not do all that they could in order to ensure that rules were followed. Another example of the misconduct comes from the writings of Maurus Friesenegger, a Bavarian monk who was writing in 1633 about the brutality that his village experienced during the war. He recounted how soldiers arrived and ‘after inflicting a number of wounds on an old man, they shot him dead [...] everyone thought that they were Swedes but it later turned out that they were Imperial troops [i.e. Catholic troops who were supposed to be defending the Bavarian inhabitants from the Protestant Swedes].’⁷¹ This shows a lack of acknowledgment of the principle of discrimination owing to the fact that the troops purposely inflicted unnecessary damage and pointless killing upon the non-combatant community.

Conclusion

The theory of *jus in bello* developed little during the medieval and early modern periods and so in turn the impact of the concept upon the warriors changed very little. There is evidence from both periods that kings and military leaders were aware of the theory and some portrayed themselves as having the intention of forcing their men to abide by its restrictions. That said, their efforts to ensure that their soldiers followed these rules remained minimal. It almost seems that they felt obliged to lay the ground rules without any real intention of enforcing them. Strickland writes that whilst rulers might be anxious to fulfil the criteria of *jus ad bellum*, to secure legitimacy for aggression and conquest, the impact of an ecclesiastically sponsored *jus in bello* on the warriors may be judged to have been far less significant.⁷² This observation not only rings true regarding the uneven balance of attention given to *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*, as well as

⁷¹ Maurus Friesenegger, ‘The experience of a Bavarian monastery and its village, 1633’, in *Tagebuch aus dem Dreissigjährigen Krieg: Nach einer Handschrift im Kloster Andechs mit Vorn*, ed. by W. Mathaser (Munich, Suddeutscher, 1974), pp. 49-59. For translated version see Benecke, pp. 61-67 (p.63).

⁷² Strickland, p. 34.

adherence to both, but it also touches on the transmission of the theory. It was all very well for contemporary scholars to profess ideas and suggestions of how to regulate conduct within times of war; however, soldiers were the least likely group to have had their heads buried in theoretical treatises. Although, this is not to suggest that if they had been avid readers, they would have behaved differently. It has been said that a copy of *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* lay in Gustavus Adolphus' tent at Lutzen, which supports the idea that the top military leaders were aware of the theory.⁷³ In reality the intellectual elites who wrote the theory would have had very little power of persuasion over the commanders and common foot soldiers, not least because many were unlikely to be familiar with such texts, or even be able to read them. It was expected that there might be some indication of a slight decline in unnecessary violence and brutality toward the non-combatant by the early modern period. Yet this does not appear to be the case for the primary documents, which provide an insight into the treatment of civilians and the land, outline just as much carnage and slaughter as was seen in the chronicles of the medieval period. In terms of general impact, it could be argued that the medieval period witnessed a stronger influence of military codes owing to the prevalence of the concept of chivalry. The chivalric code was of great importance to the knights of the medieval world, and whilst it would be incorrect to assume that they behaved any better than the soldiers of the later period, they were perhaps more affected by rules and regulations regarding conduct than those of the early modern world. That said, as shown in the various texts of the chivalric writers, the chivalric code only complemented the theory of *jus in bello* to a point. It supported the idea of honour within warfare and promoted the respect of those unable to protect themselves; however, one of the main ideals of the code was to win prestige during battle, which was in direct conflict with the theory of *jus in bello*, because instead of controlling excesses in the combat zone, it essentially promoted it. The main conclusion that can be drawn from examining the theory of *jus in bello* in the medieval and early modern periods is that there was little advance in dealing with the issue of non-combatant protection, and whilst this can be attributed in part to the fact that it was an incredibly challenging task, even if more attention was given to this principle there was still the predicament of transmission of ideas, a factor that would have been an obstacle even with the provision of more solid regulations.

⁷³ Huizinga, p. 341.

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Edward Dallingridge: Builder of Bodiam Castle

Bodiam Castle, one of the most visually striking medieval castles in England, is situated in East Sussex on the river Rother, near Robertsbridge. In 1385 Sir Edward Dallingridge (c.1364-1393) was licensed to ‘strengthen with a wall of stone and lime and crenellate and construct and make into a castle his manor house at Bodyham [Bodiam], near the sea in the county of Sussex, for defence of the adjacent county and resistance to our enemies’.² This licence was issued at a particularly turbulent time in English history. England faced the threat of invasion from France and internal conflict during the reign of Richard II. However, interpretations of the function and purpose of the castle have been deeply divisive in the field of castle studies over the course of the last two decades. In the absence of documentary sources, with the exception of the licence to crenellate, attention has focused on the architectural evidence for the castle. The traditional view, as characterised by Thompson, is that Bodiam Castle was built to provide protection for the nearby coastal towns of Rye and New Winchelsea, which were navigable from Bodiam via the river Rother.³

However, since the 1990s, a new consensus on castle studies, particularly following from the work of Charles Coulson, using the evidence of licences to crenellate, claims that castle architecture in the Late Medieval Period was primarily motivated by symbolism and status.⁴ In his view, Bodiam has weak defensive features, such as an easy-to-drain moat, badly situated gun-ports, and thin walls, with the military themed architecture intended to convey a ‘message of power and deterrence’ through the studied exaggeration of features of defensive origin.⁵ In Coulson’s opinion, Dallingridge was a newcomer to the area, who needed to compensate for his

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² H. C. M. Lyte, G.J. Morris, (eds.), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1385-1389*. (London: H. M. S. O., 1900), p. 42.

³ A. H. Thompson, *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), pp. 322-3.

⁴ R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Bollington: Windgather Press, 2005), p. 10.

⁵ C. Coulson, ‘Some Analysis of the Castle of Bodiam, East Sussex’, in *Medieval Knighthood, 4: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990*, ed. by C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge: The Boydell, 1992), pp. 51-107 (p. 71).

lack of pedigree; by constructing a magnificent looking castle he was able to promote his wealth and social standing.⁶ This interpretation is contested by Platt, who stresses that Bodiam Castle was intended to serve a military purpose, but other authors, such as Creighton and Liddiard, have sought to move away from the ‘war or status’ debate.⁷

The most contentious issue regarding Bodiam Castle has centred on Dallingridge’s motivation in building the castle. Why would a member of the gentry build such an impressive castle at this particular time in Southern England?⁸ In the absence of other evidence, the study of Dallingridge’s life is important in understanding why Bodiam Castle was built. Previous studies on Bodiam Castle have been rather superficial in their treatment of Dallingridge, which has tended to reflect their views on the motivation for its construction; for instance, by laying emphasis on his social aspirations or his military career. This article will examine Dallingridge’s life to see what insights it provides into the circumstances in which Bodiam was built in the late fourteenth century. By looking at his family background, military career, political career and his financial holdings, it will show that the motivation for the construction of Bodiam Castle was influenced by the turbulent events of 1385, and served as a visual demonstration of Dallingridge’s social standing in east Sussex.

Family Background

By 1385 Sir Edward Dallingridge could undoubtedly be described as one of the leading gentry figures in east Sussex. A long-term career soldier, with close links to the Earl of Arundel, he had played a prominent role in the county’s affairs, representing Sussex in parliament on numerous occasions since 1379. Dallingridge’s important role rested upon his family’s wealth and income from landholdings, retaining fees and the profits of war. He represented Sussex in the parliament of 1385 (20 October-6 December), and a day after it opened, he was granted a licence to crenellate his manor at Bodiam.⁹ This licence was an important status symbol for Dallingridge and another step in the development of the fortunes of his family. It demonstrated Dallingridge’s

⁶ Ibid., pp. 102-106.

⁷ C. Platt, ‘Revisionism in Castle Studies: A Caution’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 51 (2007), 83-102; O. H. Creighton, and R. Liddiard, ‘Fighting Yesterday’s Battle: Beyond War or Status in Castle Studies’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 52 (2008), 161-169.

⁸ Gentry is defined here as a socio-economic group comprising the landowning elite, below the peerage, which had a group identity based upon the values of military and administrative service. For further reading see, R. Radulescu, and A. Truelove, (eds.), *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

⁹ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1385-1389*, p. 42; Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), ‘Richard II: October 1385’, in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116488>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

rise in social standing from being a member of the minor gentry to that of the castle owning elite. In subsequent years, he was to serve Richard II on a national stage and his son, John, was later made a Chamber knight of Henry IV.¹⁰ The construction of a castle was clearly a major undertaking by any individual even a wealthy member of the gentry.

Edward Dallingridge had the good fortune to be born into a family that was ascending the 'social ladder'. His great grandfather, Roger Dallingridge, had been a member of the freeholding community.¹¹ Roger's son, John (d. 1335), did much to improve his fortunes by obtaining an advantageous match with Joan, daughter of Sir Walter de la Lynde. A series of minor appointments to offices in Sussex in the mid-1320s marked his acceptance into the gentry, and in 1335 he was distrained for knighthood, which means that he was assessed as owning land worth more than £40 per annum and was considered eligible for the rank of knighthood. John's son, Roger (c.1315- c.1380), inherited these lands on his father's death and substantially added to them through his marriage to Alice, one of three daughters of Sir John de Radingdon. Sir John was a wealthy east Sussex gentleman, who held estates across the county. On his father-in-law's death in 1350, he inherited his manors of Sheffield and four other manors in Sussex.¹² A subsequent marriage to another Alice, widow of Sir Thomas St Maur, who had been another wealthy member of the local gentry, led to the acquisition of the manor of Sheffield St Maur.¹³

He also participated in many of Edward III's early campaigns, such as serving as a man-at-arms in Scotland in 1336. Roger retained his hereditary duties in Ashdown Forest as a forester for Queen Philippa during her lordship of Pevensey. He also entered the services of the widowed Countess Warenne as her steward in the 1350s and when she died in 1361, he transferred his services to her heir Richard, Earl of Arundel. The influence of Arundel undoubtedly assisted in his appointments to offices and commissions in the county, including being appointed Sheriff in 1371 and serving as a justice of the peace in the 1370s. Roger also represented Sussex in parliament on four occasions between 1360 and 1377.¹⁴ In the space of a hundred years, therefore, the Dallingridges had risen from a freeholder family based in Ashdown Forest to one which held estates throughout Sussex and in Lincolnshire. Edward was to continue his father's legacy by maintaining close links to the Arundel family as well as holding offices in Sussex and

¹⁰ A. R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell, 2004), p. 219.

¹¹ N. Saul, 'The Rise of the Dallingridge Family', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 136 (1998), 123-132, (123-126).

¹² J. S. Roskell, L. Clark, C. Rawcliffe (eds.), *The House of Commons, 1386-1421, Volume 2* (Stroud: Alan Sutton for the History of Parliament Trust, 1992), p. 738.

¹³ Saul, 'The Rise of the Dallingridge Family', p. 125.

¹⁴ Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 739.

undertaking military service. His father was also responsible for arranging his opportune marriage, in 1364, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Wardieu of Bodiam, a wealthy man who held estates throughout the Midlands and south of England.¹⁵

Military Career

When he testified for Richard Scrope in the *Scrope vs. Grosvenor* chivalric court case, Edward stated that his first military experience was with the army of Edward III in the Rheims campaign of 1359-60, at the age of thirteen.¹⁶ This indicates that Roger Dallingridge was keen to promote his son's career through military service at an early age. Edward was definitely not a knight at the age of thirteen. However, eight years later, when he accompanied the king's second son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, to Milan, as a member of his wedding party, he was described as a knight.¹⁷ As the Dallingridge family appears to have no links to the Duke of Clarence, this indicates that Edward had served in Ireland with the duke at some point during the 1360s. It is also possible that Roger Dallingridge was able to obtain a place for his son in Lionel's household as a result of his service for Queen Philippa.¹⁸ Edward may have been knighted specifically for the occasion, as part of the duke's grand entourage of 457 men with 1280 horses.¹⁹

Dallingridge again served in the retinue of the Earl of Arundel during John of Gaunt's expedition to France in 1369.²⁰ In the following year, Edward was arrested for failing to join the expedition of Sir Robert Knolles who had paid him wages in advance.²¹ However, in 1371 he again served with the Earl of Arundel on the naval expedition of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford.²² He next served in the retinue of Edward, Lord Despenser, in John of Gaunt's 'great chevauchée' during 1373.²³ Edward was likely acquainted with Lord Despenser as a result of their

¹⁵ Saul, 'The Rise of the Dallingridge Family', p. 127.

¹⁶ This court case concerned a dispute over the right to bear a particular coat of arms; N. H. Nicholas, (ed.), *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, 2 vols (London: Samuel Bentley, 1832), p. 164.

¹⁷ H. C. M. Lyte, G. J. Morris, (eds.), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III. A.D. 1367-1370*. (London: H. M. S. O., 1900), p. 40; M. Keen, *Chivalry* (London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 10.

¹⁸ Saul, 'The Rise of the Dallingridge Family', p. 125.

¹⁹ W. M. Ormrod, 'Lionel, Duke of Clarence (1338-1368)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16750>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

²⁰ Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century*, p. 13.

²¹ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1367-1370*, p. 475.

²² The National Archives (hereafter TNA) E101/31/15 m1, from the AHRC-funded database, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, <<http://www.icmacentre.ac.uk/soldier/database/>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

²³ TNA E101/32/26 m1, from the AHRC-funded database, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, <<http://www.icmacentre.ac.uk/soldier/database/>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

participation in Lionel's journey to Milan in 1368.²⁴ In 1375, Dallingridge again served in Lord Despenser's retinue, as part of John of Montfort's, Duke of Brittany, and Edmund Langley's, Earl of Cambridge's expedition to Brittany.²⁵ In 1378 he served in the retinue of John Arundel as part of the garrison of Cherbourg, which was handed over to English control by Charles of Navarre in June.²⁶ According to his testimony as a witness in the *Scrope vs. Grosvenor* case, Edward again served in Brittany with the Earl of Buckingham in 1380.²⁷ However, Dallingridge could only have served for a limited time in this expedition because in July 1380 he was appointed to a commission to survey the defences of New Winchelsea, and by September of the same year, he had been wounded defending the Sussex coast (as will be discussed in more detail later in this section).²⁸ In 1385 he participated in the royal expedition of Richard II to Scotland, according to his deposition for *Scrope*.²⁹

On 19 November 1386, power was taken from Richard II and was given to a 'continual council' known as the Commission of Government.³⁰ Arundel was appointed as Admiral of England with instructions to disrupt the enemy's preparations for invasion.³¹ Edward took a prominent role on Arundel's flagship for the naval campaign of this year, undoubtedly due to his close links to the earl.³² Later that year, Edward appears to have participated in the Radcot Bridge campaign between the Lords Appellants and the favourite of Richard II, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, which almost led to the deposition of the king.³³ In 1388 Edward helped to finance Arundel's naval expedition of that year, but does not appear to have participated in it, and was appointed captain of the strategically important town of Brest for 1388-9.³⁴

²⁴ T. N. Pugh, 'Despenser, Edward, First Lord Despenser (1336–1375)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7550>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

²⁵ TNA E101/34/3 m1, from the AHRC-funded database, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, <<http://www.icmacentre.ac.uk/soldier/database/>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

²⁶ TNA E101/36/39 m10d, from the AHRC-funded database, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, <<http://www.icmacentre.ac.uk/soldier/database/>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

²⁷ Nicholas, p. 164.

²⁸ H. C. M. Lyte, G. J. Morris, (eds.), *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1377-1381*. (London: H. M. S. O., 1927), p. 474; Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1377-1381*, p. 566.

²⁹ Nicholas, p. 6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 592.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 594.

³² TNA E101/40/33 m1, from the AHRC-funded database, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, <<http://www.icmacentre.ac.uk/soldier/database/>> [Accessed 26 July 2013]; Roskell, J.S., (ed.), *The House of Commons, 1386-1421, Volume 2*, p. 740.

³³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1396-1399*, p. 341; Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 740; N. Saul, *Richard II*, (London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 185-190.

³⁴ Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century*, p. 112; H.C. M. Lyte, G. J. Morris, (eds.), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1388-1392*. (London: H. M. S. O., 1900), p. 118.

Over a thirty-year period (1359-89), Dallingridge had served in many of the major expeditions against France indicating that he had ample experiences of campaigning in France, garrison duty, as well as siege and naval warfare. Many of these expeditions were unsuccessful in achieving their military objectives, yet could still be financially profitable for their participants.³⁵ Dallingridge's military career began due to his father's influence and his personal acquaintance with the Earl of Arundel. But he is likely to have been motivated, at least in part, by the prospect of financial gain. Ransoming captured combatants could be a highly profitable activity, and there is evidence that Dallingridge benefited from this during his time as captain of Brest.³⁶ These activities also meant that Dallingridge was able to cultivate relationships with a number of noblemen including several of the earls of Arundel, Edward, Lord Despenser, John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany, and later Richard II. It is also important to note that Dallingridge's military career was not over by 1385, when he obtained his licence to crenellate, even though some commentators have suggested that Bodiam was an 'old soldier's dream house'.³⁷ His military career was curtailed by the extended truce between England and France, which was enacted in June 1389.³⁸ Indeed, research has shown that it was not uncommon for militarily active members of the nobility and gentry to have exceptionally long careers, even by modern standards.³⁹ Warfare was therefore an important part of Dallingridge's life. This may explain why he chose to invest in military architecture, as a symbolic representation of his membership of the warrior elite.

However, his military experience was not limited to overseas expeditions. As a prominent member of the Sussex gentry he served as a commissioner of array in 1377, 1385, 1386, and 1392.⁴⁰ These were all critical years for the safety of Sussex and England. In 1377, a Franco-Castilian fleet attacked Rye and New Winchelsea on the Sussex coast, as well as the Isle of Wight.⁴¹ In the years 1385 and 1386, England was faced with the serious threat of a major French invasion. Later in 1392 there were fears that the expiry of the three year truce between England and France would lead to a renewal of war. Direct evidence of Dallingridge's

³⁵ J. Sumption, *Divided Houses: the Hundred Years War III*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 743.

³⁶ Saul, 'The Rise of the Dallingridge Family', p. 127; Sumption, *Divided Houses: the Hundred Years War III*, p. 742.

³⁷ D. J. Turner, 'Bodiam Sussex: True Castle or Old Soldier's Dream House?', in *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge: The Boydell, 1986), pp. 267-277.

³⁸ Sumption, *Divided Houses: the Hundred Years War III*, p. 774.

³⁹ As can be seen by using The Soldier In Later Medieval England database; From the AHRC-funded database, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, <<http://www.icmacentre.ac.uk/soldier/database/>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

⁴⁰ H. C. M. Lyte, G.J. Morris, (eds.), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III. A.D. 1374-1377*. (London: H. M. S. O., 1900), pp. 496-497; H. C. M. Lyte, G.J. Morris, (eds.), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1381-1385*. (London: H. M. S. O., 1900), p. 588; Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1385-1389*, p. 253; H. C. M. Lyte, G.J. Morris, (eds.), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1391-1396*. (London: H. M. S. O., 1900), pp. 90-91.

⁴¹ D. Prest, (ed), *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham (1376-1422)*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell, 2005), pp. 45-46.

involvement in coastal defence can be seen in an entry in the Calendar of Close Rolls for 17 September 1380. The calendar states that Edward, 'being by the king and council commanded to abide upon the defence of the sea shore of Sussex against the king's enemies, is grievously wounded at Bourne co. Sussex'.⁴² Dallingridge's patron, Arundel, was condemned, by Walsingham, for his inability to defend the Sussex coast in this year.⁴³ Dallingridge, along with others, was also made responsible for the fortification of the Cinque Ports of Rye and New Winchelsea. On 5 July 1380 he was appointed to survey the defences of New Winchelsea, although the defences were clearly still inadequate when the town was attacked at the end of the month.⁴⁴ He was also appointed to ensure the fortification of the town of Rye in April 1382 and from January to February of 1385.⁴⁵ Dallingridge therefore had extensive experience of combating French raiders whilst ensuring the defence of key coastal settlements. He was keen to demonstrate this in the architecture of Bodiam Castle by including key-hole shaped gun-ports, which were unusual for privately owned castles of the period. However, their small size and awkward locations suggest that they were intended to display Dallingridge's familiarity with contemporary developments in the defences of towns and castles in the south of England, as opposed to fulfilling a practical purpose.⁴⁶

Political Career

Dallingridge also played a prominent role in the local affairs of Sussex, and later in national politics. This included serving in nine of the thirteen parliaments that sat between the years 1379-1388. His father, as already mentioned, had represented Sussex on four occasions, and it seems significant that it was two years after his father-in-law's death, and one year before his father's death, that he attended his first parliament in 1379.⁴⁷ This represented Edward's ascension to a prominent position amongst the gentry of Sussex. The 1379 parliament was dominated by the government's financial problems, which led to granting of a graduated poll tax that however proved difficult to collect.⁴⁸ Edward and his father were amongst the commissioners for Sussex

⁴² Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1377-1381*, p. 474.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 566; Sumption, *Divided Houses: the Hundred Years War*, III, p. 385.

⁴⁵ H. C. M. Lyte, G. J. Morris, (eds.), *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1381-1385*. (London: H. M. S. O., 1927), p. 123; Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1381-1385*, pp. 519, 532, 525, 588.

⁴⁶ J. R. Kenyon, 'Coastal Artillery Fortification in England in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. by A. Curry, M. Hughes (Woodbridge: The Boydell, 1994), pp. 145-148.

⁴⁷ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1377-1381*, p. 252-3; Saul, 'The Rise of the Dallingridge Family', p. 124.

⁴⁸ Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), 'Richard II: April 1379', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116478>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

appointed in August 1379 to investigate the discrepancy in receipts.⁴⁹ In the following parliament of 1380, frustration at the cost and conduct of the war led to the removal of the ‘continual council’.⁵⁰ Edward was one of the three knights appointed to a commission to investigate royal expenditure.⁵¹ It is possible that Dallingridge owed this position to the influence of the Earl of Arundel (III) who he had developed a good relationship with, having previously served with Arundel’s father and younger brother.⁵² This parliament also specified that the grant of taxation should be spent on an expedition to Brittany, which Dallingridge attended later that year.⁵³ In the November parliament, the continuing financial difficulties of the government led to the granting of a poll tax, the third granted in four years.⁵⁴ The parliament also specified that the commission, to which Edward had been appointed, should meet.⁵⁵

The neighbouring county of Kent was one of the places most affected by the Peasants’ Revolt, which began at the end of May 1381, with Sussex also affected by riots that targeted representatives of the local authorities and may have included murders.⁵⁶ Dallingridge, as a prominent member of the Sussex gentry, played a role in the suppression of the rebellion in the county and in subsequent commissions to punish malcontents.⁵⁷ The parliament of November 1381 was overshadowed by the Peasants’ Revolt, and it was undoubtedly due to fears of further insurrections that the Commons was induced to continue the wool subsidy.⁵⁸ This was also the case in the May parliament of 1382.⁵⁹ Dallingridge did not represent Sussex in the following three parliaments (October 1382, February 1383 and October 1383).⁶⁰ It is difficult to account for these absences as he appears to have been relatively inactive militarily in these years. For instance, there is no evidence that he served in Bishop Despenser’s Crusade to Flanders in 1383. In Dallingridge’s next parliament of April 1384, proceedings were dominated by discussion of a

⁴⁹ Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), ‘Richard II: January 1380’, in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116479>> [Accessed 26 July 2013]; H. C. M. Lyte, (ed.), *Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1377-1383* (London, 1929), p. 162.

⁵⁰ Given-Wilson, ‘Richard II: January 1380’.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 739.

⁵³ Given-Wilson, ‘Richard II: January 1380’.

⁵⁴ Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), ‘Richard II: November 1380’, in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116480>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 32, 97-8.

⁵⁷ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1381-1385*, p. 74; Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1381-1385*, pp. 69-71, 79, 84-86, 134.

⁵⁸ Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), ‘Richard II: November 1381’, in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116481>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

⁵⁹ Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), ‘Richard II: May 1382’, in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116482>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

⁶⁰ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1381-1385*, p. 227, 290, 414.

proposed peace treaty with France and the argument between the king and Arundel.⁶¹ In June 1384, Dallingridge was committed to custody for contempt of court during a special commission of *Oyer and terminer* at the suit of John of Gaunt.⁶² This marked the culmination of a long running dispute between Gaunt, who had acquired lands in Pevensey and Ashdown in 1372, which had previously belonged to his mother, Queen Philippa, and the local gentry who felt that he abused his authority.⁶³ Dallingridge, and other Sussex gentlemen, had waged a campaign of harassment and intimidation against the servants and property of Gaunt that dated back to June 1377.⁶⁴ He was soon released from jail in July, possibly due to Arundel's influence, and although he was re-arrested in October, he was soon freed in the following month.⁶⁵

After the government failed to gain support for the proposed peace treaty of Leulinghem, during the November 1384 parliament, the Commons were relatively generous in granting taxation to the government in order to pursue the war, but this was conditional on the king leading an expedition in person.⁶⁶ As we have seen, Dallingridge accompanied the expedition that the king later led to Scotland in the summer of 1385 and Dallingridge's licence to crenellate was granted on the second day of the 1385 parliament.⁶⁷ In that year, parliament's proceedings were dominated by unhappiness at the king's elevations to the peerage at the beginning of the Scottish campaign, this being due to the government's financial problems, leading to royal concessions; as well as funding for Gaunt's planned expedition to Castile.⁶⁸ The parliament of 1386, 'The Wonderful Parliament', began during the backdrop of 'The Great Invasion Scare', with Gaunt absent in Castile and with the Ghentish rebels defeated by the French.⁶⁹ The events of the parliament led to the impeachment of the Chancellor de la Pole and the effective removal of power from the nineteen-year-old king.⁷⁰ The king's resentment at the outcome of this parliament led to conflict with the Lords Appellant, resulting in the Battle of Radcot Bridge, and

⁶¹Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), 'Richard II: April 1384', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116486>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

⁶²S. Walker, 'Lancaster v. Dallingridge: a Franchisal Dispute in Fourteenth Century Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 121 (1983), 87-94 (90).

⁶³Walker, 'Lancaster v. Dallingridge', pp. 88-89.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁶⁶Walker, 'Lancaster v. Dallingridge', p. 514-6, 523-5; Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), 'Richard II: November 1384', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116487>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

⁶⁷Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1385-1389*, p. 42.

⁶⁸Given-Wilson, 'Richard II: October 1385'.

⁶⁹Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), 'Richard II: October 1386', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116489>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

the ‘Merciless Parliament’ of 1388.⁷¹ Five of the king’s favourites were prosecuted for treason, as were members of his household.⁷² It is even possible that the Appellants’ contemplated removing Richard II from power. But this was abandoned due to disputes between Gloucester and Derby as to who should be king.⁷³ To cement their new hold on the government of England, the Appellants ensured that the members of parliament swore an oath to support them, and this was extended to the inhabitants of the counties. Dallingridge, due to his key links with one of the senior Appellants, Arundel, played a key role in the enforcement of these oaths in Sussex where he was appointed to assist the Sheriff in this task in March 1388.⁷⁴

Dallingridge’s extensive parliamentary career between 1379-1388 demonstrates his important position in Sussex society.⁷⁵ His service in nine parliaments far surpassed the careers of the next two longest serving individuals, William Percy and Edmund Fitz Herbert, who represented Sussex on five and four occasions respectively.⁷⁶ In addition, he was a parliamentary colleague of all of these men, save for John St Clare. Saul has argued that Sussex ‘does not give the impression of a local society organised in or around a magnate affinity’; however, the evidence for these years indicates that supporters of the Earl of Arundel were predominant in representing Sussex at parliaments.⁷⁷ William Percy, William Waleys, and Edmund Fitz Herbert, as well as Dallingridge, were all supporters of Arundel.⁷⁸ In contrast, John of Gaunt had a weak following in the county, with only one supporter, John St Clare, representing Sussex in October 1382.⁷⁹

Dallingridge’s parliamentary career ended, it appears, by appointment to the King’s Council in May of 1389, and his retention as a king’s knight in August of that year.⁸⁰ It is possible that the king had a deliberate policy of attracting prominent supporters of the Appellant Lords to his

⁷¹ Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), ‘Richard II: February 1388’, in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116490>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century*, p. 43.

⁷⁴ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1385-1389*, p. 406; N. Saul, ‘The Sussex Gentry and the Oath to Uphold the Acts of the Merciless Parliament’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 135 (1997), 221-39 (223).

⁷⁵ April 1379, January 1380, November 1380, November 1381, May 1382, October 1382, February 1383, October 1383, April 1384, November 1384, October 1385, October 1386, and February 1388; Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1377-1381*, p. 253, 356, 497, 107, 133; Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1381-1385*, p. 227, 290, 414, 133, 600; Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1385-1389*, pp. 119, 299, 495.

⁷⁶ William Percy (April 1379, January 1380, February 1383, October 1383 and November 1384), Edmund Fitz Herbert (November 1381, May 1382, October 1382 and November 1383); Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1377-1381*, p. 253, 356; *1381-1385*, p. 107, 133, 227, 414, 600.

⁷⁷ N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 56-7.

⁷⁸ Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, p. 35, 56; A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1971), pp. 38, 115.

⁷⁹ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 132.

⁸⁰ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1389-1392*, p. 102; Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 741.

allegiance. However, Dallingridge could also have been chosen based on his socially and politically influential position in Sussex, which would have been strengthened by the construction of a new castle.⁸¹ His son, John, however, did not assume his position as a representative of Sussex until 1402.⁸² Dallingridge played a prominent role in the King's Council, which he attended regularly, serving for 207 days between 8 January 1392 and 21 February 1393.⁸³ In the spring of 1390, along with other members of the Council, he went on an embassy to France, during which he was to survey the defences of Calais.⁸⁴ Later in 1390 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Brittany, due to his former relationship with its duke, which had included service with him in 1375, and from whom he had received a retaining fee.⁸⁵

As a result of unrest in London in 1392, which led to the arrest of the mayor and sheriffs, Dallingridge was appointed as keeper of London on 25 June.⁸⁶ Sir Baldwin Radington however soon replaced him in July because he was allegedly lenient to the Londoners.⁸⁷ By the time of his death, therefore, which occurred at some point between July 1393, when he was named on a commission of *Oyer and terminer*, and March 1394, when he was described as deceased, Dallingridge's career had progressed remarkably well.⁸⁸ He had changed from a Sussex gentleman, with mainly local interests, to a member of the King's Council, who played a role on the national stage. Seen in this context, Dallingridge's acquisition of a licence to crenellate, in 1385, appears to have been part of a successful strategy to elevate himself above his local peers by joining the castle owning elite, eventually leading to royal service. A comparison of recipients of licences to crenellate, granted during the reign of Richard II, suggest that these were mainly issued to lesser members of the peerage and gentry.⁸⁹ This was a group categorised by participation in military, parliamentary and royal service, as can be seen by the careers of Lord John Neville and Lord Michael de la Pole.⁹⁰ Therefore Bodiam Castle is likely to have been constructed, at least in part, to promote the social status of Dallingridge.

⁸¹ Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 267-268.

⁸² Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 742.

⁸³ Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 741; N. Saul, *Richard II*, p. 253.

⁸⁴ Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 741; Lyte (ed.), *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1387-1393* (London: H. M. S. O., 1916), p. 158.

⁸⁵ Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 741.

⁸⁶ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1391-1396*, p. 100; Prest, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, pp. 286-287.

⁸⁷ H. C. M. Lyte, (ed.), *Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A. D. 1391-1399*, (London: H. M. S. O., 1929), p. 51; David, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, p. 287.

⁸⁸ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1391-1396*, p. 354, 388.

⁸⁹ P. Davis, 'English Licences to Crenellate: 1199-1567', *The Castle Studies Group Journal*, 20, (2007), 226-245 (pp. 242-243).

⁹⁰ A. Tuck, 'Neville, John, fifth Baron Neville (c.1330-1388)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19945>> [Accessed 24 September 2013]; A. Tuck, 'Pole, Michael de la,

Landholding and Finances

Dallingridge benefited financially from his military and political career, yet was wealthy in his own right from his landholdings. As previously mentioned, he inherited lands from his father and substantially added to his estates through his marriage to Elizabeth Wardieu, in 1364. Indeed, upon her father's death in 1377, Dallingridge acquired a large number of estates, in Sussex, Kent, and the Midlands.⁹¹ In the absence of a set of accounts for Dallingridge, or a list of his assets at his death, such as provided by an Inquisition Post Mortem, any discussion of his wealth will be incomplete. However, the primary sources do provide insights into the extent of his landholdings, and so allows for speculation on how the construction of Bodiam Castle was funded. His position as a knight in 1367, at the age of 21, is significant due to the property requirements for this rank which was acquired, at least in part, from his father's estates, as well as from the dowry of his wife.⁹²

In his early years, a significant proportion of his income was likely to have been obtained from retaining fees. In 1374, John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany, who he was to serve with in Brittany in the following year retained him for £40 annually.⁹³ In the same year, Lord Despenser, whose retinue he had served in for John of Gaunt's campaign of 1373-4 also retained him for £40 annually and he kept this fee even after Despenser's death in 1377.⁹⁴ However, his main acquisition of wealth appears to have occurred in 1377 when he inherited his father-in-law's estates. He thereby acquired a concentration of estates in eastern east Sussex and Kent, as well as properties throughout the Midlands; although a few of these manors were quickly sold off.⁹⁵ On his father's death in 1380, he acquired the bulk of his estates, though his younger brother, Walter, also shared of the inheritance.⁹⁶ In the same year, Dallingridge's links to John Arundel ensured that, on the latter's death, he acquired a share of the alien priory of Frampton.⁹⁷ In 1382, he appears to have sold off the bulk of his Midland lands to William de Burgh, a judge subsequently

first earl of Suffolk (c.1330–1389)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22452>> [Accessed 24th September 2013].

⁹¹ Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 739.

⁹² Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 10.

⁹³ Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 739.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 739; Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1374-1377*, pp. 443, 470; Lyte, *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1377-1383*, p. 46, Lyte, *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1383-1391*, p. 346.

⁹⁵ Lyte, *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1387-1393*, pp. 5-6; L. F. Salzman, (ed.), *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex, 1: Edward II to 24 Henry VII*, (Lewes, 1916), 51 Edward III, f. 2474.

⁹⁶ Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 738, Salzman, *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex, 1 Richard II*, f. 2480.

⁹⁷ Lyte, *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1377-1383*, pp. 126, 180.

convicted at the Merciless Parliament, and Theobald Warde.⁹⁸ There is only evidence for two estates being sold, however the payment of 1000 marks seems sufficiently high when compared to his sale of Hollington manor in 1377 for 200 marks; suggesting therefore that a significant transferral of properties took place.⁹⁹ At least part of this windfall was reinvested in the manor of Iden, north of Rye, in 1383, but the greater part of it is likely to have contributed towards the construction costs of the castle.¹⁰⁰ The sales in 1385 and 1386 of two Sussex manors may have further contributed towards the funds for the building works.¹⁰¹ Through patronage, he also acquired significant assets in future years. In 1388, he acquired the alien priory of Wilmington in return for which he had to pay its fee farm of 100 marks directly to the garrison of Brest for their wages, the latter which he was captain of.¹⁰² In 1389, he benefited from the sale of lands forfeited by the judge Robert Bealknap in the Merciless Parliament, through the purchase of two Sussex manors, Wilting and Hollington, near to Hastings for £202, the latter of which he appears to have sold earlier in 1377.¹⁰³ Later in 1389, he was retained by the king for 100 marks a year, in return for not paying the farm for Wilmington, which was now due to the Exchequer.¹⁰⁴

The construction of a castle was a major undertaking, in terms of planning and financing, which appears to be borne out by the timeline. Following his inheritance of lands in 1377 and 1380, he then liquidated his Midlands estates in 1382. Dallingridge then acquired a grant of a weekly market and yearly fair at Bodiam in 1383. In 1385, he acquired a licence to crenellate his manor at Bodiam, in 1385 and 1386 he sold two further estates in Sussex, and in 1386 he acquired a licence to divert a watercourse to his mill at Bodiam. The earliest possible construction date of the castle would have been 1377, when he acquired the lands. However, the sale of lands in 1382, and the acquisitions of grants from 1383-1386 imply that work may have begun around the time of, or shortly before, the licence to crenellate. The castle was certainly in existence by February 1396, and a construction period of roughly ten years or less seems reasonable.¹⁰⁵ Coulson has

⁹⁸ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1381-1385*, p. 228, 606; Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 739; Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1381-1385*, p. 180.

⁹⁹ Lyte, *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1387-1393*, pp. 7-8; Salzmänn, *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex, 51 Edward III, f. 2474*; Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 739.

¹⁰⁰ H. C. M. Lyte, (ed.), *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1383-1391*. (London: H. M. S. O, 1906), p. 115.

¹⁰¹ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1385-1389*, p. 90; Salzmänn, *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex, 10 Richard II, f. 2561*.

¹⁰² Lyte, *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1383-1391*, p. 230, 278; Roskell, Clark, Rawcliffe, *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, p. 741.

¹⁰³ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1389-1392*, p. 80; Salzmänn, *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex, 51 Edward III, f. 2474*; J. L. Leland, 'Bealknap, Sir Robert (d. 1401)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1809>> [Accessed 26 July 2013].

¹⁰⁴ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1389-1392*, p. 102.

¹⁰⁵ Lyte, Morris, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1392-1396*, p. 499.

suggested that Dallingridge built his castle in response to his lawsuit with Gaunt in 1384.¹⁰⁶ But the evidence suggests that the decision to build Bodiam Castle was part of a carefully planned process, which Dallingridge may have started as early as 1377.

An important question that has not been asked, or answered, is why did Dallingridge build his castle at Bodiam as opposed to elsewhere? This may have been because he inherited the lands around Bodiam in 1377 and as a result, he was already settled in and familiar with the area. A more likely reason seems to be size of the manor estate at Bodiam and Salehurst, which comprised of 750 acres, and he appears to have acquired a further 100 acres in 1387.¹⁰⁷ Although there is limited data for his other estates, three of them in the western part of the county were no more than 80 acres each.¹⁰⁸ Additionally, it is remarkable how concentrated his lands were in eastern east Sussex and in Kent, with all the properties in close proximity. This is in contrast to his lands in western east Sussex, which were more dispersed. The decision to build the castle at Bodiam also appears to have been motivated by financial considerations. The acquisition of the weekly market and yearly fair (1383) meant that Dallingridge could benefit from the trade of the region that consisted of the export of raw materials for the industrial markets of Flanders and North France, and the import of considerable quantities of manufactured goods from these regions.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

Dallingridge's career can be seen as one characterised by success, in a military, political and financial sense, which continued throughout the course of his life. Why then did he feel the need to build a castle at Bodiam? It has been argued that it was built in order to promote Dallingridge's social standing and lack of pedigree in an area in which he was a newcomer.¹¹⁰ The construction of a castle, in an area in which his estates were concentrated, effectively created a lordship seat for Dallingridge, which undoubtedly strengthened his position throughout the county. However, by 1385 he was already a well-established member of the east Sussex gentry society, which was characterised by its cohesive nature, with substantial wealth, and strong ties to

¹⁰⁶ Coulson, 'Some Analysis of the Castle of Bodiam, East Sussex', pp. 105-106.

¹⁰⁷ Salzmann, *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex, 11 Richard II*, f. 2574.

¹⁰⁸ H. C. M. Lyte, (ed.), *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward III. A. D. 1358-1361*. (London: H. M. S. O., 1906), p. 437; Salzmann, *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex, 10 Richard II*, f. 2561; Saul, 'The Rise of the Dallingridge Family', p. 123.

¹⁰⁹ R. A. Pelham, 'Studies in the Historical Geography of Medieval Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 72 (1931), 157-184.

¹¹⁰ Coulson, 'Some Analysis of the Castle of Bodiam, East Sussex', p. 98.

the Earl of Arundel, the resident magnate in Sussex.¹¹¹ His acquisition of a licence to crenellate marked his acceptance into the castle-owning elite, which led to royal service and a significant increase in social status. This character study has also shown that Dallingridge travelled widely across Europe in his lifetime to England, Scotland, France, Italy, and possibly Ireland suggesting that the influences for his castle-building may have been more diverse than has previously been considered. Therefore Bodiam Castle should be seen in a wider European context, as opposed to a solely English one.

The construction of the castle was clearly a long-term process, but the trigger for acquiring the licence may have been caused by the tense political circumstances of October 1385. The location of the castle appears to have been dictated by the geographical location and size of his estates in that part of the county, which also had the advantage of being close to the river Rother that allowed the creation of a designed watery landscape.¹¹² An additional factor to consider is that the construction of a castle in an area that had already been attacked, could have been intended as a sign of patriotism, and the wording of the licence indicates that Dallingridge was seeking to portray himself as a protector of the local community in the crisis years of 1385-1386. Arundel had been strongly criticised for his failure of leadership in protecting Sussex from raiders, and this could be interpreted as an attempt by Dallingridge to assume leadership of the community in this area. Therefore the motivation for the construction of Bodiam Castle can be explained as Dallingridge's desire to create a visual symbol of his authority, which promoted his social standing, and to capitalise on the fears caused by threat of invasion from France.

¹¹¹ Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280-1400*, p. 60.

¹¹² O. H. Creighton, *Designs Upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell, 2009), pp. 5, 77-80.

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‘The Devil’s Interlude’ in the South Sea Bubble

This article attempts to make sense of how contemporaries understood the first major financial crash in British history, the South Sea Bubble of 1720.² Crucial to this understanding, but hitherto overlooked, were ideas about the supernatural and the Devil in particular. It is unsurprising that diabolism and ideas about supernaturally orchestrated retribution have been ignored in the secondary literature; to think the Devil had any meaningful connection with a financial crash sits uncomfortably with our modern separation of secular high finance, and religious supernaturalism. Nonetheless, there is a wealth of unexplored evidence residing in poems, ballads, pamphlets, comedy plays, etchings and visual prints suggesting that the Devil was pivotal to how the populace dealt with this bewildering and historic incident.

In past scholarship on the Bubble, the triumvirate of W. R. Scott, P. G. M. Dickson and John Carswell developed variations of what came to be known as the ‘gambling mania’ argument to account for the Bubble’s occurrence.³ It was postulated that contemporaries became suddenly and temporarily obsessed, almost possessed, by high-risk, irrational investments on the stock market.⁴ The argument was an attempt to reconcile functioning capital markets with financial bubbles – the latter seen as unseemly blots on the ‘Age of Reason’s’ sunny landscape.⁵ However, as economic historians have since shown, it is not necessary to explain a financial bubble by claiming that everyone has lost their wits.⁶ Indeed the gambling mania argument wrongly employs the barrage of distressed contemporary comment – that is to say, people had gone

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² ‘The South Sea Bubble’ refers to the rapid increase in the price of the South Sea Company’s share prices on the London stock market, and their eventual collapse in price, in the course of the summer and autumn months of 1720.

³ W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish joint-stock companies to 1720*, Vol.1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912); P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit 1688-1756* (London: Macmillan, 1967); John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (London: The Cresset Press, 1960).

⁴ Helen J. Paul, *The South Sea Bubble: An Economic History of its Origins and Consequences* (London: Routledge, 2011).

⁵ Carswell, Preface.

⁶ Paul, p. 2.

momentarily mad – to try and explain actual economic events. Or as Julian Hoppit puts it, ‘Too often contemporary lamentations of the Bubble have been taken at face value.’⁷

In more recent years, a variety of historians and economists have employed behavioural finance in order to dispel the gambling mania argument. Those contemporaries that actually invested are increasingly thought to have acted more-or-less reasonably on the basis of the limited financial information available to them in 1720, many riding the Bubble and making modest profits.⁸ But for advocates of this argument, contemporary concerns about a ‘mania’ that originated during 1720 are conveniently airbrushed out of existence, because they are deemed unreliable to explain the economics of the Bubble. Alongside this, social historians have cast their own analytical eyes over the Bubble, unpicking the social composition of investors, and how this relates to the anxious prejudices like misogyny, anti-Semitism and xenophobia that erupted in London during 1720, but rarely if ever are these connected to economic events.⁹ As a result, a noticeable division has developed in scholarship on the Bubble: economic historians tend to see the social material as irrelevant for their purposes, and social historians are unconcerned with the faceless economic intricacies. A sort of scholarly stalemate has thus evolved, each side preferring to stick to their own territory.

This artificial division between the cold economics and secular social fears, however, finds little basis in the supernaturally imbued eighteenth-century reality, which at the time of the Bubble made no real distinction between the two. This article aims to move beyond the false dichotomy that either prescribes an uncritical acceptance of contemporary ‘maniacal’ concerns as pre-packaged economic data, or – taking us to the other extreme – a wholesale dismissal of them altogether, as the economic historiography has lurches between. Instead, this article presents an alternative reading of *why* contemporaries landed on versions of the ‘mania’ explanation so pervasively in the first place, and aims to understand what it offered them as an appealing explanatory concept. It was the Devil’s perceived ability to tantalise and seduce individuals into rapacious avarice – in an attempt to ruin the nation – during 1720, which helps us collapse the false historiographical distinction between economic woes and social anxieties. The structure of

⁷ Julian Hoppit, ‘The Myths of the South Sea Bubble’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12(2002), p. 165.

⁸ P. Garber, *Famous First Bubbles: the Fundamentals of Early Manias* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), p. 122; See Helen J. Paul, *The South Sea Bubble: An Economic History of its Origins and Consequences* (London: Routledge, 2011); Gary Shea, ‘Financial Market Analysis Can Go Mad (In Search of Irrational Behaviour during the South Sea Bubble)’, *The Economic History Review*, 60(Nov. 2007), 742-765.

⁹ See Catherine Ingrassia, ‘The Pleasure of Business and the Business of Pleasure: Gender, Credit and the South Sea Bubble’, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, Vol. 24, (1995), 191-210; Melissa K. Downes, ‘Ladies of Ill-Repute: The South Sea Bubble, The Caribbean, and The Jamaica Lady’, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 33(2004), 23-48.

this article can be summed up thus: first, to look at the long-standing suspicions surrounding the various new financial institutions and innovations that evolved in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries prior to the Bubble. These include: the national debt; the stock market; paper money; Exchange Alley being a centre for financial dealings; and the shady practice of ‘stockjobbing’.¹⁰ Second, to examine the ‘frenzied atmosphere’ of 1720 – why contemporaries thought it occurred; how they rationalised the Bubble; and how South Sea company directors were the ideal diabolic scapegoats in the aftermath of the Bubble.

I

Before we can appreciate the Devil’s role in the populace’s understanding of the Bubble, it is crucial first to examine the suspicions and fears surrounding the evolving financial innovations of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which would come to a head during 1720. In the years leading up to the Bubble, speculators were prospering and business was booming. From 1717 to 1720 investment in joint-stock companies had made a rapid jump from £20million to £50million.¹¹ Importantly however, in the early eighteenth century the stock market was perceived as a strange, new and often mysterious wealth generating or depleting entity.¹² With this rise in stock-market investment and trading activity, fears were stimulated about the ephemeral nature of paper money, the immorality of Exchange Alley and dubious practice of stockjobbing, along with the broader ramifications that such financial innovations might have for the domestic family unit, the public good, and religious morality.

One reoccurring concern was over the dematerialized and intangible nature that wealth took on.¹³ Paper as a symbol for money was seen as problematic as Isaac Bickerstaff pointed out ‘To Ashes paper may be burnt at Will/ But Coin, tho’ melted, is of Value still’.¹⁴ Fears circulated about the flimsiness and precariousness of paper, which was accredited with no real intrinsic value, unlike coinage. Worries existed over whether the value paper allegedly represented would fail to materialize in times of urgent need.¹⁵ Further to these concerns, one balladeer commented

¹⁰ The practice of ‘stockjobbing’ will be examined in detail in the body of the article. It had a roomy and flexible definition in the early eighteenth century, but tended to denote tactical investments on the London stock market.

¹¹ Sandra Sherman, *Finance and Fictionality in the Early Eighteenth Century: Accounting for Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 18.

¹² Paul, p. 7.

¹³ Catherine Ingrassia, ‘The Pleasure of Business and the Business of Pleasure: Gender, Credit and the South Sea Bubble’, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 24(1995), 191-210 (p. 192)

¹⁴ Isaac Bickerstaff, *The modern postasters: or, directors no conjurors* (London: April, 1720), Epilogue.

¹⁵ Sherman, p. 22.

‘Of mighty Wealthy we vapour/ When all the riches that we boast/ Consist of scraps of paper’.¹⁶ There were evidently anxieties regarding the notion that ‘mighty wealth’ – which had previously consisted of landed estates – could legitimately be reduced to a mere scrap of paper in the new system, and then potentially ‘jobbed away’ on the stock market.¹⁷ Contemporaries thus feared the potential social dislocation; that great estates could be won and lost as though over a game of cards and hereditary wealth would switch hands almost overnight. The fear was that those clutching scraps of paper would usurp and displace those of the traditional family estates.¹⁸

Home to this elusive trading in (paper) stocks, was London’s Exchange Alley. As Natasha Glaisyer has noted, Exchange Alley was an important site for the oral interchange between traders and merchants, many of whom were striking financial deals.¹⁹ It must arguably have been a puzzling spectacle for the contemporary onlooker who was unversed in the nuances of the stock market, that someone could be made immensely rich, and also dreadfully poor merely through the powers and outcomes of these conversations. As pamphleteers pointed out, were these financial dealings not akin to sorcery, since the consequences from mere words could be so great?²⁰ Given this allusion, it is worth remembering that witchcraft – with its emphasis on the verbal incantation in causing physical harm, or ‘maleficium’ – was still a capital offence in England until 1736.²¹ There was arguably some residual anxiety about the extreme financial consequences that mere verbal exchange could cause, and its disturbing parallels with sorcery.

There was additional disquiet about the seemingly untrammelled social mixing along the Exchange. As the contemporary Rufus Sherwood comments, ‘Turks, Jews, Atheists and Infidels mingle there as if they were a kin to one another’.²² Tom Brown also highlights the sexual exploits that were apparently negotiated along the Alley, ‘Look! Yonder’s a Jew treading upon an Italian’s foot, to carry on a Sodomitical Intrigue, and bartering their Souls here, for Fire and Brimstone in another World’.²³ The image of ‘bartering Souls’ with its financial connotations, gives us a glimpse of how contemporaries associated the (thought to be) immoral activities of the Exchange with ideas of Hell and damnation, (‘Fire and Brimstone in another World’), often-in satirical fashion.

¹⁶ Ned Ward, *A South-Sea Ballad, or, Merry remarks upon Exchange-Alley Bubbles* (London: 1720).

¹⁷ Ingrassia, p. 193.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193; Sherman p. 27.

¹⁹ Natasha Glaisyer, *The Culture of Commerce in England 1660-1720* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2006), p. 35.

²⁰ Alex Preda, ‘In the Enchanted Grove: Financial Conversations and the Marketplace in England and France in the Eighteenth Century’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 3(Sept. 2001), 276-307 (p. 291).

²¹ Ian Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Its Transformations 1650-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 9.

²² Rufus Sherwood, *South-Sea; or the Biters Bit. A Tragi-Comi-Pastoral Farce* (London:1720) pp. 15-16.

²³ Tom Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical* (London: 1700); Glaisyer, p. 57.

Crucial to this perceived immorality of these newfangled financial innovations was ‘stockjobbing’. Importantly, stockjobbing had an intriguingly capacious definition in the early eighteenth century. Whilst usually employed in a pejorative sense, it is unclear whether contemporaries were referring to the practices of a specific social group of stock-traders – and thus their identity as ‘stockjobbers’, or if it simply denoted any sort of investment in the stock market. Encapsulating this ambiguity was the author of *A Letter to a Conscientious Man* (1720), who remarked that speculative investment was ‘a *Business* founded upon nothing that is solid, rational or honest, but merely upon artifice, Trick and Catch’.²⁴ The inherent flexibility of the term means we should probably allow for the specific usage to oscillate between these two extremes, dependent on the context and progress of the Bubble. For instance, in the aftermath of the Bubble, the political elite decried the evils of stockjobbing in the Commons debates, and yet the stock market remained very much open for business. Defining stockjobbing as a practice, rather than a fixed identity, then, was crucial for political figures since many had shares in the South Sea Company themselves, and had to explain away any attempt to profiteer from the Bubble.²⁵

Aiming to explain why contemporaries viewed stockjobbing with such suspicion, Catherine Ingrassia argues that it placed men in a submissive culturally feminine position, because it forced them to depend on opinion, reputations and the approval of others.²⁶ This gendered interpretation of the practice, however, seems distinctly misjudged. As Craig Muldrew has so emphatically shown, the ‘currency of reputation’ was integral for *all* economic transactions between male *and* female actors, and was thus part and parcel of everyday economic life, dating back to the sixteenth century.²⁷ A more persuasive reading of contemporaries’ prejudice against stockjobbing seems its consistent image and association with gambling. For contemporaries it was all too easy to see the similarities between the two, since neither produced tangible results, speed was of the essence when making bets or trades, and both give the possibility of large scale gains and losses.²⁸ Moreover, stockjobbing was thought to serve neither the public good, nor the domestic family, but only to satisfy the individual’s ‘endless Ambition of still growing rich’ or of

²⁴ *A Letter to a Conscientious Man* (London: 1720) p. 22.

²⁵ Paul, p. 90.

²⁶ Ingrassia, p. 195.

²⁷ Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998) pp. 2-3.

²⁸ Paul, p. 13.

‘growing wealthy without trouble.’²⁹ Jonathan Swift for one viewed with alarm the interdependence of government revenue with large-scale gambling, and the terrifying idea that the whole charade rested on a magical bubble of confidence. He invited his readers to ‘Conceive the whole Enchantment broke’, and presciently envisage the distressing consequences.³⁰

Before we examine the reactions and commentary produced about the Bubble itself, it is important to note that alongside the anxieties evoked by these new financial institutions and innovations, there existed debates about personal luxury and its benefits for society as a whole – and the ability of these innovations to produce such wealth. It would be highly selective to imply that opinion was wholly on the side of the naysayers. For example, texts like Bernard Mandeville’s *The Fable of the Bees* (1714) stressed that spending money on frivolous luxuries was a benefit to the economy as a whole and therefore contributed to the public good.³¹ Even in the late seventeenth century, the likes of John Houghton and Nicholas Barbon promoted the view that a general ‘high living’ provoked emulation amongst others so ‘the cobbler is always endeavouring to live as well as the shoemaker... and thus the people grow rich, which is to the great advantage of a nation’.³² Furthermore, the leap in investment in joint-stock companies in the years prior to the Bubble would certainly indicate that at the very least *some* of the population had enough confidence in the novel financial institutions to invest in them. Arguments were also circulating that to invest in these strange new financial systems was a patriotic act, since it contributed to the nation’s war efforts, perhaps helping to placate the sorts of anxieties detailed above.³³ Moreover then, concerns and arms-length confidence in these financial innovations were never mutually exclusive for contemporaries. Indeed one could harbour latent fears about the ephemeral nature of paper money but also buy some stocks in the East India Company, for instance. It was this sort of cognitive dissonance about the novelty of such financial practices, which seems to best characterise how they were viewed in the years running up to the Bubble.

²⁹ *The South Sea Ballad* (London: 1720); Elias Bockett, *The yea and nay stock-jobbers, or the ‘change-Alley Quakers anatomiz’d.* (London: 1720).

³⁰ Jonathan Swift, quoted in Colin Nicholson, *Writing and the Rise of Finance: Capital Satires in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 102-3, 74.

³¹ Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (London: 1714).

³² Nicholas Barbon, *A Discourse Shewing the Great Advantages that New-Buildings and the Enlarging of Towns and Cities Do Bring a Nation* (London: 1678); Paul Slack, ‘The Politics of Consumption and England’s Happiness in the Later Seventeenth Century’, *The English Historical Review*, 122 (2007), 609-631 (p. 615).

³³ Julian Hoppit, ‘The Myths of the South Sea Bubble’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12(2002), 141-165 (p. 147).

II

As the South Sea Company's stock price rocketed in the summer of 1720, and then crashed in the autumn, commentary about the rapidly unfolding events was promptly pumped out. Whilst the 'gambling mania' argument has been more or less discounted and discarded by modern economic historians, there has been little attention given to *why* contemporaries thought this was a plausible explanation at the time.³⁴ We should remember that the Bubble predated the more sophisticated understanding of the economy that would later be developed by the likes of Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo. The constitution of 'financial knowledge' was informed by an array of debates from usury to luxury, and at this particular moment in history, the supernatural.³⁵ There was a consensus amongst the populace that a fraud of some sort had taken place, but identifying the exact nature and extent of that fraud remained a mystery to the vast majority. Given that historians are still arguing over the intricate economics of the Bubble with the facts dispassionately laid in front of them, it is not surprising that contemporaries were unable to fully explain the Bubble at precisely the same moment that they attempting to deal with its consequences.³⁶ Since clinical economic explanations were a thing of the future, people in the eighteenth century were forced to rationalise the Bubble in some other way, and the crucial explanatory forces they landed on revolved around the supernatural, and the Devil in particular.

Different members of society implicitly and explicitly invoked the supernatural for various reasons, some rather disingenuously, others more authentically. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Aislabie – who was heavily involved in South Sea company subscriptions – commented

It became difficult to govern it; and let those gentlemen that opened the floodgates wonder at the deluge that ensued [...] it was not in one man's power, or in the power of the whole administration, to stop it, considering how the world was borne away by the torrent.³⁷

³⁴ Paul, p. 116.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁷ Parl. Hist. vii, speech of 20 July 1721, p. 885; Dickson, p. 102.

Aislabie's explanation deliberately implied a supernaturally governed torrent that man had unleashed and was powerless to anticipate or control, and smacks of a politician explaining away his complicity in the scam. If no man or administration could have possibly controlled the Bubble, then logically speaking, Aislabie was conveniently blame-free. Perhaps with less self-serving motives, General Ross – a member of the Secret Committee commissioned to investigate the crash – told the House of Commons that he 'had already discover'd a Train of the deepest Villainy and Fraud that Hell ever contriv'd to ruin a Nation'.³⁸ This idea that some malevolent supernatural force was contriving to ruin the nation became a key explanatory concept in rationalising the crash. Indeed, some two decades earlier Daniel Defoe tellingly noted that 'The Devil does Evil, we say, but it is for some *design*, either to seduce others, or as some Diviners say, from a principle of Enmity to his Maker'.³⁹ This notion of 'design' as elucidated by Defoe appears to have been a significant component in the contemporary understanding of the Devil. For many, the Bubble appeared to be precisely that sort of premeditated diabolic intervention – ruining those who had thought the stock market a means to acquire quick and easy wealth.

That the Devil was somehow implicated in the Bubble, and a member of the speculators, was a reappearing theme, as one ballad pointed out, 'Some rise, and some fall/ The Devil and all'.⁴⁰ Poems took on similar tone, commenting how 'Our Courtiers, Merchants, Mob and Citizens/ Run to Change Alley, Without Wit or Sence/ And there, like Men possest and frantic/ Subscribe and Buy at Rates Romantic'.⁴¹ Men appeared to be acting as though possessed, frantically buying South Sea stocks at extortionate prices, as one playwright emphatically concluded 'This, is the Devil's interlude'.⁴² Furthermore, the depiction of the Devil in William Hogarth's famous *The South Sea Scheme* (1721) (see Fig. 1) hacking the limbs off Fortune and tossing them into the baying crowd, illustrates the Devil to be ruthlessly and violently orchestrating proceedings. Hogarth's metaphor encapsulates events: each of the speculators desperately wants a piece of fortune in their own investments, even if this involves a close association with the Devil in their financial dealings. Moreover, the image of Fortune as limbless, deformed and powerless to the Devil's macabre machinations emphasises the lengths speculators were willing to pursue in order to secure their newfound wealth. This image found realisation in the deliberately paradoxical idea

³⁸ Paul, p. 90.

³⁹ Daniel Defoe, *An Essay Upon Projects* (London: 1697) pp. 247-8.

⁴⁰ *Exchange Alley: or, the Stock-jobber turn'd Gentleman; with the Humours of our Modern Projectors. A tragic-comical farce. Humbly inscrib'd to the Gentleman daily attending at Jonathon's Coffee-House* (London: 1720).

⁴¹ Elias Bockett, *The yea and nay stock-jobbers, or the 'change-Alley Quakers anatomiz'd* (London: 1720), p. 6.

⁴² Bickerstaff, Epilogue.

of a ‘Devilish fortune’, which contemporaries promptly landed upon.⁴³ This stemmed partially from the widely held notion that for every win on the stock market, there had to be someone losing elsewhere in order to fund one’s newfound wealth.⁴⁴



Figure 1: *The South Sea Scheme* by William Hogarth (1721) Courtesy of the British Museum

Those harbouring concerns about the new financial institutions and innovations took the Bubble as the ultimate vindication of their worries, and as a moment of divine retribution for those engaging in such shady financial activities. On the initial fretfulness over dematerialized wealth, Thomas D’Urfey wrote ‘Hubble Bubble, all is smoke/ Hubble Bubble, all is broke/ Farewell your Houses, Lands and Flocks/ For all you have is now in Stocks’.⁴⁵ One poetic correspondence to *Read’s Weekly Journal* wrote in January 1721 of having come ‘just from Change

⁴³ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁴ Hoppit, p. 149.

⁴⁵ Thomas D’Urfey, *The Hubble Bubble* (London: 1720).

Alley, harrass'd, come/ To find, if possible, relief at home... I slapt me down in elbow chair/
Where in slumber soon I fell/ And dreamt the place was turn'd to Hell/ Jonathan's was Satan's
Palace'.⁴⁶ As demonstrated, the geographic settings of financial dealings – the Exchange and the
coffeeshouses – were revealingly imbued with Hell-like significance. In addition, existing
prejudices against stockjobbing were radicalized – it promptly became reified as demonic activity.
For instance, one of the contemporary South Sea Bubble playing cards reads 'A set of Jobbers
rather Knaves than Fools/ Meet and Contrive to cheat their Principals' with an ominous demon
overlooking proceedings, as though as a guiding force.⁴⁷ This visual representation can be further
substantiated by Robert Harley, the Earl of Oxford, who was told by his son in June 1720 that
'the demon of stockjobbing is the genius of the place. This fills all hearts, tongues and thoughts,
and nothing is so like Bedlam as the present humour which has seized all parties.'⁴⁸ The idea that
some sort of lunacy or delusion had fallen on everyone in turn promoted the idea that moral
codes had been temporarily thrown aside. As one poem succinctly put it 'Brother cheats
brother/ And Knaves and Fools trick one another,' nother wrote 'Men prey on men, and all Prey
are design'd.'⁴⁹ Bickerstaff persisted, 'lay aside humility, if you intend to thrive in the English
territories, and let Conceit, hypocrisy and Pride take place'.⁵⁰ It seems likely that what we now
consider as 'sound stock-trading practice' in the twenty first century, tended to flout broader
moral codes in the early eighteenth century, which perhaps impacts on economic historians'
thinking that no maniacal gambling frenzy ever existed.⁵¹ The contemporaneous view seemed
unequivocal: traditional morality had been discarded, men were transfixed with the acquisition of
cheap and easy wealth, and were misled and seduced by the Devil – who was orchestrating
events and helping the prices get higher and higher.

Explaining the actual stock market crash of autumn 1720 as an act of divine retribution for
people's collective sin of manic avarice was also a remarkably common conclusion. As one
female speculator Jane Bulkely wrote in her correspondence to Jane Bonnell:

⁴⁶ *Read's Weekly Journal*, (14 January 1721); Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 59.

⁴⁷ *South Sea Bubble Playing Cards* (Harvard University: Baker Library, Harvard Business School)

⁴⁸ HMC, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland*, v (1899), p. 599; Hoppit, p. 145.

⁴⁹ Bockett, p. 7; Bickerstaff, Epilogue.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵¹ Paul, p. 22.

I hope you have not suffered more in your own fortune than you can well spare [...] For my part I think people were infatuated at that time; we lay the faults upon others, but I think it was a delusion brought upon us for our sin.⁵²

Or as Alexander Pope similarly noted

Methinks God has punish'd the avaritious as he often punishes sinners, in their own way, in the very sin itself: the thirst of gain was their crime, that thirst continued became their punishment and ruin.⁵³

As both Bulkely and Pope elucidate – albeit in subtly different ways – the plummeting of confidence and the crash came to be seen by some as a retributive act of God, which was in turn a corollary of the speculators' sin of avarice. On the evidence marshalled above, this sin was a consequence of the Devil's seduction, and malevolent orchestrations. On the basis of this contemporary view then, it would have seemed unambiguously providential that bubonic plague had broken out just across the channel in France in the autumn of 1720.⁵⁴ It seems inescapable then, that contemporaries were not concerned with uncovering economic truths, so much as reading supernatural significance into events as a means to try and explain a truly bewildering incident. Such an explanation had an almost therapeutic appeal, since it placed the initiative of both seduction and retribution in the supernatural, celestial realm. If the South Sea Bubble became an epic, supernatural struggle between God and the Devil, then human beings became mere pawns in a far grander scheme, powerless to intervene or change the course of events.

III

There has been a considerable amount of excellent scholarship written on the social side of the South Sea Bubble. It has become commonplace to argue that the Bubble caused anxieties about various groups and minorities to be voiced: Jews were vilified; aristocratic women and prostitutes became objects of satire; foreigners were insulted. As various scholars have shown, the Bubble

⁵² National Library of Ireland, PC 435, J[ane] B[ulkely] to Jane Bonnell, 23 June 1721; Anne Laurence, 'Women Investors, 'that nasty south sea affair' and the Rage to Speculate in Early Eighteenth Century England', *Accounting, Business and Financial History*, 16 (2006), 245-264 (p. 260).

⁵³ Alexander Pope, quoted in Nicholson, p. 66.

⁵⁴ Hoppit, p. 162.

was a moment of anxious preoccupation with British identity being subverted or threatened.⁵⁵ I do not intend to reproduce any of this work here, or to try and criticise it in any fundamental sense, but rather to show how the arguments proposed above add a further dimension to our understanding of the Bubble. In her recent book, Helen Paul comments that ‘the social history has little to do with the financial history’ of the Bubble.⁵⁶ Hitherto, this has certainly appeared to be the case. But as I have sought to demonstrate, a substantial and unexplored proportion of the social side of events were, crucially, *(mis)interpretations* of those financial events embedded in a supernatural belief system. Once we understand and accept that what we might consider to be completely separate fields of thought – finance and the supernatural – were in fact intrinsically linked during the Bubble, then this offers a bridge to connect the financial and social history. This bridge can be reinforced when it becomes apparent that the supernatural and diabolical reading of events that I have sketched out above, were in turn linked to the social anxieties that previous scholars have detailed so well.

The anti-Semitism latent in much of the commentary produced during the Bubble in particular, appeared to have certain diabolical features in contemporaries’ minds. In the South Sea Bubble playing cards we see a Jewish broker with a demon hovering by his elbow, implying that the pair are in cahoots in their financial dealings. Another card depicts a Jew being ducked in a horse pond, which conjures up images of witchcraft, whereby it was thought the natural element of water would reject them and thus their identity as a witch would be revealed.⁵⁷ Similarly, anxieties about gender often had a diabolic and magical strand to them. *The Battle of the Bubbles* (1720) makes an explicit link between the figure of ‘Oceana’ – the feminized emblem of the circulation of trade and speculation – with ‘Cabbalistical Rods’, the ‘Art of Amulets’, ‘Charms’, learning the ‘hellish Artes’ from her sister, and crucially the need to ‘deny the Devil’.⁵⁸ The consistent invocation of the Devil and dubious magical practices within the anti-Semitic and gender related anxieties shows diabolism to be a remarkably expansive cultural force. We might speculate that the Devil was the binding conceptual force between these various anxieties, perhaps stemming from the initial diabolical reading of events as outlined above.

⁵⁵ See in particular: Catherine Ingrassia, ‘The Pleasure of Business and the Business of Pleasure: Gender, Credit and the South Sea Bubble’, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 24(1995), 191-210; Anne Laurence, ‘Women Investors, ‘that nasty south sea affair’ and the Rage to Speculate in Early Eighteenth Century England’, *Accounting, Business and Financial History*, 16 (2006), 245-264.

⁵⁶ Paul, p. 88.

⁵⁷ Paul, p. 94; *South Sea Bubble Play Cards* (Historical Collections, Harvard Business School)

⁵⁸ *The Battle of the Bubbles* (London: 1720) pp. 15-16; Melissa K. Downes, ‘Ladies of Ill-Repute: The South Sea Bubble, The Caribbean, and The Jamaica Lady’, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 33 (2004), 23-48 (p. 30).

The process of scapegoating the South Sea Company directors in the aftermath of the crash – to deflect the public’s attention away from the rest of the establishment – was again linked to the Devil and fulfilled a similarly therapeutic role.⁵⁹ *Lucifer’s new Row-Barge* (1721) (see Fig. 2) depicts the cashier of the South Sea Company, Robert Knight, surrounded by demons being rowed into the open jaws of Hell. This specific satirical woodcut was a great commercial success; the print was republished for consecutive weeks due to its popularity.⁶⁰ Knight’s positioning on a heap of coins – his proceeds from the Bubble – with the words ‘The Glory of the Wicked’ emblazoned above them, seems to be further evidence of the paradoxical idea of an inglorious ‘devilish fortune’, as detailed above. The demon on the right, speaking into Knight’s left ear, advises ‘Except none, Cheat all’ – a now familiar image of the Devil’s minions seducing and orchestrating the sin of those implicated in the Bubble. It seems Knight was a particularly successful scapegoat not only because he shifted blame off the Establishment, but also because he served to mollify feelings of guilt and complicity in the ‘frenzy’ amongst the general populace. Knight’s stark association with the Devil made him the important object of people’s moralising contempt; he was a useful tool to detract from the collective guilt felt by those swept up in the frenzy.

⁵⁹ Paul, p. 51.

⁶⁰ Hallett, pp. 68-9.



Figure 2: *Lucifer's new Row-Barge* (1721) Courtesy of the British Museum

IV

It seems, then, that the Devil's conceptual flexibility to seduce anyone at any time – for the grander scheme of ruining the nation – gained a currency amongst contemporaries during the South Sea Bubble that has been overlooked in modern scholarship. This gives some indication of the research waiting to be undertaken examining the contemporary interconnectedness between the celestial and financial realms, during Britain's period of nascent financial development in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Invoking the supernatural was a means for people to understand the seemingly inexplicable, and makes greater sense when placed in the correct context of deep suspicion and latent fear surrounding the newfangled financial institutions in the years leading up to the Bubble. I have attempted to establish a potential bridge between the social and financial historiography, which rested above all on contemporaries' consistent and widespread *mis*interpretations of the economic 'reality'. It was precisely this misreading of events that proved an immensely powerful explanatory tool. This not only adds a further dimension to our understanding of the South Sea Bubble, but arguably shows how contemporaries' anxieties about deviant and marginal groups had roots in their diabolical reading of financial events. It has long been assumed the Bubble was something of a morality tale for contemporaries – this article has fleshed out the nature and vicissitudes of that tale, and why it was so compellingly significant for the populace. To the modern mind, it may well seem absurd to connect the Devil with a financial crash. But we surely need to scrutinize the extent to which we accept economic 'truths' on trust alone in the twenty first century, before we cast aspersions on the explanations advanced by our eighteenth century ancestors.

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Luxury at Rome: *avaritia*, *aemulatio* and the *mos maiorum*

This article sets out to put into perspective the ancient Roman discourse about luxury, which our extant literary sources almost universally condemn, on moral grounds. In it, I aim to define the scope and character of Roman luxury, and how it became an issue for the Romans, from the end of the third century BC to the beginning of the second century AD. With the aid of modern thinking about luxury and the diffusion of ideas in a society, I shed light on the reasons for the upsurge in luxurious living and, in particular, on how luxuries spread through the elite population, an issue that has been largely neglected by modern scholars. Books and articles on Roman luxury have been primarily concerned with examining the discourse of contemporary writers who criticised luxury;² analysing the nature of Roman luxury;³ analysing the nature and impact of sumptuary legislation;⁴ or comparing the luxury of the Romans with that of other cultures.⁵ The only significant article dealing specifically with the diffusion of luxury is a provocative piece by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, the focus of which is, however, limited and specific.⁶

For a series of moralising Roman authors, the second century BC saw the beginning of the corruption of the traditional stern moral fibre, as they saw it, of the Republic by an influx of

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² Andrew W. Lintott, 'Imperial Expansion and Moral Decline in the Roman Republic', *Historia*, 21:4 (1972), 626-38; Barbara Levick, 'Morals, Politics, and the Fall of the Roman Republic', *Greece & Rome*, 2nd ser., 29 (1982), 53-62.

³ Eva Dubois-Pelerin, *Le Luxe Privé à Rome et en Italie au 1^{er} Siècle après J.-C.* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 2008); Andrew Dalby, *Empire of Pleasures: Luxury and Indulgence in the Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁴ Ewoud Slob, *Luxuria: Regelgeving en maatregelen van censoren ten tijde van de Romeinse Republiek* (Zutphen: De Walburg, 1986); Alan E. Astin, 'Regimen morum', *JRS*, 78 (1988), 14-34; Marianne Coudry, 'Loi et société: la singularité des lois somptuaires de Rome', *Cahiers Gustav Glotz*, 15 (2004), 135-71; Giuseppe Dari-Mattiacci and Anna E. Plisecka, 'Luxury in Ancient Rome: Scope, Timing and Enforcement of Sumptuary Laws', *Legal Roots*, 1 (2010), Amsterdam Centre for Law & Economics Working Paper No. 2010-03, <<http://ssrn.acl.e.nl>> [accessed 12 July 2010]; Emanuela Zanda, *Fighting Hydra-like Luxury: Sumptuary Regulation in the Roman Republic* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011).

⁵ Notably, Ludwig H. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*, 7th edn, 4 vols (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1889-90), trans. by Leonard A. Magnus, J.H. Freese and A.B. Gough, as, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, 4 vols (London: Routledge, 1908-13), II, passim.

⁶ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Social Spread of Roman Luxury: Sampling Pompeii and Herculaneum', *PBSR*, 58 (1990), 145-92.

luxuries from the east.⁷ Although the many Roman authors who comment on the rise of luxury differ as to precisely which military victory and subsequent triumph was the trigger for the decadence that the import of luxuries and luxurious habits entailed, none of them voiced any significant doubts about the effect. Luxury was linked in the rhetoric of the day, both in court and in writings, with greed (*avaritia*), drunkenness (*ebrietas*), debauchery (*stuprum, flagitium*), adultery (*adulteria*), lust (*libido, voluptas*), obscene feats of gourmandise (*gula, ganea*), vulgar ostentation (*extra modum sumptu et magnificentia [prodere]*), corruption (*licentia*), extravagant wastefulness (*sumptus*) often leading to bankruptcy, and – a general catch-all form of Roman abuse – effeminacy (*mollitia*). All this and more can be found, for example, liberally scattered through Cicero's speeches; are a constant undercurrent in Sallust's history; and, Seneca's *Epistles* are full of it.⁸ It is generally the luxurious lifestyle that is criticised, rather than specific luxury products, as the list above makes clear.

This is, of course, a classic *topos*, and Andrew Lintott provided an excellent overview and historiographical critique of it in 1972.⁹ But, however we approach it, there is no doubt that the Romans were alert to, and wary of, the idea of *luxuria*, just as the Greeks were suspicious of *tryphe*.¹⁰ Luxury, however, was there to stay, and most of the elite indulged in some form of it, to the extent that charges of excess became the common currency of both political abuse and forensic attacks, from which few senior politicians could entirely escape.¹¹

Roman luxury is, however, somewhat problematic. While it was regularly used by politicians and writers as a focus of abuse and it seriously concerned an elite group of backward-focused moralists,¹² with a more or less utopian view of the *mos maiorum*,¹³ we know relatively little about

⁷ Greece, or simply 'the east'. See especially Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 6.101, 12.84. All ancient texts are Oxford editions, unless otherwise stated. See Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), I. The theme can be found in Polybius, Cicero, Sallust, Diodorus, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, the elder Pliny, Tacitus, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, etc.

⁸ See, e.g., Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.140 (*vulgar ostentation and extravagance*); Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.2.115.9; Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 13.15 (*lust*); Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.5.137.13 (*greed*); Cicero, *In Pisonem* 6 (*gluttony, drunkenness*), 10 (*debauchery*); Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, 11.1 (*greed*), 13.3 (*gluttony, lewdness*), 52 (*effeminacy*); Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, 15.5 (*corruption*), 70 (*effeminacy*); Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae*, 47.2, 78.23-4 (*gourmandise*), 51.4 (*drunkenness*), 78.13.6 (*greed*), 86.6-7 (*vulgar ostentation*), 95.42, 123.7 (*extravagance*), 114.3 (*effeminacy*).

⁹ See especially, Lintott, *passim*, also Levick.

¹⁰ See Coudry, p. 1, n. 1 and references there.

¹¹ Catharine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993). Cicero's speech against Piso and his Philippics are prime examples. Cf. Caelius's speech against C. Antonius, quoted in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 4.2.123-4.

¹² Characterised by what Coudry calls 'idéologie passéiste', see Coudry, p. 14.

¹³ 'Ancestral tradition': a standard shorthand for the (simpler and more constrained) customs of an earlier time, which may or may not have been precisely as the writer or speaker described it. See Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 98.13; Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 1.1.2; Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, 9; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 5.6.17. For a discussion of the

the motivations that inspired wealthy Roman citizens to indulge in luxurious behaviour, and about how, and how far, specific luxuries became diffused among the elite, let alone a wider population. As Andrew Wallace-Hadrill observed over 20 years ago, ‘Roman luxury as a social phenomenon still awaits proper treatment’.¹⁴ We do not often hear the voice of Roman luxury-lovers: there is little in the contemporary literature in favour of luxury, though some of Statius’s *Silvae* and elements of Martial’s epigrams can be read in this way, while Horace’s *Satire* 2.4 can be construed as praising a tasteful and refined luxury.¹⁵

Understanding luxury

In order to understand Roman luxury, we need to place it in its context, and to recognise how luxury markets work. Context is essential, because, as scholars such as Mary Douglas have made clear, luxury is a labile concept: today’s luxuries may be tomorrow’s day-to-day necessities; and what is luxurious in one society may be ordinary in another – think of furs in London and among the Inuit.¹⁶ Ludwig Friedländer discussed luxury at length in Volume 2 of his substantial analysis of Roman life, and dismissed the vaunted luxury of rich Romans as insignificant compared with nineteenth century European princelings’ extravagance.¹⁷ He suggested that in Rome we hear only of a minority of egregious examples which can safely be assumed to be exceptional, and that the vast majority of the population had no access to such things. His first point *may* carry some weight; the second underplays the close similarity of the structure of Roman society to that of the European statelets he compares Rome with – in both cases, a tiny proportion of the population accounted for the vast majority of wealth and surplus income, and hence of luxury consumption.

Luxury is also a concept that economists have trouble with. In the eighteenth century, Adam Smith argued that the distinction between luxuries and necessities was meaningless for economic analysis, since one man’s luxury might be another’s necessity.¹⁸ As Neville Morley has pointed out, the distinction between luxuries and staples has been adopted more or less unthinkingly by ancient historians interested in the development of trade, but it is virtually impossible to

slipperiness of the concept, see Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome’s Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2008), p. 217; Edwards, pp. 1-4.

¹⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, ‘The Social Spread of Roman Luxury’, p. 146, n. 2. But see now Dubois-Pelerin, Dalby.

¹⁵ For the latter, see Zanda, pp. 20-21. See also Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 3.121-128.

¹⁶ Mary Douglas & Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London: Allen Lane, 1979).

¹⁷ Friedländer, II, passim.

¹⁸ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. by R.H. Campbell, A.S. Skinner, and W.B. Todd, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), II, p. 148.

operationalize the distinction in the economic analysis of trade.¹⁹ The fact remains, however, as Morley readily admits, that luxury clearly had meaning for the Romans, and it is necessary to take note of this in any overview of elite Roman society.²⁰

Modern marketing analysts have a clear idea of what a luxury market looks like and how people behave within it – though in recent years practitioners have divided luxury markets into a variety of sub-categories (super-luxury, mass luxury, sub-luxury, and now ‘meta-luxury’).²¹ To apply these sub-divisions to the Roman world in detail would be difficult: they reflect the fact that luxury is a labile and relative concept.²² By way of illustration, in Book 9 of the *Natural History*, Pliny says that by his day women of all sorts wore pearls, as a matter of course; but he makes clear that there were grades of pearls, some larger and more lustrous, and therefore more valuable, than others, and that when they were first introduced to Rome they were an exclusive luxury – by his time they had become, in effect, a mass luxury.²³

As a marketer working in luxury markets for companies such as de Beers, Rolex, and Ferragamo, I have seen the development of a set of criteria that are widely agreed to define luxury brands in general (the order may vary in different people’s formulations):²⁴

¹⁹ Neville Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2007), pp.41-43.

²⁰ Morley, p. 43.

²¹ Manfredi Ricca and Rebecca Robins, *Meta-Luxury: Brands and the Culture of Excellence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). The term is used to define a special level of excellence above and beyond what the authors regard as the by now over-used and excessively loose term ‘luxury’.

²² See n. 15.

²³ Pliny the Elder, 9.106 ff. As he says (9.114), even ‘the poor’ (*pauperes*) want pearls. See Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome’s Cultural Revolution*, pp. 347-66 for indications of the extent of diffusion of luxury down the socio-economic scale.

²⁴ For a good modern overview, see Franck Vigneron and Lester W. Johnson, ‘A Review and a Conceptual Framework of Prestige-seeking Consumer Behaviour’, *Academy of Marketing Science Review*, 1999:1, <<http://www.amsreview.org/articles/vigneron01-1999.pdf>> [accessed 8 January 2012].

Characteristics of luxury markets and brands

- **High quality, well-designed, and crafted by experts. Both well-made and aesthetically pleasing**
- **Rare, special, unusual, exotic: possibly obtained only by great or risky effort**
- **Reflecting authentic heritage or history: ideally with a good, credible, and even slightly ‘magical’ story behind them**
- **Highly-priced – too expensive for most people, but not for the true connoisseur – hence, exclusive**
- **Recognizably used by high-status/wealthy people: seen in the ‘right’ places**
- **Indulgent – to be experienced and enjoyed with enthusiasm.**

Source: Red Cell Advertising. Cf. Dubois, p. 241; Vigneron & Johnson, p. 3, Table 1; Kapferer & Bastien, pp. 21, 53.²⁵

Within this, I would argue that some luxuries are in a sense ‘absolute’: for example, precious jewellery, ivory, and fine art. Others are more relative: fine wines and rich clothing materials, for example, which are more accessible in terms of absolute cost and availability. Nonetheless, at any given time in history, in a given society, it should be relatively easy to recognise what can be defined as luxuries, by applying the criteria in the above table. In seventeenth century Europe, tea, for example, was an absolute luxury.²⁶ Today, though connoisseurs can identify some rare varieties of tea that are sufficiently obscure and costly to come into a luxury category, tea is an everyday product, at least in the UK. In modern consumer markets, generally, the extreme ‘top of the range’ is usually in some sense luxury. In ancient Rome, as we shall see, the above criteria apply.

Roman Luxury and Conspicuous Consumption

For the Romans, the key to luxury and the discourse surrounding it was the way in which elite citizens used certain commodities to make statements about themselves.²⁷ Traditionally, and with

²⁵ Jean-Noel Kapferer & Vincent Bastien, *The Luxury Strategy* (London: Kogan Page, 2011).

²⁶ Samuel Pepys records in his diary for 25 September 1660: ‘I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I never had drank before’. See, *The diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. by Robert Latham & William Matthews, 2nd edn, 11 vols (London: Harper Collins, 1995), I, p. 167. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘The Social Spread of Roman Luxury’, pp. 148-49.

²⁷ Numerous examples can illustrate this. See Plutarch’s description of Lucullus’s luxurious lifestyle, especially *Lucullus*, 39-41. At a different level, Petronius’s Trimalchio presents a beautifully exaggerated picture of self-presentation – see Petronius, *Satyrical*, 25 ff. The fact that the conspicuous display of luxury was recognized by the Romans is illustrated by the numerous examples in Pliny’s *Natural History* of distinguished citizens being the first to

the approval even of morally-concerned writers such as Cicero, the way to do this was to present public buildings or monuments to the city and to finance gladiatorial and theatrical shows. Some of this was routine: the *aediles* were expected to commission theatrical performances for a range of festivals.²⁸ More conspicuous were the building or refurbishment of temples, such as the building of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by Q Lutatius Catulus in the 60s BC, and the temple of Saturn by L Munatius Plancus in 42 BC; while Asinius Pollio established the first public library, in the Atrium Libertatis, which he also built.²⁹ As Cicero says, ostentation of this kind was a public good, in contrast to its private use.³⁰ While he criticized private ostentation, however, he also said that a leading citizen must have a house (or houses) that was consonant with his status. Cicero spent plenty of money (much of which he had to borrow) on his Palatine house and his various villas. His attitude is amply reflected in the first century BC architectural text of Vitruvius, who makes it clear that powerful people needed what might be called power houses.³¹ It was only towards the end of the second century BC that rich and powerful Romans began to build their own town houses with marble columns and collect sculptures for their own gardens and courtyards, and to upgrade their out-of-town living space by building luxury villas, especially down the Campanian coast. By the end of the first century, both were normal practice among the elite, leading to intense competition in the design and decoration of houses among the rich.³²

With the increasing wealth flowing into the city from the expanded empire, the leaders of Roman society were able to embark on a process of increasingly conspicuous consumption, in Veblen's terms.³³ This could be – and was – justified as an essential element in the competitive

exhibit a particular luxury – decorating a house with marble columns (M. Scaurus, in Pliny the Elder, 36.5-6): serving a whole boar at a banquet (P. Servilius Rullus, in Pliny the Elder, 8.210 – *tam propinque origo, nunc cotidianus rei est*: 'so recent an origin for what is now seen everyday'); plating a banqueting couch with silver (Carvilius Pollio, in Pliny the Elder, 33.144), and so on.

²⁸ See, e.g. Livy, 6.42.

²⁹ Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 15, Pliny the Elder, 7.138 (Catulus); Tacitus, *Historiae*, 3.72; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863–), X.6087 (Plancus); Pliny the Elder, 35.10 (Pollio).

³⁰ Cicero, *De officiis* 1.138-9. See Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Social Structure of the Roman House', *PBSR*, 56 (1998), 43-97 (especially, pp. 43-45); Zanda, pp. 17-18.

³¹ Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.138-9. Cf. Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 6.5.2: *nobilibus vero qui honores magistratusque gerundo praestare debent officia civibus, faciunda sunt vestibula regalia alta, atria et peristyla amplissima, silvae ambulationesque laxiores ad decorem maiestatis perfectae* - 'But for nobles, who in bearing honours, and discharging the duties of the magistracy, must have much intercourse with the citizens, princely vestibules must be provided, lofty atria, and spacious peristylia, groves, and extensive walks, finished in a magnificent style' (trans. by Joseph Gwilt).

³² See Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.140 for Lucullus's response to his (socially inferior) neighbours' house-building projects. Cf. Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae*, 2.14; Pliny the Elder, 36.109-110. See Helen Platts, 'Keeping up with the Joneses: Competitive Display within the Roman Villa Landscape', in *Competition in the Ancient World*, ed. by Nick Fisher and Hans van Wees (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2011), pp. 239-78.

³³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: an Economic Study of Institutions* (London: Macmillan, 1899; repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1994). See, H. Liebenstein, 'Bandwagon, Snob, and Veblen Effects in the Theory of Consumers' Demand', *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 64:2 (1950), 183-207.

projection of political clout (*auctoritas*) and social position (*dignitas, existimatio*), without which no aspiring politician could expect to gain elected office.³⁴ What is clear, however, is that the borderline between *magnificentia* (admirable) and *luxus* (excessive) was narrow – and where exactly it lay depended on the judgements of others, usually political opponents, who were more likely to criticise private ostentation than public benefaction.³⁵ As Cicero suggests in his *Pro Murena*, *magnificentia* was ideally public, *luxuria* usually private, and even public *magnificentia* could raise questions of scale and taste.³⁶

The mere fact of ostentation laid rich Romans open to criticism. Much of the discourse of politics and the law courts revolved around aspects of morality, and, especially, the morality of luxury.³⁷ The critique of luxury is exemplified quite early in the first century BC by Cicero's attack on Verres.³⁸ Verres was accused of 'acquiring' a vast range of artworks and precious luxury objects both from private individuals and – even worse – from temple buildings and their treasuries, and keeping them for his own private use.³⁹ Verres and his agents stole and expropriated whole-heartedly, and it can be argued, for example, that Cicero's speeches against Verres, coupled with Verres's evident enthusiasm for the material, stimulated a craze for Corinthian bronze that lasted for the next 150-odd years.⁴⁰

³⁴ See e.g., Cicero, *Orator ad M. Brutum*, 2.182.6-8; Cicero, *Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem*, 1.3.6; Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae*, 95.58; Pliny the Younger, 2.9.1.

³⁵ Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.140; Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 76.4: *Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit.*

³⁶ See Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 38.18, 38.23, 76.4. For private *magnificentia*, see Cicero, *De legibus*, 3.30.12. Note that Cicero seemed to have no qualms about having several country villas as well as his Palatine mansion.

³⁷ See Edwards, especially, pp. 136-72. Moralistic criticism of luxury remained the central discourse on the subject up until the eighteenth century, when it gradually began to become 'de-moralized': see Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: a Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994), pp. 19-21. As Zanda, pp. 7-8, makes clear, politics and *mores* were not separated in Roman thought.

³⁸ Verres's lust for luxury plunder is the continuing theme of Cicero's speeches *In Verrem*. In particular, Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.4 contains a catalogue of illegal acquisitions of artworks, precious furniture, etc., summed up briefly in 2.4.1: *I say that in the whole of Sicily, such a rich and ancient province, with so many cities and so many so wealthy families, there was not a single vessel of silver or of Corinthian or Delian bronze, no jewel or pearl, nothing made of gold or ivory, no bronze or marble or ivory statue, not even any picture, painted or embroidered, that he did not seek out, inspect and, if he liked it, take possession of it* (my translation). Cf. Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.5.1. Further examples are scattered through Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.2, especially at 2.2.83 and 2.2.176.

³⁹ For the latter, see Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.4.4-17, 64-7, 71, 74-81, 84-88, 93-97, 99, 109-10, 122-124, 127-130; 2.5.184-88.

⁴⁰ See Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.4, passim, for Verres' pillaging. Corinthian bronze was a sophisticated form of bronze combined with either gold or silver (or both) chiefly used for luxurious tableware. See Pliny the Elder, 34.5ff. It seems to have been unknown at Rome before the sack of Corinth in 146 BC, and effectively disappears from the literary record by the time of Hadrian (AD 117-38), apart from some antiquarian mentions in later writers. See D.M. Jacobson and M.P. Weitzman, 'What was Corinthian Bronze?', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 96:2 (1992), 237-47. For Verres' agents in his activities, see Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.4.30ff. For Corinthian bronzes, see Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.2.83, 176; 2.4.1, 50, 51, 98.

Towards the end of the first century AD, Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* is consistent in its criticism of luxury – there are over sixty passages spread across its 37 books attacking aspects of luxury, mostly in terms of unnecessary expense and effort.⁴¹ It is clear that luxury held a fascination for Pliny, even if it did not fit with his personal lifestyle as described by his adopted son.⁴² Early in the second century, Tacitus observed that a century of competitive ostentation had ruined many senatorial families and that by his time the pace of competition in conspicuous luxury had slowed, in consequence.⁴³ Tacitus did not see luxury as a critical cause of decline, unlike earlier writers.⁴⁴ By then, too, the political rewards for competitive ostentation had been reduced by the power of the Emperor and the absence of any semblance of democratic elections, and it was the emperors who led the way in luxury, epitomised by Nero's *Domus Aurea*.⁴⁵

Luxuries were mostly imported, or made from imported ingredients, and these tended to come from relatively long distances.⁴⁶ Indeed, there has long been a theory that long-distance trade was originally developed for, and depended on, luxury commodities.⁴⁷ It is quite easy from classical sources to generate an extensive list of luxury imports to Rome, primarily from the mostly jaundiced comments of Pliny the Elder: ivory, precious stones, amber, pearls, silk, myrrhine (probably fluorite), exotic timber and furniture (especially citronwood (*thnja*) and ebony), marble (from a range of sources), perfumes, incense (chiefly frankincense and myrrh), jewellery, pepper and other spices, precious metals (especially as tableware), exotic beasts (mainly imported for the arena), educated slaves or those with special skills (including cooks, doctors, and teachers), exotic fruit, a variety of fish, and artworks (especially bronze sculpture).⁴⁸ It's interesting to compare this with the biblical list in Revelation (18.11-13) of commodities which would suffer from the fall of 'Babylon the great' (i.e. Rome):

⁴¹ For example: Pliny the Elder, 5.12, 7.93-4, 9.68, 9.104, 9.122, 13.1, 17.220, 21.11, 33.22, 33.148-50, 36.114, etc.

⁴² Pliny the Younger, 6.16.

⁴³ Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.55.

⁴⁴ See Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, pp. 329-30.

⁴⁵ Pliny the Elder, 36.111; Suetonius, *Nero*, 31; Tacitus, *Annales*, 15.42. For luxury under Nero see, e.g. Tacitus, *Annales*, 47.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Statius, *Silvae*, 5.1.60-3; and the 'Alexandrian tariff' in *Digesta*, 39.4.16.7. As Jasper Griffin has shown, 'Roman' luxury was essentially 'Greek' in character (Jasper Griffin, 'Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury', *JRS*, 66 (1976), 87-105. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, pp. 338-345.

⁴⁷ See Rahul Oka and Chapurukha M. Kusimba, 'The Archaeology of Trading systems, Part 1: Towards a New Trade Synthesis', *Journal of Archaeological Research* 16, (2008), 339-95 (p. 346).

⁴⁸ All of these, with their countries of origin, can be found in Pliny, and many in Seneca's letters: Pliny the Elder, 5.12, 13.91 (citronwood), 5.12, 8.7 (ivory), 6.54 (silk), 8.4 (elephants), 8.53 (lions), 8.64 (panthers), 8.96 (hippopotamus), 9.106-117 (pearls), 12.17-20 (ebony), 12.30ff (pepper and other spices), 12.58-71 (frankincense, myrrh), 13.1ff, especially 13.18 (unguents and perfumes), 34.5ff (Corinthian bronze), 36, especially 48ff (marble), 37.18-22 (myrrhine), 37.30-49 (amber), 37.54ff. (precious stones); Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae*, 76.13 (ivory), 86.6 (marble), 86.7 (artworks), 110.14 (slaves), 123.7 (myrrhine, perfumes, cosmetics).

¹¹ And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more: ¹² The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, ¹³ And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men.⁴⁹

Both Pliny and Seneca were critical, not just of the range of luxuries available, but of the expense of importing them.⁵⁰ As can be seen, the list fits well with the modern criteria of luxury listed above.

A particular field of luxury that attracted both criticism and legal interventions was food and drink – *luxus mensae*.⁵¹ The idea of serving exotic and sought-after ingredients at dinners can be traced to Greek society, and was becoming familiar to the Romans as early as the time of the first significant Latin poet, Ennius (*ob.* 169 BC) who used the ideas of Archestratus in his *Hedyphagetica*, the only extant fragment of which discusses where best around the Mediterranean to acquire a variety of different fish.⁵² By the beginning of the first century BC, the initiative of Sergius Orata, one of the circle of the exceedingly wealthy Lucullus,⁵³ led to the first commercial oyster farming on the bay of Naples. Pliny, and before him, slightly improbably, the poet Ovid, deplored the interest of wealthy Romans in eating fish.⁵⁴ By contrast, the satirist Juvenal had a field day in his fourth Satire recounting the appearance at the imperial court of Domitian of a giant turbot and the excitement and sycophantic manoeuvrings that followed.⁵⁵ From all this, it is clear that the fashion for serving expensive and exotic fish, in particular, had developed into

⁴⁹ Revelation 18.11-13, King James Version.

⁵⁰ See especially Pliny the Elder, 5.1, 12.84, Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae*, 95.42.

⁵¹ For an overview of dining, see Emily Gowers, *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).

⁵² Quoted in Apuleius, *Apologia*, 39.2.

⁵³ Lucullus, a byword for luxury, had introduced the cherry to Rome: Pliny the Elder, 15.30. See Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 39ff. for Lucullus's banquets; Pliny the Elder, 9.168 (Sergius Orata).

⁵⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.171-4; Pliny the Elder, 9.64-68.

⁵⁵ For an earlier example, under Tiberius, see Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae*, 95.42.

something approaching a competitive game between Roman gourmets, complete with aggressive bidding in the markets.⁵⁶ What started as simple emulation had become, for some, vicious rivalry.

While moralising Romans were happy to criticise their contemporaries for their gluttonous obsessions with exotic foods, they were much less priggish about fine wines, though some of the sumptuary laws (see below) tried to restrict the range or cost of wines to be served at public banquets – basically because too much good wine could be viewed, probably rightly, as bribery of the electors (*ambitus*). Italian – Roman – wine only began to become important in the mid-second century BC: Cato's *de Agricultura*, published shortly before his death in 149 BC, both shows that wine-growing was becoming of interest to the Roman elite and that there was already an established habit of drinking Greek wines. Cato gives a couple of recipes for making imitation Coan wine, which is clear evidence of its popularity.⁵⁷ Roman wines effectively came of age with the famous vintage under the consul Opimius in 120 BC: people were still claiming to be drinking Opimian wines 200 years later.⁵⁸

By the end of the first century BC, we already find writers complaining that their hosts serve inferior wines to their less important guests while quaffing top-quality Falernian or Caecuban wines themselves, and this becomes a regular topos in Juvenal and Martial, by the end of the first century AD.⁵⁹ Fine wines were clearly seen as a luxury (almost the only one to be widely favourably written about); and the rich liked to keep them for themselves. Even in a bar in provincial Pompeii, the wine list says that a glass of wine costs one *as*, a better wine 2 *asses*, and Falernian 4 – ratios that still seemed to hold in the *Price Edict* of Diocletian more than 200 years later.⁶⁰ Of course, if the Falernian was genuinely old, it would have cost far more.

Sumptuary legislation

It might be expected that, if they saw luxury as pernicious, the authorities would take steps to suppress or discourage its manifestation. So-called sumptuary laws were the attempted answer,

⁵⁶ Exotic foods and game could be bought in the *macella*, purpose-built marketplaces. Rome had several. See Claire Holleran, *Shopping in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 162-80.

⁵⁷ Cato, *De Agricultura*, 105, 112.

⁵⁸ Petronius's Trimalchio notoriously served his guests an obviously fake 'Opimian Falernian' (Petronius, 34) – see refs in n.79 below. But see Pliny the Elder, 14.55, Martial, *Epigrams*, 1.26, 3.82, 9.87, 10.49 (In Martial, 'Opimian' is probably a shorthand for 'very old and very good').

⁵⁹ See, e.g., Horace, *Satirae*, 2.3.143-4; Martial, 1.18.3, 3.49, 6.92, 9.2, 10.48; Juvenal, *Satires*, 5.25-34, 7.121.

⁶⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863–), IV.1679; *Edict of Diocletian*, 2.

both in antiquity and through almost to modern times.⁶¹ Curiously, however, the series of Roman sumptuary laws passed between 215 BC and 18 BC concentrate almost entirely on aspects of eating and drinking.⁶² Closer inspection shows that this was especially concerned with the use of public banquets (which were undoubtedly numerous)⁶³ as electoral ‘bribes’.⁶⁴ So the laws tended to limit the value of the food and/or wine provided at banquets for the public, or to limit the number of people who could be entertained at home.⁶⁵ Apart from the wartime *lex Oppia* of 215 BC, which restricted the rights of women to wear jewellery and rich clothes, and stopped them riding around the city in chariots, and which was repealed, in spite of Cato’s vehement opposition, twenty years later, the Romans did very little to restrain by law the spread of luxury in either clothing or building.⁶⁶ Eventually, the senate under Tiberius banned the wearing of silk by men and the use of gold tableware in AD 14.⁶⁷ Some senators tried to go further in the same year and restrict the use of silverware, some furniture, and slaves, but this was turned down.⁶⁸ These are rare examples of attempts to limit luxury outside *luxus mensae*. In spite of a whole series of sumptuary laws, it seems that these had little effect, as Tacitus later makes clear.⁶⁹ He quotes a letter of Tiberius to the Senate in AD 22, suggesting the wide variety of areas, beyond the pleasures of the table, where legislation could be proposed: country villas, huge slave households, silver and bronze tableware, artworks, rich and ostentatious dress, gemstones, etc.⁷⁰ Tiberius regarded the whole idea of legislation as unnecessary, and no action was taken.

Less clear is what action was taken from time to time by the Censors, in their role as guardians of public morality, the *regimen morum*, in this field. As long ago as the early third century BC, a consular senator was expelled from the senate for having 10 lbs of silver tableware, which was

⁶¹ See Alan Hunt, ‘Moralizing Luxury: Discourses of the Governance of Consumption’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 8:4 (1995), 352-73 (p. 353).

⁶² For a summary listing, see Coudry, pp. 170-71.

⁶³ Varro RR. 3.2.16; Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 74; Cicero, *De republica*, 4.fr.8: see Zanda, pp. 55-57, John H. d’Arms, ‘Control, Companionship and Clientela: Some Social Functions of the Roman Communal Meal’, *EMC*, 28 (1984), 327-48.

⁶⁴ See Dubois-Pelerin, p. 41; Coudry, p. 5, n. 22. There is much argument among scholars (see Dari-Mattiacci and Plisecka, p. 3) as to the precise purpose of this (largely ineffective) legislation, arguments that go back to our main sources of information about it, Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae*, 2.24) and Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, 3.17), writing in the late second and early fifth centuries respectively.

⁶⁵ For detailed analyses of Roman sumptuary laws see Coudry, Dari-Mattiacci and Plisecka, Zanda.

⁶⁶ See Livy, 34.1ff. for the debate on the law’s repeal.

⁶⁷ There were strict rules about the kind and colouring of togas that could be worn by citizens of different status, but although purple dyes were a luxury, these rules were in place long before *luxuria* became an issue.

⁶⁸ Tacitus, *Annales*, 2.33.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.52-5.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.52. For a rather different but undated summary of Tiberius’s attitude to luxury, see Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 34.

regarded as excessively luxurious.⁷¹ This suggests that luxury was an issue some time before later historians located its origins, and before the ‘east’ could become relevant.⁷² First-century AD hoards of silverware from the Bay of Naples have been found with ten times this volume of silver, in what was merely a provincial sector of Italy, albeit a wealthy one containing the villas of many prosperous Romans, especially around the notorious luxury honeypot of Baiae.⁷³ Although the censors at various times barred the sale of ‘exotic unguents’ and tried to hold down the price of imported wines, most of their actions were directed at individuals, and we have little or no detail of the offences of which most of the senators and *equites* downgraded by them were accused.⁷⁴

The diffusion of luxury: the importance of word of mouth

The adoption and diffusion of luxuries was, largely, a matter of imitation. Once one powerful citizen adopted a particular luxury, others were quick to follow. This is how most fashions still develop, as the human ‘herd’ behaves in a herd-like manner.⁷⁵ The basic modern model of how new ideas percolate through a population (either society at large or a relevant subset of it) is derived from Everett Rogers, whose *Diffusion of Innovations*, based on earlier research among farmers by Ryan and Gross, remains the key text describing the process.⁷⁶ Essentially, Rogers postulates the development of the acceptance of new ideas broadly following the statistical normal curve: a small group of ‘innovators’ adopts an idea, a brand or a product; here, we are talking of only perhaps 2-3% of the *relevant* population.⁷⁷ These are followed by a larger group of ‘early adopters’. By this time the idea may have been accepted by 15-20% of the population. Successful innovations then get accepted by the much larger ‘early majority’, which takes penetration over 50%, to be followed over time by the ‘late majority’ and, perhaps, even the

⁷¹ P Cornelius Rufinus, in 275 BC. According to Pliny the Elder, 33.141, Scipio Allobrogicus was the first Roman to own 1000 lbs. of silver, in the late second century BC.

⁷² Lintott, pp. 629-30.

⁷³ One of the emperor Claudius’s *slaves* was reported to have a silver plate weighing 500 lbs, with 8 side plates each weighing 250 lbs (Pliny the Elder, 33.145). On Baiae, see Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae*, 51.1-3; John H. d’Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), *passim*.

⁷⁴ Pliny the Elder, 13.35 (unguents), 14.95 (wines). More generally, see Slob, Astin.

⁷⁵ For example, Pliny the Elder, 17.3, 34.6, 37.85. See Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome’s Cultural Revolution*, pp. 323, 347. For excellent modern analyses, see Mark Earls, *Herd: How to Change Mass Behaviour by Harnessing Our True Nature* (Chichester: John Wiley, 2007) and Alex Bentley, Mark Earls, and Michael J. O’Brien, *I’ll Have What She’s Having: Mapping Social Behavior* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011). Emanuel Mayer, *The Ancient Middle Class: Urban Life and Aesthetics in the Roman Empire, 100BCE-250CE* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), argues, primarily on art historical grounds, that the ‘middle class’ – merchants, craftsmen, businessmen – did not so much imitate as reinterpret elite artworks, but the argument seems tenuous.

⁷⁶ Everett Rogers, [*The Diffusion of Innovations*] *Communication of innovations: a cross-cultural approach*, 2nd edn (New York: Free Press, 1971); B. Ryan and C. Gross, ‘The Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn in Two Iowa Communities’, *Rural Sociology*, 8:1 (1943), 15-24.

⁷⁷ In the original research, farmers. In this paper, the Roman elite.

‘laggards’. Unsuccessful ideas fail to penetrate enough of either the innovator or the early adopter group, and fizzle out. In the absence of statistical data, it is not possible to produce similar analyses for the penetration of individual luxuries among the Roman elite, but the process is evident in the growth in (for example) wearing of pearls, the adoption of serving whole boars at banquets, the architectural fashion for *sardonyx*, and the evolving fashions in silver plate.⁷⁸

A corollary of the diffusion model is the idea of the ‘opinion leader’. This concept comes from the work of Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz, whose two-step model of communication postulated that new ideas, or new products, were fostered by a small group of ‘leaders’ who were well-connected, knowledgeable, and authoritative within their social milieu.⁷⁹ More recently marketing practitioners have attempted to develop this general concept, with Ed Keller’s theory of so-called ‘influentials’.⁸⁰ This is based on market research findings that around 10% of the (American) population appear to be key influences on the consumption (and voting) behaviour of the other 90%. Both versions of the theory suffer from the criticism that it is highly unlikely that the same group will be credible role models, and hence influencers or leaders, in every field. Further, as Duncan Watts has demonstrated, the presence of influentials is not essential to the diffusion of new ideas.⁸¹ Nonetheless, the shape of the diffusion curve, as Watts points out, is common to all current models of the process, regardless of whether they involve influentials or opinion leaders, or not.⁸² What is clear, however, from these modern analyses is that even in a world apparently saturated with advertising and other commercial messages, ‘word of mouth’ (WOM) is a key source of consumers’ information about new brands.⁸³ In a world without mass media, how much more important WOM must have been. Roman elite society was highly interconnected. In this tightly-knit world, in which gossip was the common currency of the baths, the Forum, and the dinner table (see below), it is not difficult to see how new ideas – or new luxuries

⁷⁸ For the wider penetration of luxuries, beyond the elite, see n. 22 above. Pliny the Elder, 8.210, 9.114, 33.139, 37.85.

⁷⁹ Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications* (New York: Free Press, 1955).

⁸⁰ Jonathan Berry & Edward Keller, *The Influentials: One American in Ten Tells the Other Nine How to Vote, Where to Eat, and What to Buy* (New York: Free Press, 2003).

⁸¹ Duncan J. Watts and Peter Sheridan Dodds, ‘Influentials, Networks, and Public Opinion Formation’, *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34:4 (2007), 441-58; Mark Earls & Alex Bentley, ‘Forget Influentials, Herd-like Copying is how Brands Spread’, *Admap*, 499 (2008), 19-22.

⁸² Watts & Dodds, p. 442.

⁸³ Gerard Prendergast, David Ko, and Siu Yin V. Yuen, ‘Online Word of Mouth and Consumer Purchase Intentions’, *International Journal of Advertising*, 29:5 (2010), 687-708; Rick Ferguson, ‘Word of Mouth and Viral Marketing: Taking the Temperature of the Hottest Trends in Marketing’, *Journal of Consumer Marketing* 25:3 (2008), 179-82.

– could quickly become widely accepted. Similarly, the potential role of notables as opinion leaders can readily be recognised.⁸⁴

If we apply Rogers' model to the luxury markets of Rome, it seems clear that it would require no more than about a dozen prominent senators to start a powerful trend among the small senatorial order (only 600 families). With the help of comments from their patronage networks, including – possibly – a good poet or two, the recognition of a new concept or commodity could rapidly become widespread among senators. Thence, it would quickly overlap into other wealthy groups - the equestrians and, especially, rich freedmen, who seem to have been inveterate imitators of their social betters, if Petronius's parodic Trimalchio has anything more than purely comic value.⁸⁵ We can see clues to the process of the diffusion of valued products among the elite at work through the writings of the elite themselves, where these survive. As already noted, Cicero's concentration on Verres' predilection for Corinthian bronze seems to have been an influence on what Pliny later called the *mira adfectatio multorum* for these artefacts.⁸⁶ Similarly, Horace's *Odes* are full of wine origins: he is the earliest Roman writer to mention different wines in numbers, and talks in all of 16 different origin brands, most of them more or less favourably.⁸⁷ By contrast, Varro's earlier agricultural treatise *de Re Rustica* only mentions 10, where it might have been expected to be more comprehensive, but Columella, in the next century, mentions twice this number in a similar work.⁸⁸ At the end of the first century AD, Martial includes over 40 wine brands, though some of these are roundly abused.⁸⁹

Important Romans' houses were more or less 'public' in character: every morning a throng of clients, supplicants and hangers-on would arrive for the *salutatio*, and then accompany the Big

⁸⁴ 'Notables': see Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, trans. by Brian Pearce (London: Allen Lane, 1990), pp. 42-54, following Max Weber.

⁸⁵ See, e.g., Gilbert Bagnani, 'Trimalchio', *Phoenix*, 8:3 (1954), 77-91; Paul Veyne, 'Vie de Trimalcion', *Annales ESC*, 16:2 (1961), 213-47; Barry Baldwin, 'Opimian Wine', *The American Journal of Philology*, 88:2 (1967), 173-75; Baldwin, 'Trimalchio's Corinthian Plate', *Classical Philology*, 68:1 (1973), 46-47; Gareth Schmeling, 'Trimalchio's Menu and Wine List', *Classical Philology*, 65 (1970), 248-51; Lauren Hackworth Petersen, 'Collecting Gods in Roman Houses: The House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.16.7, 38) at Pompeii', *Arethusa*, 45 (2012), 319-32; Emanuel Mayer, 'From Silver Cups to Garden Gnomes: Toward a Contextual Reception of Standardized Images', *Arethusa*, 45 (2012), 283-303.

⁸⁶ Pliny the Elder, 34.6 – 'an amazing craze among many'.

⁸⁷ References for all the Italian wines cited by Horace are listed in Appendix II of André Tchernia, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine: essai d'histoire économique d'après les amphores* (Rome, École française, 1986), pp.321-41. In addition, Horace names three Greek wines - Chium (*Carmina*, 3.19.5; *Epodi*, 9.34); Coum (*Satirae*, 2.4.29, 2.8.9); Lesbium (*Epodi*, 9.34) - and one Egyptian: Mareoticum (*Carmina*, 1.37.14).

⁸⁸ Columella, *De Re Rustica*, 3.2.39, 10.4.

⁸⁹ Data derived from my research, expanding Appendix 2 of Tchernia.

Man as he progressed through the streets to the Forum or the Senate.⁹⁰ As Cicero in effect says, the larger the accompanying crowd, the more important the personality concerned.⁹¹ The crowd will have been able to see exactly how the Big Man's house was furnished and decorated – the paintings, sculptures, mosaics, and furniture of the public rooms and courtyards – and no doubt anything of interest, or evidence of excess, would be eagerly commented on. Gossip was, as Juvenal and others make clear, the fuel of much of society, and circulated freely, especially among those who frequented the baths.⁹² What is certain is that this sort of gossip did in fact occur. Subsequent commentators, often writing from a jaundiced nostalgia for a simpler, possibly golden age, noted who was first to decorate a public building, and then his own house, with marble columns; who introduced the idea of fish farms to provide oysters or prize mullets; who was honoured with an ivory statue or carried on a funeral couch inlaid with gold and ivory.⁹³ These examples (and there are many more) are an essentially negative form of the Roman love of *exempla*: famous incidents in which the behaviours of well-known figures from the past are held up as models to current citizens. The surviving work of Valerius Maximus consists entirely of *exempla* and we find them throughout the works of Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny.⁹⁴

An additional influence, though we know little in detail about this, is the retail environment. Especially from Martial, we know that in first century AD, Rome luxury goods of various kinds could be found especially in the Via Sacra, the Vicus Tuscus, and the Saepta Julia.⁹⁵ Buying goods in the 'right' places seems to have been important in Rome, just as it is in some circles today, and storeholders in these elite shopping areas will have been happy to tell their customers what they ought to be buying. Auction sales, too, were evidently widely used to sell a variety of goods especially high-cost items such as property and slaves, and also works of art.⁹⁶ This would provide anyone interested with very public evidence of what was in demand among the wealthy.

⁹⁰ For the concept of the Big Man, see Marshall Sahlins, 'Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 5:3 (1963), 285-303.

⁹¹ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 1.18.1.

⁹² See, e.g., Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae*, 43.1; Martial, 2.72; Juvenal, 11.3-4. Several Roman authors use the phrase *in circulis et in conviviiis* – 'social gatherings and dinner parties' – Livy, 44.22.8; Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 2.18.2; Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.54.1.

⁹³ Marble columns: Pliny the Elder, 36.7 (Licinius Crassus); Fish farming: Pliny the Elder, 9.168 (Sergius Orata); Ivory statue, funeral couch: Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 76. 84 (Julius Caesar).

⁹⁴ Cicero, *Orator ad M. Brutum* and *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and Pliny the Elder, 7.88 ff. are particularly rich sources.

⁹⁵ Ovid *Ars Amatoria*, 1.8.97-100; Propertius, *Elegiae*, 2.24.14; Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 73.24.12 (Via Sacra); Martial, 10.87.9-10, 11.27.11 (Vicus Tuscus); Pliny the Elder, 36.29; Martial, 2.14.5-6, 9.59, 10-80 (Saepta). See Holleran, pp. 245-54 for an up-to-date, detailed view of what little is actually known of elite shopping.

⁹⁶ Holleran, p. 254.

Dining out at friends' houses and entertaining were essential elements of elite Roman life,⁹⁷ and the rich and famous entertained both each other and their hangers-on to exotic foods, prepared by skilful chefs and richly served, and to a variety of entertainments, which might range from a very serious poetry recitation or a philosophy reading to something altogether more louche. One of Cicero's letters recounts his (mild) embarrassment at finding himself at dinner with a notorious courtesan.⁹⁸ Dinners of this type were not necessarily orgies, in spite of the racier accounts of imperial (and other) excesses in Suetonius and other writers.⁹⁹ But they provided fuel for gossip, and a forum from which new ideas could be picked up and circulated, whether they were new dishes created by the expensively-imported chef, the latest political scandal, or an exotic ingredient praised in a poem recited by the house poet.¹⁰⁰

The importance of imitation as the means whereby the habits and trappings of luxury were disseminated through the wealthy population is amply demonstrated by the fictional banquet of Petronius's comic creation Trimalchio. Trimalchio's dinner, which takes up some 50 chapters of the *Satyrica*, shows a millionaire nouveau-riche freedman using his immense wealth to entertain his cronies in the style of the wealthy aristocracy, as he interprets it.¹⁰¹ He gets the fine details wrong, and frequently exposes his ignorance – of geography, literature, mythology, history, etc. – but he provides a rollicking entertainment for his guests and the reader. It rings, in fact, horribly true as a picture of misdirected and underinformed social imitation. And it reflects the undoubted fact that there were in Roman society very rich freedmen with the money and instincts to take up the luxuries of the elite and run with them – even if in slightly the wrong direction.¹⁰² Trimalchio is of course fiction, and we have no way of knowing how accurately Petronius has portrayed the society of rich Campanian freedmen. As Paul Veyne pointed out, Petronius's account of Trimalchio's business is a *conte de fées* based on a limited stereotype, and

⁹⁷ Dining alone as a sign of social failure: Horace, *Satirae*, 2.7.29-32; Martial, 5.47, 11.24.15.

⁹⁸ Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*, 9.20.

⁹⁹ See, Cicero, *In Pisonem*, 22, 67; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 42; Suetonius, *Gaius Caligula*, 37; Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, 32-33; Suetonius, *Vitellius*, 13; Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae*, 47.2, 6, 8.

¹⁰⁰ Specific examples of verses that appear to have been recited at dinner parties include Statius, 1.5, and Martial, 6.42 (See Peter White, 'The Friends of Martial, Statius, and Pliny, and the Dispersal of Patronage', *HSCP*, 79 (1975), 265-300). For an account of after-dinner entertainment, see the articles in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. by William J. Slater (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); especially C.P. Jones, 'Dinner Theater', pp. 185-98; John H. D'Arms, 'Slaves at Roman *Convivia*', pp. 171-83; and, G. Paul, '*Symposia* and *Deipna* in Plutarch's *Lives* and in other Historical Writings', pp. 157-69. Specifically on symposia, see *Symptotica: a Symposium on the Symposium*, ed. by Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); *In Vino Veritas*, ed. by Oswyn Murray and Manuela Tecuşan (London: British School at Rome in association with American Academy at Rome [and others], 1995).

¹⁰¹ Petronius, 26-78.

¹⁰² Lucullus, criticized for the opulence of his house, was reported as saying, in effect, that he had to keep ahead of his wealthy freedmen neighbours. See Cicero, *De legibus*, 3.30, for the story and Cicero's criticism. For *luxuria* in housing, see Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 1-4, 144-60.

the detail of Trimalchio's home and dinner entertainment may be similarly insecurely based.¹⁰³ Most of the elements of Trimalchio's dinner can be paralleled in other sources, from Horace's account of dinner with Nasidienus to Juvenal's Virro. Even Trimalchio's private troupe of *pantomimi* (mime actors) is matched by Pliny the Younger's elderly lady friend Ummidia Quadratilla.¹⁰⁴

The significance of Roman luxury

What, for the Romans, was the point of luxury? Clearly, a key trigger to its growth was simply the opportunity created by the massive influx of wealth and the imports of (looted) luxurious artworks and furnishings that accrued from the conquests of the second and first centuries BC.¹⁰⁵ During this period, Rome conquered most of the Balkans, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor and the Levant, Egypt, Gaul, Spain, and North Africa, and with them vast riches in cash, artworks, and above all, perhaps, slaves. At the same time, this meant that new trade routes to far-off territories were opened up, and increased quantities of exotic goods began to be shipped in, much of the traffic going through Alexandria, with its established contacts with the east and south, described by Strabo as 'the greatest mart in the world'.¹⁰⁶

With their increasingly wide contacts, especially with Greece and western Asia, Romans acquired new cultural influences, and were exposed to new products and patterns of consumption. The moralists were not mistaken in attributing the growth of luxury to the influence of Greeks and Easterners: Hellenistic princes had established an enviable pattern of rich living.¹⁰⁷ For the moralists, this simply stimulated (possibly latent) greed (*avaritia*).¹⁰⁸ What was perhaps less predictable, at least to the Romans themselves, was the effect that all this had on an elite who had long established a pattern of aggressive competition for military and political positions. The thrust for power required the trappings of power to be credible, and the availability of rare and valuable luxury goods that could be flaunted competitively as evidence of status and success

¹⁰³ Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, p. 235.

¹⁰⁴ Horace, *Satirae*, 2.4 (Nasidienus); Juvenal, 5 (Virro); Pliny the Younger, 7.24 (Ummidia Quadratilla). See Gowers, pp. 135-161, for Nasidienus, pp. 213-219 for Virro.

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., Cicero, *De republica*, 2.7; Livy, 39.6.7.

¹⁰⁶ Strabo, *Geographica* 17.1.15. The first-century AD *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* lists the many luxury items that could be acquired in India, most of which would be shipped to Alexandria via the Red Sea ports of Berenice and Myos Hormos, and hence overland to Koptos on the Nile. For the role of Alexandria in general, see Pliny the Elder, 12.59; Strabo, 2.5.12; Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972). Cf. Rodziewicz, Elzbieta, *Bone and Ivory Carvings from Alexandria: French Excavations 1992-2004* (Cairo: IFAO, 2007), especially p. 38.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Athen. 5.201A (Ptolemy II's accession procession, 285 B.C.); Polybius *Histories*, 30.25.12 (Antiochus IV's army review at Daphne, 166 B.C.).

¹⁰⁸ *avaritia* is almost a leitmotif of Cicero's Verrine speeches.

proved irresistible – and competition led to imitation, and the development of costly crazes, like that for Corinthian bronze. While much of this wealth and influence flowed to the long-established nobility, the rise to power of individuals of less distinguished pedigree, such as Marius, Sulla, and Julius Caesar, represented a threat to the old order.¹⁰⁹

I would argue that the critique of luxury in so much Latin literature is a direct response to the way in which the (sometimes newly) rich and powerful used the flaunting of luxuries as an aid to achieving political power through enhanced status. We can see a parallel today in the way in which the spending patterns of celebrities and of wealthy businessmen are criticised – or idolised – in the media, though here the discourse is far from being purely elite. As both Edwards and Zanda show, a problem for modern historians in understanding the Roman critique of luxury is the conflation in Roman thinking between the moral and the political: a politician's moral behaviour – his *mores* – were seen to reflect his ability. Challenges in political invective were almost automatically directed at an opponent's moral standing, and, as Quintilian makes clear, these challenges were expected to be exaggerated.¹¹⁰

Rome was a hierarchical society, in which connections and networks of friends and acquaintances were crucial to business and, more importantly, political success. As Cicero makes clear, especially in two of his important philosophical works, *de Officiis* and *de Amicitia*, a key objective of the serious Roman politician was to manage his acquaintanceship in such a way that his generosity (*liberalitas*) would be expressed in the form of favours (*beneficia*), which would incur the recipients' gratitude and require some form of requital (*officium*).¹¹¹ But the rich man's favours would be sufficiently generous to make it impossible for anyone but an equal or superior to repay in full, leaving a 'debt' of *gratia* to be drawn on in the future, and usually cashed in the form of political support when it was needed. All of this should be done in such a way as to enhance the rich man's *dignitas* and *existimatio* – his reputation. One form of *beneficium* was, clearly, the invitation to dinner. Here, the rich politician could impress his inferiors – and, indeed, his equals – with the quality of his furnishings, the style and richness of his tableware, the refinement of his

¹⁰⁹ For Marius's background, see Plutarch, *Marius*, 3; for Sulla, Plutarch, *Sulla*, 1; for Caesar, Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 1.

¹¹⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 3.7. Edwards, pp. 12-15.; Zanda, pp. 6-9.

¹¹¹ This analysis is effectively repeated in Seneca the Younger's *de Beneficiis*. See Miriam Griffin, 'De Beneficiis and Roman Society', *JRS*, 93 (2003), 92-113. For an overview of Roman gift-exchange and euergetism, see Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, pp. 5-54.

catering, the skill of his cook, the age and excellence of his wines, and the sophistication of his after-dinner entertainment.¹¹²

Some of this might be shared on equal terms with all the guests. In some cases the quality of the food and wine offered might be (all too obviously) graded by the importance of individual guests. Martial and Juvenal, regularly, and even Horace on occasion, complain about being given second-best food and drink.¹¹³ But whatever the quality of the fare provided, the occasion represented an opportunity for the host to display his wealth, power, and discrimination; and to create among both equal and inferior guests an obligation to return his hospitality. In most cases, it would be impossible for the guest to repay on equal terms – and there are plenty of Latin verses telling rich patrons that the poet cannot offer them the finest wines and richest meats. *Recusatio* is a well-recognised feature of Latin poetry.¹¹⁴

But, of course, Rome, like all cities in which there is a quite limited segment of society that circulates among the rich and famous, was a hotbed of gossip. It is possible to see how the introduction of anything new, exotic, or overtly extravagant into a wealthy host's furnishings or entertainment would be all over town within twenty-four hours, either from a quick aside in the forum or, more likely, chatter in the baths.¹¹⁵ Given the small scale of elite society in Rome, it would be easy for a new idea to become common currency among senators and at least the upper strata of equestrians in a short space of time. Modern network theories can be used to model the process, at least in theory. If network models are taken in conjunction with equally modern understanding of how innovations are diffused in a population, it is easy to see how a new form of luxury – or at least awareness of it - could become widespread among the elite in a very short time.¹¹⁶

¹¹² For an emperor, see Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 70, 74. For Lucullus, notorious for luxury, see Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 39ff. Entertainers: Martial, 11.21.3; Pliny the Younger, 1.1.5.3, 3.1.9, 7.24, etc.; Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales*, 7.8; Aulus Gellius, 19.9.4.

¹¹³ For example, see Martial, 1.20, 2.19, 3.13, 5.78, 6.11, etc..

¹¹⁴ For example, see Horace, *Carmina*, 1.20, 2.18, 4.8; Propertius, 2.1, 2.10, 3.5, 3.9; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 1.205-222; Ovid, *Tristia*, 2. 331-48; Juvenal, 11; etc.

¹¹⁵ See n. 65. The prevalence of gossip in general is evident from the allusions in much Latin poetry, from Lucilius and Catullus through to Martial and Juvenal, quite apart from the numerous anecdotes about important people throughout most Latin (and contemporary Greek) prose. There is a good analysis of the political use of rumour by Ray Laurence, 'Rumour and Communication in Roman Politics', *Greece & Rome*, 2nd ser., 41:1 (1994), 62-74. See also Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humour*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 83-86, on gossip in Cicero's letters.

¹¹⁶ The basic modern text is Rogers (see above). This should be read in conjunction with analyses such as that of Watts & Dodds. For an attempt to apply network analysis to Cicero's letters, with limited results, see Michael C. Alexander and James A. Danowski, 'Analysis of an Ancient Network: Personal Communication and the Study of Social Structure in a Past Society', *Social Networks*, 12 (1990), 313-35.

Conclusions

In short, “I’ll have what (s)he’s having” seems to have applied just as strongly in ancient Rome as in today’s consumer world. Sallust, the most consistent and articulate historian-critic of Roman luxury, attributed the growth of *luxuria* to a combination of *avaritia* and *ambitio*, though he seems uncertain which order to put them in.¹¹⁷ This still leaves the question of whether *avaritia* and *ambitio* were inherent characteristics of the senatorial order, simply waiting for the opportunity created by an influx of wealth; or whether the influx of wealth somehow created them.¹¹⁸ At least as far as *avaritia* is concerned, the extant Roman historians (especially Sallust) incline to the view that it was latent, and merely waiting for the right opportunity. *Ambitio* seems to have been an established feature of senatorial-political life far back into the life of the Republic, but it was not until Rome began to acquire an empire outside Italy, with opportunities for both military glory and proconsular profit, that it became a source of impossible tensions in elite Roman society.¹¹⁹

The lesson of Roman luxury, if there is one, is that the rich will seek out ways to spend their money: in a competitive society, they will do so above all in ways that boost their prestige and status (*dignitas, existimatio*); in an expanding empire, there will always be new opportunities to exploit the rare, the marvellous, and the exotic. Money buys these things, and rich men were quick to imitate and adopt what they saw as desirable trappings of wealth and power. It was, as I have shown, easy enough for the news of a novel luxury to circulate rapidly among the Roman elite. That the growth of luxury, as perceived by the Romans themselves, coincided with a period that took Rome from the acquisition of an empire through political disintegration and into a new political settlement, the Principate, that changed both the rules of the political game and the potential rewards for players in it is, arguably, more coincidence than cause. The Romans do not, however, appear to have thought that the principate had come about as a consequence of the growth of luxury, at least not explicitly. Furthermore, Augustus’s moral legislation was primarily concerned with sexual morality and the promotion of a traditional view of marriage, not with the curbing of rampant luxury. Nonetheless, it is possible to discern signs of a linkage in Horace’s *Odes*, which include exhortations to discard wealth and gems, as well as support for the

¹¹⁷ Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, 3.4.1, 11.1.1; Sallust, *Historiae*, fr. 1.11.8. Cf. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, 9.4.3; Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae*, 90.36.2; Pliny the Elder, 2.125.10. See Lintott, pp. 627-28.

¹¹⁸ Lintott, see previous citations: nn. 1, 8, 71.

¹¹⁹ Levick, pp.53-56. For a broader view of these tensions and the social problems of the late Republic, see Clifford Ando, ‘From Republic to Empire’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. by Michael Peachin (Oxford: Clarendon, 2011), pp. 37-66.

traditional values inherent in Augustus's (later) legislation.¹²⁰ Luxury, too, continued to be a potent factor in the perceived lifestyles of the rich and powerful, at least under the Julio-Claudians, even if the influence of more austere provincials was becoming more important as the old patrician families declined.¹²¹

The *mos maiorum* was always something of a utopian fiction, but it provided a ready reference-point for writers and politicians who wished to criticise the current state of Roman society.

¹²⁰ See especially Horace, *Carmina*, 3.6, 3.24, with the comments of Gordon Williams, 'Poetry in the Moral climate of Augustan Rome,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, 52:1-2 (1962), 28-46 (pp. 29-35).

¹²¹ Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 382-88, 454-60.

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Personal Lament of the Transient World: The Interplay Between the Individual and Community in ‘The Wanderer’²

For well over a century and a half, many scholars have been inspired to reflect upon and interpret the many fascinating and often unique themes represented in *The Wanderer* (*Wan*). However, while these scholars have often stressed the much-debated questions of genre, completeness, and the pagan versus Christian nature of the poem, I will be pursuing a topic mostly ignored by literary historians: the interplay between the individual and community. Almost invariably in Old English verse, the individual is inextricably linked with his community. Even in heroic poetry, the protagonist — if there is one — usually commits deeds for the greater good, where personal glory is apparent but often subservient to communal response or group recognition.³ Hence, this investigation uncovers how and to what extent both the individual and community function in this poem, and whether or not stress is given to one or the other. Thus, this article seeks to reveal the differences between, and the role of, both the individual and the community in this text, and ultimately show that the exilic character portrayed does not abide by the heroic dictates of the Anglo-Saxon world, but ultimately comes to disregard its authority over him.

Anglo-Saxon Community and the Literary Sources of Exile

In order to show the importance of the Wanderer’s rejection of his culture by asserting his independence from it, we need to understand the salience that the group had in the life of the

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² All translations of Latin and Old English are my own, unless otherwise stated. I have taken care to preserve the literal essence of the Old English. In addition, all punctuation in Old English comes from Anne Klinck’s work.

³ The author claims that the individual in heroic poetry is mainly engaged in ‘communal enterprise’ and can put the whole community at risk if he acts alone. See this discussion and how it relates to the ‘boar and badger’ of heroic action here: Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 38-39 and T.A. Shippey, ‘Boar and Badger: an Old English Heroic Antithesis?’, *Leeds Studies in English*, 16 (1985), 220-39. The former is probably the most extensive and focused discussion of community in Old English poetry yet available, with valuable insight into how community is represented in symbol and image; however, it lacks heavy discussion on the individual.

individual in the Anglo-Saxon period. The Anglo-Saxons lived and died as members of a ‘close-knit tribal society’, communities that depended on the participation of each member, a relationship for whom ‘one’s entire function in the world’ relied upon.⁴ The hundred was the basic local administrative division, where communities met to discuss rulings and other issues of the day. Indeed, ‘the regularity of common action reinforced their nature as communities’, and the decisions of the hundred affected everybody living in the area.⁵ So, the community functioned much like a living organism, surviving and flourishing based on the input of its surroundings (in this case, human beings). Hence, the extant of the Old-English corpus of verse, as with almost all literature, accurately represents the prevailing social realities contemporaneous with a text’s recording and transmission; and here we are primarily interested in Anglo-Saxon England from the eighth through eleventh centuries. With this understood, scholars have commented that in general, Anglo-Saxon texts portrayed life outside of society as having ‘neither attraction nor meaning’, hence ‘the man without a lord seems to be virtually without an identity’.⁶ If true, the involuntary exile in *Wan* would have been the worst situation for any Anglo-Saxon to find himself.⁷

But, would this always have been the case? Is the Wanderer necessarily without identity? It is these assumptions that this paper seeks to challenge. To understand this issue of identity in *Wan*, we must first examine the matter of how the reader understands the exiled protagonist in this poem. Is he merely an unfortunate without community, searching aimlessly for that connection? Or, is there a deeper meaning behind his searching and subsequent ‘failure’? These questions necessitate some brief comments on the exilic theme in patristic and late-antique sources, as well as Alcuin’s (writing in eighth-century England) remarks on what constituted appropriate reading material for an Anglo-Saxon.⁸ For instance, the early Christian commentator Jerome (d. AD 420) wrote of ‘withdrawal from city or town to the desert, together with the severing of family and

⁴ Klinck, p. 225. Similarly, in Manish Sharma, ‘Heroic Subject and Cultural Substance in *The Wanderer*’, in *Neophilologus*, 96 (2012), 612-29 (p. 612), the author asserts that ‘heroic values [...] are exterior structures through which the self sustains itself’.

⁵ The discussion here refers to the late tenth century — the date of when the Exeter Book was compiled. See Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London: Arnold, 1989), p. 137.

⁶ Magennis, p. 105. See also, Helen T. Bennett, ‘Exile and the Semiosis of Gender in Old English Elegies’, in *Class and Gender in Early English Literature: Intersections*, ed. by Britton J. Harwood and Gillian R. Overing (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 43-58 (p. 44).

⁷ Taking into account that the two key relationships in Anglo-Saxon society were ‘between a lord and his retainers’ and ‘any man and his loved one’; see *The Anglo-Saxon World: An Anthology*, trans. by Kevin Crossley-Holland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 46-47.

⁸ It is not possible to provide a full treatment here of the Latin analogues that may or may not have influenced *Wan* — others have done so to great extent. My purpose here is to introduce this possibility so as to appreciate my conclusion in context. See the bibliography and discussion throughout this paper for sources.

community ties', which 'was seen as a sure route to spiritual rewards, both in this life and in the world to come'.⁹ In a different tone, the early fifth-century Bishop of Hippo, Augustine, advocated being in, but not of, the world. Both writers were extremely influential in Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁰ There is also, of course, Augustine's metaphor of the two cities:

one is made up of men who live according to the flesh, and the other of those who live according to the spirit', where one man is a citizen of the world and the other a pilgrim of the world, of whom the 'latter was predestined by grace and chosen by grace; by grace he was a pilgrim below, and by grace he was a citizen above.¹¹

Finally, Alcuin is known to have despised the idea of listening to songs rather than the word of God, and in a letter dated to AD 797, he wrote: 'Let the words of God be read when the clergy dine together [...] listen to the reader, not a harper; to the sermons of the Fathers, not the songs of the heathen'.¹² For both these exegeses and Alcuin's statement to be applicable to our reading of *Wan*, which they are, we must concede that the exile highlighted in this work was created to showcase a Christian theme in some way.

The questions then remain: how do we reconcile the themes in the *Wan* with Alcuin's admonition against popular tales?¹³ And, how do Christian and Germanic formulae inspire or inundate these poems? I generally agree with many other scholars that *Wan* satisfies both Christian didactic and popular heroic tastes; indeed, Roger Fowler's reading that the heroic past once honoured is despondently a subject of the poem is one I tend to agree with.¹⁴ However, the trouble of reading the poem as a heroic worldly lament and simultaneously as a Christian didactic prescriptive device has been one that long confused and irritated scholars in past debates. To this confusion, I submit that the poem's seemingly disparate themes are really a reflection of the Wanderer's confused state-of-mind, and thus a metaphor (indeed, not intentionally done by the

⁹ Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature: 700-1500* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), p. 31.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35. See also footnote 14.

¹¹ Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. by R.W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 581, 635.

¹² Roberta Frank, 'Germanic Legend in Old English Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 88-106 (p. 91).

¹³ This question should not be read as a concession of Alcuin's textual influence on the poet of *Wan*, but only that Alcuin's works and commentary on society were well understood at this time, and that *Wan* could be considered to be a 'popular tale'. So, the question asked is in relation to why the poem would be copied down and left for posterity in the first place, given that it could be seen in this light.

¹⁴ See footnote 69 for the reference.

poet, but an unconscious rendition of how the Wanderer saw his place in society) can readily be seen. Hence, I submit that any description of a lost heroic past (e.g., losing one's lord, lamenting the loss of kith and kin, etc.) is actually the reflection of the Wanderer's communal self-concept;¹⁵ while conversely, the Christian elements (most predominate in the second half of the poem) reflect an autonomous individuality that is beginning to blossom, in that to submit to God as one's primary guiding star in life — as the Wanderer is forced to do since he is unable to find another lord — perforce forces one to shed off association with community and find within himself self-determination, i.e., individuality. The remainder of this paper puts these and other issues to the test — reconciling them with the Wanderer's individuality juxtaposed with his communal outlook.

The Wanderer: Lines 1-29a

In the opening five lines in *Wan*, a narrator introduces us to the concept of the exile:

<i>Oft him anþaga</i>	<i>are gebided,</i>
<i>metudes miltse,</i>	<i>þeah þe he modcearig</i>
<i>geond lagulade</i>	<i>longe sceolde</i>
<i>breran mid bondum</i>	<i>brimcealde sæ,</i>
<i>wadan wræclastas:</i>	<i>nyrd bið ful aræd.¹⁶ 1-5</i>

This provides a good starting point for concepts inherent throughout the text — the first being the emphasis on the individual. The poet's use of *Anþaga* (solitary one) highlights the sense of aloneness, and many scholars have commented on its diverse connotations. Richard North, for instance, claims that the word 'is derived from a warrior archetype known in Scandinavian analogues as *Starkaðr*', and also relates how, in *Beowulf*, the term collocates with *earn* to form the phrase *earn anþaga* (wretched loner) to emphasise Beowulf's state of mind after losing his lord, Hygelac — hence, he is a 'bereaved man'.¹⁷ Another point-of-view comes from De Lacy, who points out that some researchers believe the term reflects the 'epitome of worldly philosophy — man without God'. It is clear, however, that *anþaga* refers not only to a man without God, but

¹⁵ While impossible to approach here, I have written elsewhere on this thesis. See footnotes 34 and 71 for the reference.

¹⁶ 'Often the solitary one waits for grace, God's favor, even though sad at heart he had to move with his hands throughout the ocean's path, the icy-cold sea, the path of exile: fate is unstoppable'. 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, p. 75.

¹⁷ Richard North, 'Boethius and the Mercenary in The Wanderer', in *Pagans and Christians: The Interplay Between Christian Latin and Traditional Germanic Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by T. Hofstra and others (Groningen: Forsten, 1992), pp. 71-98 (pp. 72, 76).

also to a man without community, who is here ‘*progressing* towards a realisation of stability in heaven’.¹⁸ Further emphasising the lone motif, *anhaga* is glossed *passer solitarius* (lone sparrow) in the eleventh-century *Lambeth Psalter*. The emphasis on travelling alone can be found by looking at the Latin roots *pass-*, where we find the adverb *passim* (everywhere), and *passus, -us* (a step/pace). So, this term implies single flight and movement away from society, for Klinck notes that *haga* (enclosure) and *hogian* (to think) are possible sources for this term. So, literally, *anhaga* implies ‘one who travels within his mind/thoughts’.¹⁹ It is clear from this passage that the introduction of the lonely exile is meant to excite sympathy for an individual who, estranged from his community, must stand up to his fate and travel a harsh path. The next two lines describe this exile as an *eardstapa* (wanderer), reflecting on these things:

Swa cwæð eardstapa, earfeþa gemyndig,
*wraþra wælsleabta, winemæga bryre.*²⁰ 6-7

The poet’s use of ‘hardship’, ‘cruel battle’, and ‘death’ explicitly contrasts communal life with the path of the wanderer, i.e., these three elements of Anglo-Saxon life, the latter two often associated with glory and honour, are identified pejoratively here and conform with the themes throughout the rest of the poem, beginning with the Wanderer’s narration.

Our entry into the mind of the Wanderer begins in line 8, where the first-person lament emphasises deep emotions and kinfolk lost:

Oft ic sceolde ana uhtna gebnylce
mine ceare cwīþan; nis nu cwicra nan
þe ic him modsefan minne durre
sweotule asecgan. Ic to soþe wat
þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw
þæt he his ferðlocan fæste binde,
*healde his hordcofa hycge swa he wille.*²¹ 8-14

¹⁸ The first statement has been pronounced by some that support the Christian themes as later interpolations of the poem. See Paul De Lacy, ‘Thematic and Structural Affinities: *The Wanderer* and *Ecclesiastes*’, in *Neophilologus*, 82 (1998), 125-137 (p. 127).

¹⁹ This word and its forms appear in the OE corpus twelve times. See Klinck, p.106.

²⁰ ‘So says the Wanderer, mindful of hardships, cruel battle-slaughters, [and] the fall of kinsmen’. ‘The Wanderer’, in *Elegies*, p. 75.

Two elements in this passage are initially striking for our study: the reiteration of isolation and a rejection of communal custom. Taking care to emphasise the loneliness of contemplation, the Wanderer explains that for a time of unknown duration, he alone mused on his sorrows (of unknown cause).²² The sense of the individual apart from community is quite apparent here. This is further evident because *ana* does not appear to act as an intensifier or simple reiteration to the narrator's *anhaga* in line 1. For example, the narrator clearly explains what *any* lone traveller must do to meet fate, not only the Wanderer. This is also evidenced in the verb form *gebidedð* (waits for, or experiences). The present active tells us that this process is continuous in the immediate moment and without known respite, so there are always solitary travellers in the world without kith and kin. Hence, when the Wanderer highlights his own plight (e.g., *ic...ana*, and *ic to soþe wat*), he is confirming and solidifying the theme that he *alone* is going through this process.

Lines 11b-14b have often given rise to debates within the literary community, to which I add my interpretation. The question of how to reconcile the apparent contradiction of the Wanderer giving an exposition on the *indryhten þeaw* (noble custom) to hold one's thoughts to his breast, while concurrently breaking his own rule, has expended ink for many decades. Doubleday claims that 'in some ways it is noble to suppress stoically one's grief' but cites that in Christianity, 'it is unwise, even dangerous'.²³ The Wanderer, then, is not showing 'stoic reticence' for his lost companions, but is openly sharing those feelings with his audience through poetry, which perhaps derives from a tradition of oral delivery.²⁴ Conversely, some scholars have claimed that the Wanderer actively tries to hold his thoughts in his heart 'from escaping or being expressed to the outside world', and others have pointed out this convention as part of Old-Germanic poetry and, by extension, the heroic ideal.²⁵ However, the Wanderer's attempt cannot ever succeed, because there is no outside world, no community, no lord, and no family; there is no longer anyone to whom these conventions may apply. The Wanderer is alone and chooses not to

²¹ 'Often in the early morning, I alone had to lament my sorrows; now there is not anyone living whom I dare to clearly tell my state of mind. I know the truth that is in a man, a noble custom, that he binds the treasure of thoughts securely in his breast; let him think as he will'. *Ibid.*

²² The use of the *sceolde* in the preterite obviously implies past action, a fact that helps explain the argument that the Wanderer is looking back from a current vantage point of success or retrospective analysis of a journey begun.

²³ James F. Doubleday, 'The Three Faculties of the Soul in The Wanderer', *Neophilologus*, 53 (1969), 189-94 (pp. 190-91). Doubleday cites Gregory the Great's, *Liber Regula Pastoralis*.

²⁴ Here, the author looks to Icelandic family sagas, where poetry acted as a 'privileged medium in which warriors can lament openly without demeaning their masculine dignity'. See Thomas D. Hill, 'A Stoic Maxim in "The Wanderer" and Its Contexts', *Studies in Philology*, 101 (2004), 233-49 (p. 249).

²⁵ S.L. Clark and Julian N. Wasserman, 'The Imagery of "The Wanderer"', *Neophilologus*, 63 (1979), 291-96 (p. 292). Bjork makes the argument that the Wanderer is following this 'custom of silence' and that it 'gives the wanderer a measure of comfort in this poem', who is 'abid[ing] by the dictates of his culture'. But as we see, the very fact that the Wanderer is sharing his feeling with an audience (i.e., we the readers/listeners), shows that he is not conforming to his culture. See Robert E. Bjork, 'Sundor æt Rune: The Voluntary Exile of the Wanderer', *Neophilologus*, 73 (1989), 119-29 (p. 122).

withhold his thoughts, expressing these feelings to the audience (whether the modern reader or contemporary listener in the meadhall), effectively shunning, consciously or not, the community from which he is estranged. At the very least, he is beginning to learn of his individual authority.²⁶

Until now, the Wanderer's plight has been a focused commentary on loneliness, and at this early stage in the poem, he is still having trouble letting go of that which he left behind. Lines 19-29a follow this trend by highlighting a yearning for community while contrasting exilic life with that of the hall:

<i>Swa ic modsefan</i>	<i>minne sceolde</i>
<i>oft earmcearig,</i>	<i>eðle bidæled,</i>
<i>freomægum feor</i>	<i>eterum sælan,</i>
<i>sipþan geara iu</i>	<i>gohwine minne</i>
<i>hrusan heolstre biwrah</i>	<i>ond ic bean þonan</i>
<i>wod wintercearig</i>	<i>ofer wapema gebind,</i>
<i>sobte seledreorig</i>	<i>sinces bryttan</i>
<i>hwær ic feor oþþe neah</i>	<i>findan meabte</i>
<i>þone þe in meodubealle</i>	<i>mine wisse,</i>
<i>oþþe mec freondleasne</i>	<i>frefran wolde,</i>
<i>weman mid wynnnum.</i> ²⁷ 19-29a	

The immediacy of the Wanderer's lonesome feelings are underscored here by his searching for another lord, for 'an Anglo-Saxon warrior in the heroic age' without a lord 'finds himself with no place in society, no identity in a hostile world'.²⁸ The Wanderer understands this only too well, inviting us into his private heart with terms like *modsefan* (mind/spirit), *earmcearig* (wretchedly sorrowful), *wintercearig* (sorrowful as winter), *seledreorig* (hall sorrowful), and *freondleasne* (friendless). Thus, this poem 'is a reflection of the Wanderer's mental states' as he must endure the natural

²⁶ Some may argue that this idea, perforce, assumes that the Wanderer is the poet, but it is just as easy to imagine such an exile sitting 'alone', only to be overheard by an attentive scribe. Fantasy aside, I do not see the former as inevitable, nor promote it.

²⁷ 'So often I — separated from my homeland, far from kinsmen — had to bind my sorrowful state of mind with fetters, since long ago my gold-lord was covered with the darkness of Earth, and I, thence wretched, traversed as sorrowful as winter over the freezing waves — sad over the loss of a hall — sought a giver of treasure, whether I far or near could find him who in the mead-hall would know me, or was willing to console friendless me, entice (me) with pleasures'. 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, pp. 75-76.

²⁸ Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson, *A Guide to Old English: Fourth Edition Revised with Prose and Verse Texts and Glossary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 252.

world in hope of securing another group relationship.²⁹ Indeed, the Wanderer is capitalising on the dangers of the world outside of community when he refers to freezing waves. In *Beowulf*, for instance, both Grendel and his mother are associated with the wilderness, living ‘beyond the stronghold and its environs’, a place of ‘threat and exile’.³⁰ The implication of these statements, then, emphasises that only utter despair comes from being outside of community; and since his lord died, the Wanderer has only sought another who would take him in, let him swear fealty, and provide him with worldly pleasures.³¹ Thus, the Wanderer’s attachment to his community at this early stage of the poem is clearly manifested in his description of the dangers outside of its borders of hall and kin.

The Wanderer’s Hypothetical Exile

This next section offers a dramatic shift in the narrative, as the speaker takes a personal step back from these issues and begins a third-person account describing a hypothetical exile in his same position:

	<i>Wat se þe cunnað</i>
<i>hu slīpen bið</i>	<i>sorg to geferan</i>
<i>þam þe him lyt hafað</i>	<i>leofra gebolena.</i>
<i>Warað hine wræclast,</i>	<i>nalæs wunden gold,</i>
<i>ferðloca freorig,</i>	<i>nalæs foldan blæd;</i>
<i>gemon he selesceggas</i>	<i>ond sincð ege,</i>
<i>hu hine on geogudæ</i>	<i>his goldwine</i>
<i>wenede to wiste:</i>	<i>nyn eal gedreas.</i>
<i>Forþon wat se þe sceal</i>	<i>his winedryhtnes</i>
<i>leofes larcnidum</i>	<i>longe forþolian.³² 29b-38</i>

²⁹ Elizabeth A. Hait, ‘The Wanderer’s Lingering Regret: A Study of Patterns of Imagery’, *Neophilologus*, 68 (1984), 278-91 (p. 279).

³⁰ Magennis, p. 130.

³¹ As with *sceolde* in line 1, many verbs in this passage are in the past tense, a powerful rhetorical device that allows for ‘a profound portrayal of the mental experience of loneliness’, and, of course, suggests a reflection of a past action, which is important later on. The author suggests an Alcuin antecedent by way of Augustine. See Peter Clemons, ‘*Mens absentia cogitans* in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*’, in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G.N. Garmonsway*, ed. by D.A. Pearsall and R.A. Waldron (London: The Athlone Press, 1969), pp. 62-77 (p. 77).

³² Some scholars interpret this shift from first person to third person as indicative of a change of speaker; I read it as a continuation of the Wanderer’s speech. For discussion, see Klinck, p. 111. ‘He who experiences it knows how cruel sorrow is as a companion to him who has few dear confidants. The path of exile holds him, not twisted gold, a frozen heart, not earth’s glory; he remembers men of the hall and receiving of treasure, how in his youth his gold-

That the exile introduced has no specific identity tells us that this individual may be anyone. This change in person effectively removes the Wanderer from the emotions he details, as he distances himself from this unfortunate exile.³³ Interestingly, this technique does well to apprise the audience that the exilic state does not discriminate, and that the feelings associated with it are a universal phenomenon. Again we learn of life without a group identity, as an exile has *sorg to geferan* (sorrow as a companion), not a life in the hall filled *mid wynnnum* (with joys).³⁴ In this sense, grief is akin to being without a lord or community. Bjork suggests that the Wanderer is here equally ‘occupied with the exile track [...] also with fame [...] and with gold’; however, I take the literal meaning from this passage: that it is ‘cruel sorrow’, which is part of the ‘path of exile’, and not things of the world, which occupy his mind.³⁵ By mentioning things of the world, the Wanderer *is* somewhat ‘occupied’ with them, but on a more subtle level, he is emphasising that without companions, worldly thoughts take a back seat to immediate situational concerns (thus, highlighting present, individual struggle). Finally, as if imploring someone to take his lord’s place, the exile realises that he not only must go without hall-joys, but also his lord’s instruction and teaching, which suggests a void in the moral development of the exile, something provided by the community.³⁶

The Wanderer then continues the theme of general exile by literally getting into the mind of his subject:

lord accustomed to feast — all joy has perished. He knows [these sorrows], therefore, who must do without his dear lord’s teachings for a long time’.

‘The Wanderer’, in *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³³ Woolf astutely comments on this ‘deliberate act of distancing’ in the dream passage below (esp. lines 45b-48), but I believe it applies just as well here. See Rosemary Woolf, ‘The Wanderer, The Seafarer, and the Genre of *Planctus*’, in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation for John C. McGalliard* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 192-207 (p. 200). Additionally, the constant change from first- to third-person accounts need not confuse the matter of the Wanderer’s stance on whether or not it showcases ‘exclusive self-obsession’ by its use of first-person pronouns predominate in the first half of the poem, or ‘inclusive selflessness’, represented by third-person narration, as Andy Orchard proposes; rather, the constant shift is indicative of a wayward mind that would at once approach the source of pain via the first-person, and distance itself from these feelings by associating them with another persona (i.e., the third person hypothetical exile). Thus, and as we will see developed throughout this paper, the scholarly consensus that the first half of *Wan* shows a focus on the personal and the second half the communal, does not hold, but it is rather the opposite. For the traditional view, See Andy Orchard, ‘Re-Reading *The Wanderer*: The Value of Cross-References’, *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J.E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas N. Hall (Charleston: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 1-26 (p. 10). Further development of the theme of individual identity development can also be found in Brent LaPadula, ‘Memory and Identity Formation: A Cognitive Construction of the Self in ‘The Wanderer’, *Hortulus*, 8 (2012) <http://hortulus-journal.com/journal/volume-8-number-1-2012/lapadula/> [accessed 25 October 2013].

³⁴ Magennis, p. 83.

³⁵ Noting that *wundon gold* alliterates, and thus links, with *wræclast*; see Bjork, p. 125.

³⁶ It is difficult to know exactly what is meant by *larwīdum*. *Larwīde*, the word appears in line 672 of *Andreas* and has the general meaning of ‘teachings’. The root *lar-* can imply religious precepts, however, so we must not discount the idea that this ‘teaching’ includes religious instruction in some form. This argument strengthens the conclusions regarding the second half of *Wan*.

<i>Donne sorg on slæp</i>	<i>somod ætgædre</i>
<i>earmne anhogan</i>	<i>oft gebindað,</i>
<i>þinceð him on mode</i>	<i>þæt he his mondryhten</i>
<i>clyppe ond cysse</i>	<i>ond on cneo lecce</i>
<i>honda ond beafod,</i>	<i>swa he hwilum ær</i>
<i>in geardagum</i>	<i>giefstolas breac.</i>
<i>Donne onwæcneð eft</i>	<i>wineleas guma,</i>
<i>gesihð him biforan</i>	<i>fealwe wegas,</i>
<i>þapian brimfuglas,</i>	<i>brædan feþra,</i>
<i>breosan brim ond snaw</i>	<i>hagle gemenged.³⁷ 39-48</i>

This incredibly vivid and emotional picture enhances and takes one-step further the theme of an exile yearning for community, remembering things past, and the juxtaposition of stronghold and nature. Here, the Wanderer's subconscious mind reacts to the lonely state of exile, dreaming of a lord's embrace and recalling the allegiance ceremony.³⁸ Antonina Harbus has rightly pointed out that the dreaming exile does not emotionally reflect on his lord, instead recalling 'the act of kneeling rather than the fond loyalty which inspired it'.³⁹ What are we to make of this seeming emotional disconnect? It will become more apparent that what we are witnessing here is a distancing between the exile and his feelings towards his old community. Indeed, the *wineleas guma* (friendless man) awakens from this falsehood without his lord and is surrounded by waters, birds, and snow as communal surrogates. In addition, *fealwe wegas* (dark waves) is conspicuously less negative in connotation than what we have read of the *lagulade* (ocean's path) previously (e.g., *brimcealde sæ* and *wapema gebind*). This suggests that the world outside of communal structure is becoming less hostile, less 'surging', less rough, and a bit more comforting and intriguingly mysterious to the exile along this path.⁴⁰

³⁷ 'When sorrow and sleep simultaneously together often bind the wretched solitary thinker, it seems to him that he embraces and kisses his lord of men and lays hands and head on his knee, as he did in days before when he enjoyed the gift throne. Then the friendless man awakes again, sees dark waves in front of him, sea-birds bathing, spreading their wings, falling frost and snow mixed with hail.' 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, p. 76.

³⁸ For discussion, see Klinck, p. 113-14.

³⁹ Antonina Harbus, 'Deceptive Dreams in "The Wanderer"', *Studies in Philology*, 93 (1996), 164-79 (p. 171).

⁴⁰ This mental development throughout the first half of the poem I think is plausible, as the tone after line 57 is quite removed from what we have seen so far.

That the Wanderer's feelings toward his community are in a process of drastic change is further highlighted in lines 49-57.⁴¹ Fresh from his dream of the allegiance ceremony, the Wanderer still concedes love in his heart for his kin, although this time with a curious emphasis on the sorrow for which his community is ultimately responsible:

<i>Donne beoð þy hefigran</i>	<i>beortan benne,</i>
<i>sare after swæsne;</i>	<i>sorg bið geniwad</i>
<i>þonne maga gemynd</i>	<i>mod geondhweorfeð</i>
<i>greteð glinstafum,</i>	<i>georne geondsceawað--</i>
<i>secga geseldan</i>	<i>swimmað eft onweg,</i>
<i>fleotendra ferð</i>	<i>no þær fela bringeð</i>
<i>cudra cwidegiedda;</i>	<i>cearo bið geniwad</i>
<i>þam þe sendan sceal</i>	<i>swiþe geneabbe</i>
<i>ofer wapema gebind</i>	<i>werigne sefan.</i> ⁴² 49-57.

Here the analogy of tumultuous waves works as a metaphor for the Wanderer's confused emotions towards his community. In the first instance, he acknowledges that his heart is renewed with wounds at the thought of his kinsmen, while also encouraging these thoughts by watching them with zeal. However, we then learn of the transience of this thought, the drifting away of companions, and the ultimate suffering that plagues the mind of the exile who will continue to 'sendan [...] ofer wapema gebind werigne sefan' (send his weary spirit over the freezing waves). It is here appropriate to read *sefan* as a synonym for 'thoughts', as this clause seems to refer to the process of thinking about companions and imagining those relationships, and is not a literal journey with the physical body.⁴³ Further, this analysis shows a progression of outlook on the part of the Wanderer that is made explicitly manifest in the second half, an outlook that will show the Wanderer becoming less reliant on the world for his emotional sustenance.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Most others and I contend that an obvious shift in tone occurs in line 58, beginning a distinct second half of *Wan.*

⁴² 'Then because of [the loss of] dear ones, the heart's painful wounds are heavier; sorrow is renewed when the memory of kinsmen moves through the heart: he greets joys, eagerly watches them — the hall companions drift away again; sorrow is renewed to him who must very often send his weary spirit over the freezing waves'. 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, pp. 76-77.

⁴³ This reading falls in line with the theme of memory in this passage. If a physical voyage were meant here, then it would be out of place with the motif explored from lines 39-54 — that is, a reflection on things past wholly in the mind of the Wanderer's exile.

⁴⁴ The Wanderer's conscious thought of the past is waning here, as his thoughts of community are represented by the ebb and flow of the sea waves. That is, as he considers the past, he suffers from it, but as he lets go, he achieves solace.

Christian Didacticism and the Death of Community: Lines 58-115

The thematic development of the individual becoming more autonomous in his thinking and less dependent on the world and its allures now becomes the focal point of *Wan*. We are again reminded of the personal nature of this poem, as the Wanderer returns with a first-person account of his emotional state hitherto:

<i>Forþon ic geþencan ne mæg</i>	<i>geond þas woruld</i>
<i>forþwan modsefa min</i>	<i>ne gesweorce</i>
<i>Þonne ic earla lif</i>	<i>eal geondþence,</i>
<i>hu bi færlice</i>	<i>flet ofgeafon,</i>
<i>modge maguþegnas.</i>	<i>Swa þes middangeard</i>
<i>ealra dogra gehwam</i>	<i>dreoseþ ond fealleþ⁴⁵ 58-63</i>

Again, the Wanderer has invited us into his state-of-mind, and by using *Forþon* adverbially, he has effectively created a dialogue between reader/listener and himself. The Wanderer accomplishes this by following the poem along with his audience, whilst bringing both back together to question how we can see community as anything less than sorrowful, transitory, and depressing. If ambiguity exists in this passage, it is because it seems unclear whether or not the Wanderer is talking about the loss of kinsfolk or the transitory state-of-man as the catalyst for his anxiety. If some scholars still question that the Wanderer is referring to the latter, any questions are laid to rest in what follows, a passage that benefits by being reproduced in full:

<i>Forþon ne mæg wearþan</i>	<i>wis wer ær he age</i>
<i>wintra dæl in woruldrice.</i>	<i>Wita sceal geþyldig;</i>
<i>ne sceal no to hatheort,</i>	<i>ne to brædnryrde,</i>
<i>ne to wac wiga,</i>	<i>ne to wanhydig,</i>
<i>ne to forbt, ne to sægen,</i>	<i>ne to feohgifre,</i>
<i>ne næfre gielpes to georn,</i>	<i>ær he geara cunne.</i>
<i>Beorn sceal gebidan</i>	<i>þonne he beot spricedð</i>
<i>oppæt collenferð</i>	<i>cunne gearwe</i>
<i>hwider breþra geþygd</i>	<i>hweorfan wille.</i>

⁴⁵ 'Therefore, I cannot think why in this world my mind does not grow dark when I think of warrior's lives, how they suddenly left the hall, spirited noble kinsmen. So the whole middle-earth declines and falls each day'. 'The Wanderer', in *Elegies*, p. 77.

<i>Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle</i>	<i>hu gæstlic bið</i>
<i>Ðonne ealle þisse worulde wela</i>	<i>weste stondeð,</i>
<i>swa nu missenlice</i>	<i>geond þisne middangeard</i>
<i>winde biwaune</i>	<i>weallas stondað,</i>
<i>hrime biþrorene.</i>	<i>Hryðge þa ederas;</i>
<i>woriað þa winsalo.</i>	<i>Waldend licgað</i>
<i>dreame biþrorene;</i>	<i>duguð eal gecrong,</i>
<i>wlonc bi wealle.</i>	<i>Sume wig fornom,</i>
<i>ferede in forðwege;</i>	<i>sumne fugel oþbær</i>
<i>ofer beanne holm;</i>	<i>sumne se hara wulf</i>
<i>deaðe gedælde;</i>	<i>sumne dreorighleor</i>
<i>in eorðscræfe</i>	<i>eorl gebydde.</i>
<i>Yþde swa þisne eardgeard</i>	<i>ælda scyppend,</i>
<i>oþþæt burgwara</i>	<i>breahntma lease</i>
<i>eald enta geweorc</i>	<i>idlu stodon⁴⁶ 64-88</i>

At this juncture, we immediately notice a reoccurrence of the hypothetical exile in the third person, and as we saw earlier, the audience connects with this general exile because of lessons universally felt by each person in this position.⁴⁷ The didactic, gnomic quality of *Wan* thus begins here.

Lines 64-69 reflect a homiletic tradition on the virtue of moderation, and various sources have been proposed for these lines. J.E. Cross reminds us that Plutarch mentioned two maxims inscribed at Delphi, to know thyself and avoid extremes, and that both Ambrose and Jerome in the early Christian period particularly condoned the latter for the faithful living a secular life.⁴⁸ An originally pagan theme, then, transforms into Christian moralising here, as the prudent exile

⁴⁶ ‘Therefore, a man cannot become wise before he has lived many winters in the worldly kingdom. A wise man must be patient, not too angry, nor hasty of speech, nor weak in combat, nor careless, nor fearful, nor joyful, nor eager for wealth, nor ever eager of praise before he sufficiently understands. A wise man must understand how eerie it is when all this world’s wealth stands ruined, as now randomly throughout this middle-earth, walls stand, wind-blown, covered with hoarfrost. Snow-swept are the homes; wine-halls are crumbling; rulers lie dead, deprived of joy; the whole proud noble band, tall in battle, decay beside the wall. Some battle took and carried away; a bird carried one off over the deep sea; one the gray wolf dispensed death to; one a sad-faced warrior hid in a cave. Thus, the creator of men devastated this world, until lacking the sounds of town-dwellers, the old works of giants stood empty’. *Ibid.* p. 77.

⁴⁷ While there is no explicit mention of this *wer* being the same exile as we read before — i.e., any man who has lived sufficiently long enough either in the community or alone can conceivably be the subject at first glance — it is clear that this is the case after line 68, so I maintain that this man is indeed the original exile.

⁴⁸ Ambrose also ‘took consolation in the ruins of great cities’. For a much deeper discussion, see J.E. Cross, ‘On the Genre of The Wanderer’, *Neophilologus*, 45 (1961), 63-75 (p. 68).

must grow in character through *wintra dæl in woruldrice* (many winters in the world), resulting in an understanding that all worldly life is transitory and hence unimportant. The salience of this reading lies in its obvious Christian overtones, which until now with the exception of line 2 are difficult to discern and open to debate.⁴⁹ Thus, the tone has now changed from an emotionally-charged lament on the losing of kith, kin, and lord, to an acceptance (embrace?) of the ultimate nature of the world (i.e., that nothing lasts but God, who *Ypde þisne eardgeard* ‘devastated this world’). Furthermore, the many active indicative verbs in this passage describe a continuous and current process of the deterioration of men and things, underscoring the notion of the timelessness of decay while inviting immediacy to changing one’s beliefs about what is important. Indeed, one scholar has commented on the ‘coolness in his [hypothetical exile’s] attitude toward individual things and persons’ here and remarked on the ‘balance in his thinking between sadness at the instability and waste of the world and the liberating energy of his thought’.⁵⁰ This ‘balance’ and ‘coolness’, I suggest, comes out of the progressive emotional distancing from things of the world that we are discussing, while the liberation occurring in the exile’s mind stems from a newly-found power of contemplation on the Lord and the eternal nature of His kingdom above.

At this stage, the Wanderer reflects on the man who would understand these things:

<i>Se þonne þisne wealsteal</i>	<i>wise gepohþe</i>
<i>ond þis deorce life</i>	<i>deope geondþenceð,</i>
<i>frod in ferðe,</i>	<i>feor oft gemon,</i>
<i>wælsleabta worn,</i>	<i>ond þas word acwið.⁵¹ 89-91</i>

Interestingly, we are now beginning to fully understand the exile’s, and by extension, the Wanderer’s, new feelings toward the world. Now the speaker uses his wisdom to understand this *wealsteal* (the foundation of gnomic qualities in lines 64-88) and this life outside of God that is as dead as the lord whom he had mourned. Thus, almost questioning why he had ever sought

⁴⁹ This includes themes regarding the sea as a metaphor for the pilgrim’s life and the meanings behind the sea and earth, respectively, all of which are difficult to prove with any surety.

⁵⁰ John C. Pope, ‘Dramatic Voices in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*’, in *Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.*, ed. by Jess B. Bessinger Jr and Robert P. Creed (London: Allen and Unwin, 1965), pp. 164-93 (p. 172).

⁵¹ There is disagreement between scholars as to whether this passage introduces another speaker; however, it seems clear enough that the Wanderer is giving voice to his hypothetical exile. For further, see Lois Bragg, *The Lyric Speakers of Old English Poetry* (Rutherford: Associated University Press, 1991), p. 128. ‘Then he, with wise thought, deeply ponders this foundation and this dark life, wise in intellect often remembers a multitude of slaughters and says these words’: ‘The Wanderer’, in *Elegies*, p. 78.

another treasure-giver, the speaker reiterates the ephemeral nature of the world with rhetorical questions and emphatic lament:

<i>Hwær cwom mearg?</i>	<i>Hwær cwom mago?</i>
<i>Hwær cwom</i>	<i>mappumgyfa?</i>
<i>Hwær cwom symbla gesetu?</i>	<i>Hwær sindon seledreamas?</i>
<i>Eala beorht bune!</i>	<i>Eala byrnwiga!</i>
<i>Eala þeodnes þrym!</i> ⁵² 92-95a	

Additionally, describing the things that remain after the world has moved on shows not only an awareness of the speaker that all men eventually disappear, but also possibly of classical societies that once stood as powerful symbols of man's ingenuity:

<i>Stonedð nu on laste</i>	<i>leofre duguþe</i>
<i>weal wundrum heab,</i>	<i>nyrmlicum fah.</i> ⁵³ 97-98b

The poet's mixture of gnomic formulae and tangible scene in lines 92-98b, then, advance the idea that the worldly community always returns to the earth. And, as the Wanderer has journeyed through these scenes with his audience, his conclusions are firmly stated in the penultimate passage:

<i>Eall is earfoðlic</i>	<i>eorþan rice;</i>
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⁵² 'Where did the horse go? Where went the kinsmen? Where did the treasure-giver go? Where went the feast seats? Where are the hall-joys. Oh, bright cup! Oh, mail warrior! Oh, ruler's army!' The '*Ubi Sunt*' formula here has been long commented on and cannot be included with any detail here. For commentary on how the formula generally emphasises contempt for the world, see Woolf, p. 200. It should be noted that in Woolf, p. 201, she goes on to say that 'in *The Wanderer*, *ubi sunt* questions have the reverse effect. Far from suggesting that their subjects are worthless they confer a deep nostalgic value upon them, and the very fleetingness which the questions call to mind enhances rather than diminishes their preciousness'. I do not agree with Woolf, however, that *Wan* is different in this regard, in that I read the *Ubi Sunt* as the Wanderer's introspective understanding and surrender to the fact that all the world is transitory, and hence — *ipso facto* — one has to give up attachment to such a world in order for one to find true peace. It is not a case — I believe — that the Wanderer is exclaiming these points to confer upon them a special status to his identity, rather his expressing of them is in a way his final acknowledgement that worldly attachment cannot bring happiness. After all, all nine phrases relating the world as the source of suffering occur in the second half of the poem, hence strengthening our thesis that the Wanderer is seemingly taking close note later on that the world is the cause of pain. These lines, then, render well our thesis that the Wanderer is moving from a communal outlook to a detached, autonomous, individual one. Refer to Carol Braun Pasternack, 'Anonymous Polyphony and *The Wanderer's* Textuality', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20 (1991), 99-122 (p. 106) specifically. See also Klinck, p. 124, for a good overview of the scholarship and debates in this vein.

⁵³ 'Now stands on the track of the noble band, a wondrously high wall, adorned with serpent shapes'. Discussion regarding the shape and 'design' of the wall is open for debate. Whether the serpent refers to beetle pathways in wooden structures, an Anglo-Saxon pattern, or Roman architecture, remains an important question. See *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 125.

<i>onwendedð wyrda gesceaft</i>	<i>weoruld under beofonum.</i>
<i>Her bið feoh læne,</i>	<i>her bið freond læne.</i>
<i>Her bið mon læne,</i>	<i>her bið mæg læne.</i>
<i>Eal þis eorþan gesteal</i>	<i>idel weorþeð.⁵⁴ 106-110</i>

All that remains is the question of what is left if all that the Wanderer has known has fallen away?

This question is finally answered in the final five lines of *Wan*:

<i>Swa cwæð snottor on mode;</i>	<i>gesæt him sundor æt rune.</i>
<i>Til bið se þe his treowe gehealdeþ;</i>	<i>ne sceal næfre his torn to</i>
	<i>rycene</i>
<i>beorn of his breostum acyþan,</i>	<i>nemþe he ær þa bote cunne,</i>
<i>eorl mid elne gefremman.</i>	<i>Wel bið þam þe him are seceð,</i>
<i>forfre to fæder on beofonum,</i>	<i>þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð.⁵⁵ 111-115</i>

We now have a return of the Wanderer, who is once again *sundor* (apart, separate) from his community, but this time in a quiet place of contemplation and not fighting a calling to think on God by facing the tumultuous waves, the falling snow, or the cold atmosphere. He again reminds us to look upon moderation as a virtue, but this time goes further in his consolation by letting us know the *bote* (i.e., keeping the faith) in which to train our focus. And finally, as if ‘releas[ing] the tension of this meditative poem’, we are given hope in the face of the destruction of the world and its inhabitants that God and His kingdom alone remain, welcoming us to seek that security and permanence.⁵⁶

Putting it Together: The Wanderer’s Transformation and the Shunning of Community

⁵⁴ ‘Everything in Earth’s kingdom is full of hardship; destiny causes change in the world under Heaven. Here treasure is transitory, a friend is transitory, man is transitory, kinsmen are transitory. The whole foundation of Earth becomes empty’. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵⁵ ‘Thus spoke the wise man in his mind, as he sat himself apart in thought. “Good is it for him who keeps his faith; he must never reveal the resentment from his heart too quickly, unless the man beforehand knows how to bring about the remedy with zeal. It is good for him who himself seeks honour, consolation from the father in Heaven, where all security lies for us”. I read *snottor on mode* as the Wanderer come back to provide his audience with one last dictate. See *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ John L. Selzer, “The Wanderer” and the Meditative Tradition’, *Studies in Philology*, 80 (1983), 227-37 (p. 236).

This analysis of *Wan* has shown that there is a clear progression from community to individual in the text, and that there is a growing sentiment that the individual search for God remains the most important theme in one's life, as the Wanderer effectively shuns thoughts of men and things. The first half (lines 1-58) highlights sentiment on community. We may take notice of the many mentions of the loss of, and lament for, community. For example, how life is cruel for him who has few confidants, how sorrowful the Wanderer was over the loss of his hall, and how every exile will know this sorrow as his only companion in the absence of another lord. These themes pervade the first four-dozen lines or so, where 'devotion to his [Wanderer's] lord and his fellows of the *comitatus* is at once the sign of his nobility and the cause of his sorrow'.⁵⁷ The telling of these sorrows is exemplified in the first half by the 'poignant description of loneliness', represented by the freezing waves, falling frost, and other representations of the natural world meant to distance the individual in *Wan* from the security of the community.⁵⁸ Additionally, other scholars have identified the preponderance of *mod-* words, verbs associated with binding (e.g., *sælan* and *bealdan*), and suffixes denoting a 'custom-bound state of mind' as further enhancing the deep emotional pain that the individual feels over the loss of his community during this section of the poem.⁵⁹ Indeed, as the first half of *Wan* comes to a close, it appears as though Hait's observation that the Wanderer is being 'pulled in two directions at once, back toward the hall-joys of the past and forward toward the heavenly kingdom' is perfectly apt. As we saw earlier, lines 49-57 present a subtle degree of transition from the communal to the individual, thus reinforcing this idea of change in the mind of the Wanderer, which continues with explicit force in the second half.⁶⁰

From what we have seen, the second half of *Wan* is clear on individual autonomy by way of releasing the concern over the loss of kin and lord. Gnostic verse highlights the need for personal introspection into these matters, as the Wanderer appears to submit to the fate in which God has directed him. The Wanderer, and by extension, the hypothetical exile, has thus grown into something impossible to see from the outset. Bjork perhaps states it best, as he notes how the Wanderer changes from an *eardstapa* (wanderer) to a *snottor* (wise man), who then sits *sundur aet rune* (apart in thought), morphing 'the relatively helpless *anhaga*, trapped in his earthly, cultural surroundings, into the sage who transforms the inferior, world-bound, essentially hopeless exile

⁵⁷ Pope, p. 171.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵⁹ Clark, p. 291. James L. Rosier, 'The Literal-Figurative Identity of The Wanderer', *PMLA*, (1964), 366-69 (pp. 367-68).

⁶⁰ Hait, p. 287.

track of the Germanic world into the superior, heaven bound [...] track of the Christian faith'.⁶¹ In essence, then, we are witnessing an awakening of the Wanderer, as he is fundamentally describing how his new Christian understanding replaces the shortfalls of a society in which he would be left alone and yearning for companionship. This acts like a formula for how faith can inspire freedom from one's own sorrows, which stems from an attachment to the world. Hence, I would take further Doubleday's statement that *Wan* exhibits a 'pattern [...] from misery to hope' and say that it is also a pattern of community to individual. Indeed, the Wanderer has come 'full circle'.⁶²

Concluding our discussion of *Wan*, we find that while not peppered in the landscape of the poem, Christian themes are undoubtedly an integral part of the framework of this work as a whole and support the notion that the Wanderer's 'best source of comfort lies within himself'.⁶³ Three explicit references to God are made in *Wan* (lines 2, 86, and 117), but we must not overlook the subtle expressions of Christianity that fill much of the second half in homiletic and gnomic quality.⁶⁴ From this outlook, we can safely conclude that debates regarding later interpolations are surely unreasonable, and I argue that this poem is purposely ambiguous of its goal. This is a piece that would have most likely appealed to many Anglo-Saxons, as a discourse on both the Germanic past and the Christian present; thus, the Wanderer is both an exile within a framework of ancient Germanic culture, and a symbol for the monastic life, each representing both early Germanic and Christian realities, respectively. He is an individual in so much as his self-determinism carries him away from community and toward a life with God. This 'individuality [is] enough to gain our sympathy' while simultaneously nourishing 'the experiences of the exile wanderer type', whose persona the Wanderer identified as the hypothetical exile.⁶⁵ Finally, Roger Fowler brilliantly suggests that *Wan* seems to take advantage of Christian themes to 'lament the death of the Germanic past', and while admittedly 'fanciful' it is cautiously supported by a reading of the text.⁶⁶ *Wan* is certainly a poem about community, but more importantly, it is a poem about the power of the individual in a time when the one was

⁶¹ Bjork, p. 126. For further discussion on this idea and similar topics, see also Bragg, p. 132, James F. Doubleday, 'Two-Part Structure in Old English Poetry', *Notre Dame English Journal*, 8:2 (1973), 71-79 (p. 75), and Hollowell, p. 190, where the latter describes a tripartite development in *Wan*: the first of which is where joys and hardships are experienced, the second a reflection on the world, and the third, a taking of 'direct action'.

⁶² James F. Doubleday, 'A Reading of "The Wanderer"', *Notre Dame English Journal*, 7 (1972), 14-22 (p. 18). Horgan, p. 46.

⁶³ Or rather, his individual connection with God. See Crossely-Holland, p. 47.

⁶⁴ For instance, lines 114-115, 64-88, and the *Ubi Sunt* motif. See also G.V. Smithers, 'The Meaning of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer (continued)*', *Medium Ævum*, 28:1 (1959), 1-22 (p. 2) for a discussion on the metaphor of ship as church.

⁶⁵ Roy F. Leslie, *The Wanderer* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), p. 39.

⁶⁶ Roger Fowler, 'A Theme in The Wanderer', *Medium Ævum*, 36 (1967), 1-14 (p. 14).

inextricably linked with the whole; hence, the ostensible difficulties attendant to this duality that scholars have debated need not give us pause, because both compatibly exist together, and as we have seen, for good reason.⁶⁷ Ultimately, as if echoes of Augustine reverberated about and above the *wraclastas* (paths of exile), the Wanderer was led not by ‘those things which are behind’, but was beckoned ‘to stretch out after those things which are before’; thus, the death of the Wanderer’s community ushered in the birth of his individuality and his freedom from its transience.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ In a previous article, I suggest that the Wanderer changes his notion of the self through the application of his own memory, and hence his previous self-changes from one with a group orientation, to one exhibiting a very real individuality, arguing strongly that Anglo-Saxons were indeed able to recreate their identities throughout their lives as a result of circumstances — this is a very modern notion of selfhood and identity. See Brent LaPadula, ‘Memory and Identity Formation: A Cognitive Construction of the Self in *The Wanderer*, *Hortulus*, 8:1 (2012) <<http://hortulus-journal.com/journal/volume-8-number-1-2012/lapidula/>> [accessed 25 October 2013].

⁶⁸ Citing Augustine’s *De Trinitate*. Although not mentioned here, Augustine has borrowed from Philippians 3:13 (I am indebted to Dr Paul Cavill for pointing this out to me). See Selzer, p. 229.

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Review Article – The State of Scottish Imperial Historiography

James M. Mackenzie and T.M. Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 344pp., ISBN: 9780199573240, £36.00.

Mario Varricchio (ed.), *Back to Caledonia: Scottish Homecoming from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2012), xvi + 292pp., ISBN: 9781906566449, £25.00.

Stephen Conway, *Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 356pp., ISBN: 9780199210855, £71.00.

Within the last thirty years, the study of imperial history has made a remarkable resurgence, recovering from its nadir in the 1980s. One of the reasons for this recovery, in terms of interest levels and publications, has been the ability of the discipline to reinvent itself. This is partially due to a consensus to largely abandon the traditional focus of examining a fixed relationship between the British Isles as a whole and the various colonies. An alternative put forward more recently has been a ‘four nations’ approach echoing both a general loosening of political and cultural ties across the United Kingdom as well as non-imperial-orientated histories of the British Isles by Hugh Kearney and Frank Welsh.¹ This gave historians of each nation – England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales – the opportunity to assess their own historical relationship with the British Empire. It is only since the 1990s that a strong Scottish imperial historiography has developed, which is surprisingly multifaceted. Two of the principal drivers of this historiography have undoubtedly been T.M. Devine and John M. Mackenzie. Devine’s *Scotland’s Empire* has provided Scottish history with its first truly academic reflection on the subject, while Mackenzie’s work has shed crucial light on the continuing importance of Scottish national identity amongst Scots who served the empire.²

It is, in many ways, appropriate that the first full collection of essays specifically concerning Scottish imperial history, entitled *Scotland and the British Empire*, has been edited by Mackenzie and Devine. As part of the Oxford History of the British Empire series, this collection has brought together many of the most notable scholars of their field which hints at the greater specialisation within Scottish imperial history. For instance contributor Andrew Mackillop has emerged as an

¹ Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Frank Welsh, *The Four Nations: A History of the United Kingdom* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

² T.M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2003) and James M. Mackenzie, ‘Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series., 8 (1998).

expert in the role that Scots played in the British imperial military while Angela McCarthy has become highly regarded in the study of Scottish emigration. The book's introduction contains an interesting warning about the direction of the recent trends, 'there is a danger in all this activity and that lies in the possible creation of a new myth, that of Scots exceptionalism'.³

This exceptionalism implies that the Scottish contribution to the British Empire was not only unique but also innately superior. Histories invoking this myth of exceptionalism characterise the actions of Scots, while building the Empire, as being more enlightened and morally benign. Niall Ferguson praised Scots in the service of the East India Company for being more willing to marry Indian women and embrace local culture than their stuffy English colleagues.⁴ Quite possibly the most blatant and worryingly widely read example of Scottish exceptionalism has been Arthur Herman's work published in 2002, unambiguously titled *The Scottish Enlightenment: the Scots' Invention of the Modern World*.⁵ Herman effectively painted the Scots as an almost ridiculously gifted people, intellectually and creatively, and that the Scottish Diaspora granted the rest of the world the wonderful opportunity to learn from them. Although, to be fair, Herman does graciously acknowledge in the preface that, 'the Scots did not do everything by themselves: other nations – Germans, French, Italians, Russians and even the English have their place in the making of the modern world'.⁶

Thankfully such instances of Scottish exceptionalism are easily identified and, within academic circles, relatively easily ignored. There is unfortunately another, less apparent but more dangerous flaw within the historiography, which I would characterise this flaw as being a misconception of Scottish enthusiasm. Essentially, there now exists an unjustified consensus that Scots were generally enthusiastic as to the British Empire, throughout the time of its expansion. Andrew Thompson, in an essay examining the framework of the British State in relation to the Empire, sums up this trend stating that the Scots were, 'the first peoples of the British Isles to take on an imperial mentality, and possibly the longest to sustain one. In the spheres of education, engineering, exploration, medicine, commerce, and shipping, the Scots earned a particularly strong reputation for empire building'.⁷

³ James M. Mackenzie and T.M. Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 9.

⁴ Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 124.

⁵ Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World* (London: Fourth Estate, 2002).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁷ Andrew Thompson, 'Empire and the British State' in Sarah E. Stockwell (ed), *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), p. 51.

When Scotland's eighteenth-century history especially is examined, this analysis simply does not fit. After all for much of this period Scottish society not only had to adjust to the effects of Britain's expanding empire but also to residing in an entirely new state. It is with this issue firmly in mind this article shall consider the three works. The misconception of Scottish enthusiasm is unfortunately a chief discrepancy of Devine and Mackenzie's volume, which becomes apparent particularly within the first essay, written by T.M. Devine and Phillip Rossner. This essay discusses Scottish connections to the Atlantic Economy of the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries. Devine and Rossner discuss in some detail the multiple roles which Scots played in maintaining and expanding the Caribbean slave system, whether as wealthy slave traders or as overseers.⁸ However no mention is made of individual Scots who advocated or worked towards abolition such as Zachary Macaulay and James Beattie; the essay also ignores the views of the Scottish *literati* and Kirk ministers who were largely in favour of abolition. A basic misassumption often made by Scottish imperial historians is that participation in any imperial expansion automatically implies enthusiasm for all aspects of the empire. Economic hardship or simply fewer opportunities for advancement at home were often far more powerful motivations for Scots to serve in India as an East India Company officer, or as a slave overseer in Jamaica. Scotland's national bard Robert Burns was a famous opponent of the Slave trade and yet at a point in his life when his farm had suffered several financial reverses, Burns considered leaving Scotland for Jamaica to work as a slave overseer.

Another instance in which Scottish enthusiasm is challenged is of course in emigration to Britain's colonies. The nature, scale and development of this migration have actually been very well documented by the older historiography concerning the Scottish Diaspora dating back to the nineteenth century. Two of the earliest and most well read examples were J.H. Burton's *The Scot Abroad* and W.J. Rattray's *The Scot in British North America*, published in four volumes.⁹ A more recent development in this area is the gradual merging of Diaspora studies with imperial history, which has been expressed most clearly by Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine's *Migration and Empire*.¹⁰ One area in which Diaspora Studies has been deficient is in examining the process of return migration. This process has for the first time been properly explored in *Back to Caledonia*, a collection of papers edited by Mario Varricchio. Varricchio commented on the relative progress of return migration from a purely British perspective, but this is different when analysed from the viewpoint of the four particular nations, 'As we shall see, the picture is even

⁸ James M. Mackenzie, and T.M. Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 30-53.

⁹ J.H. Burton, *The Scot Abroad* (London, 1864) and W.J. Rattray, *The Scot in British North America* (Edinburgh, 1880).

¹⁰ Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

gloomier with regard to studies devoted to Britain's distinct nationalities, though in the last few years an awakening of interest in Scottish return has taken place, which is confirmed by the publication of this volume'.¹¹

The volume forms an interesting mix of contributions from experienced scholars such as Steve Murdoch and Cairns Craig, as well as post-doctoral fellows, which were originally part of a conference held at the University of Edinburgh. For the purposes of further testing the misconception of Scottish enthusiasm for empire, considering return migration potentially offers some valuable insights into Scottish attitudes to emigration. Examining the experience of returning migrants can also shed light on the economic and political state of Scotland at the particular time. This is the case in Graeme Morton's essay 'Returning Nationalists, Returning Scotland', where the return of James Grant and Theodore Napier sheds new light on the nature of nineteenth-century Scottish politics. *Back to Caledonia's* scope is undoubtedly wide-ranging with papers spanning 400 years, beginning with Steve Murdoch's seventeenth-century study of the repatriation of Scottish mercantile capital from the Low Countries and ending with David McCrone and Frank Bechhofer's paper on returning migrants in the twenty first century. There is also some engagement with imperial issues in papers relating to missionaries and colonial settlers.

Sadly a chronological assessment of the collection presents an obvious mismatch, only one of the twelve papers relates to the eighteenth-century. This is an unfortunate deficiency because it was this period when emigration was perceived as being greatly harmful by the majority of Scots, as a nation's strength was thought to rest on having a large and growing population. George McGilvray's 'Return of the Scottish Nobob, 1725-1833' essay discusses the experience of Scots who made their fortune in the service of the East Indian Company and then chose to return home, as well as the resulting political and economic impact they had. Unfortunately he has taken a Scottish exceptionalist line on the issue stating that these Scottish nabobs were almost universally well received upon their return when compared with England, 'The difference in reaction between north and south suggests certain traits unique to Scotland – or just that it was smaller and less cosmopolitan... Horace Walpole's complaint, in 1761, that "conquerors, nabobs and victorious admirals attack every borough" was not quite true north of the Tweed'.¹²

¹¹ Mario Varricchio (ed.), *Back to Caledonia: Scottish Homecoming from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2012), p. 12.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 97.

Although the view that Scottish society could see the returning nabobs in a positive light is valid, Mcgilvray offers limited evidence to support this assertion. He also fails to adequately engage with the historiography that challenges this perspective, beyond a reference to a paper by Alan Karras, particularly John Dwyer and Alexander Murdoch's chapter on eighteenth-century Scottish politics which discusses how the nabobs were often deeply resented by the landed gentry.¹³

Perhaps the primary flaw however with *Back to Caledonia* is the assumption that Scottish migration turned very quickly away from mainland Europe towards Britain's colonies following the Act of Union, which has previously been hypothesised by T.M. Devine.¹⁴ Other historians such as David Dickson, Jan Parmentier and Jane Ohlmeyer point to Scottish involvement in various trading networks continuing well into the eighteenth-century.¹⁵ It is on the issue of these continuing ties between Scotland and the European mainland that we turn to our final reviewed book Stephen Conway's *Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*. While Conway's work does not specifically concern imperial history, or indeed Scotland, it offers an intriguing alternative for perceiving the true place of the empire in eighteenth-century Scottish society. In the introduction Conway stresses that the most recent historical literature has overstated transatlantic connections at the expense of the continent. By contrast Conway's study offers, a different way of looking at Britain and Ireland's relationship with continental Europe. It acknowledges areas of difference and distinctiveness, but points to areas of similarity. It accepts that both Britain and Ireland were part of an Atlantic and wider imperial world, but highlights their under-recognised connections with the rest of Europe.¹⁶ The central objective of Conway's work, therefore, is to show how most people in the British Isles, as well as the new British state, remained primarily focused on continental concerns. A powerful case is made in support of this argument by examining not just military and commercial connections but also intellectual exchanges through religion, enlightenment or the traditional aristocratic Grand Tour. The one frustrating element of Conway's thesis is a tendency to neglect potential differences across the four nations of Britain. That is not to say that specifically Scottish issues are not addressed. For instance the continuing ties between Scottish and Dutch Protestants are discussed when

¹³ John Dwyer and Alexander Murdoch, 'Paradigms and Politics: Manners, Morals and the Rise of Henry Dundas, 1770-1784' in John Dwyer, Roger Mason, and Alexander Murdoch, (eds) *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), pp. 210-248.

¹⁴ Devine, *Scotland's Empire: 1600-1815*, p. 26.

¹⁵ David Dickson, Jan Parmentier, and Jane Ohlmeyer, (eds) *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Gent: Academia Press, 2006).

¹⁶ Stephen Conway, *Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 2.

considering the end of the 1745-6 Jacobite Revolt, when Dutch soldiers arrived in Scotland to assist the British army.¹⁷ This generalisation is in some ways surprising given previous writings by Conway where he challenges key aspects of Linda Colley's *Britons*. Colley's principal argument is that the imperial Anglo-French struggles of the eighteenth-century secured the Union and fostered a true British identity, allowing for future prosperity and greater political stability.¹⁸

While Conway acknowledges that aspects of Colley's argument are quite persuasive regarding the American Revolutionary War and the Napoleonic Wars, he largely believes that it cannot be applied for most of the eighteenth-century and that these conflicts could also divide the peoples of Great Britain, 'It would be a mistake, however to assume from this a simple process of linear progression, reaching its culmination in the great struggles of 1793-1815. There was no relentless upward trajectory, but rather a jagged, faltering movement forward.'¹⁹

Within Conway's oversight, though, is surely an opportunity for Scottish historians to further build upon these ideas and test them within a specifically Scottish historical context. The emergence of a historiography which directly assesses Scotland's place in the British Empire is in itself an encouraging development, opening up a previously underappreciated avenue of historical thought. However two clear flaws have appeared which cannot be ignored, these are the myth of Scottish exceptionalism and the misconception of Scottish enthusiasm. With too much attention paid to proving imperial enthusiasm, historians can actually start to recreate older myths that existed in the individual focused historiography, which has been skewered by Edward Cowan in his analysis of traditional myths relating to Scottish immigrants to Canada.²⁰

Devine and Mackenzie's collection of essays offers a full assessment of the state of the Scottish imperial historiography. The collection reveals the field's evolution to become far more multifaceted but unfortunately also highlights the overriding flaw of the misconception of Scottish enthusiasm. *Back to Caledonia* is undoubtedly an interesting contribution to Diaspora Studies. However, although its purpose was obviously not to directly assess Scotland's connections to the Empire, it still presents a missed opportunity to present an alternative and more nuanced picture of Scottish migration. To a great extent this opportunity is taken up by

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 294-95.

¹⁸ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 322.

¹⁹ Stephen Conway, 'War and National Identity in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles' *The English Historical Review* (Sep, 2001), pp. 863-4.

²⁰ Edward Cowan, "The Myth of Scotch Canada" in Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance, (eds), *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory. Scotia and Nova Scotia, c. 1700-1990* (Halifax, Nova Scotia and Edinburgh: Fernwood and John Donald, 1999), p. 66.

Stephen Conway. His work effectively issues a challenge to Scottish historians for their own analysis of eighteenth-century history.

That individual Scottish enthusiasm for the Empire existed is undoubtedly true but that alone cannot be used to prove Scottish society was enamoured with all aspects imperial of expansion. Therefore as this new historiography emerges it is necessary to at least recognise the other side of this debate, namely that Scots could also be sceptical as well as enthusiastic about the supposed benefits of the British Empire for all the reasons this paper has referred to above. A failure to do so would only weaken its credibility and offer a skewed view of Scottish history as a whole.

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Claire Langhamer, *The English in Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 310pp., ISBN: 9780199594436, £20.00.

At the core of Claire Langhamer's *The English in Love* is the idea that mid-twentieth century England witnessed an emotional revolution in which pragmatic notions of marriage were replaced by romantic ideals that suggested that marriages should be based upon love. Langhamer argues, however, that the mid-century desire to place romance, emotional compatibility, sexual desire and personal growth at the heart of matrimony actually destabilised the institution of marriage. Langhamer persuasively demonstrates that whilst the ideal of romantic love as the basis of marriage may have seemed appealing in the post-war years, it soon became apparent that love was an unstable foundation for matrimony as love could fade, spouses could fail to sexually satisfy one another and married life could fail to live up to its promise of self-fulfilment. Divided into three parts which explore the nature of love in the mid-twentieth century, the types of behaviour that the new romantic ideals fashioned, and the changing nature of committed relationships, the book explores the shifting understandings of romance, love, sexual desire and commitment in mid-century England in intimate detail.

Through the use of a wide-range of source material, most notably diaries and reports from the Mass Observation archives, Langhamer has written an intimate and affectionate portrait of romantic life in the mid-twentieth century. By far the greatest asset of *The English in Love* is its willingness to let the testimonies of ordinary people speak for themselves. Extensive quotations from Mass Observation testimonies are the basis of much of the book's analysis, and the inclusion of these voices lends Langhamer's work a real sense of warmth and authenticity.

The idea that love has a history is demonstrated throughout as Langhamer deftly describes its unstable characterization in English society and popular culture and its varying relationships with sex and social standing between the 1920s and the 1970s. Less convincing however is Langhamer's depiction of 'emotional revolution'. Langhamer's assertion that the relationship between love, sex and marriage in the 1970s differed from that of the 1920s is valid but her account of the transition is at times problematic. The author frequently refers to 'the mid-century' as a single entity which compromises her account of change over time; throughout the book Langhamer uses sources from the 1930s alongside, rather than in comparison to, those from the 1950s and 1960s, thus emphasising aspects of continuity rather than change. In the introduction Langhamer states that 'Material circumstance both shaped and constrained, but

always framed, the ways in which people crafted their emotional worlds' (p.19), yet, for an account which is centred around the notion of revolution, not enough is made of the very real social and economic changes which occurred across the period in question.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of *The English in Love*, is the way in which it quietly dismantles the notion of the 1960s as a period of sexual revolution and disrupted social order. The 1960s are frequently held aloft as a moment of intense social and cultural change, particularly in relation to sexual freedom and expression and for many years the Sixties have been viewed as a watershed moment in history marking the divide between 'modern' and 'contemporary'. Langhamer's work, however, deals very little with the 'age of promiscuity', instead suggesting that the Sixties were a 'golden age of romance' (p.11). Langhamer demonstrates the continued potency of romantic love and the desire for matrimony in the Sixties, suggesting in her conclusion that it may be more accurate to characterise the 1970s as the real era of sexual revolution (p.210). There has been little historical inquiry into the impact and legacy of the so-called sexual revolution (for the most part, the history of sexuality and gender since the 1960s has been examined only in the context of broad outline studies of the twentieth century) and so it is difficult to challenge Langhamer's claims.¹ As we move further in to the twenty-first century however and historians begin to research the last third of the twentieth century in its own right, it will be interesting to see whether Langhamer's account holds up to scrutiny.

¹ Such outline studies include: Marcus Collins, *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-century Britain* (London: Atlantic, 2003) and Jeffrey Weeks, *The World We Have Won: The Remaking of Erotic and Intimate Life* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Overall *The English in Love* is a good example of how the history of emotions, often thought of as a niche area of scholarly inquiry, can be incorporated in to broader histories of social and cultural phenomena. The book is engaging and highly readable and Langhamer's affection and respect for her subjects is evident throughout. Whilst Langhamer's account of social change is not always clear, her willingness to engage with the voices of 'ordinary' people has resulted in some insightful analysis and she should be commended for injecting some much needed heart into the social history of modern England.

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Deborah Youngs, *Humphrey Newton (1466-1536): An Early Tudor Gentleman* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), xii + 257pp., ISBN: 9781843833956, £50.00.

Humphrey Newton (1466-1536): An Early Tudor Gentleman is a masterfully written biography of a country gentleman who lived in Pownall, Cheshire in the late middle ages. As the author herself explains, ‘this book is not about a person of whom many will hitherto have heard’ (p. 2) and therein lies the fascination. For social historians, Deborah Youngs’ work resonates precisely because it examines the private life of a member of the lesser gentry when in other studies of this period, the personal is so often overlooked in favour of the more ‘public’ and political exploits of early modern gentlemen. While this book is centered first and foremost on the life and livelihood and personal and professional interests of a single man – Humphrey Newton – it is of broader interest to a variety of readers nonetheless as it addresses several larger themes and connects many disciplines, ranging from gentry studies to literary history and legal history.

Youngs’ first two chapters provide her readers with an introduction to Humphrey Newton and the Newton family, and it is here that the author does an exceptional job of making use of the limited sources at her disposal by giving her audience a wonderful glimpse into Newton’s private sphere. She does so by relying upon Newton’s cartulary and commonplace book as the primary sources for her account of his life, the manuscript of which is held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. A commonplace book was a type of scrapbook containing miscellaneous pieces of information that were of interest to its compiler and Newton put his together between the 1490s and the 1520s. As the only known book of its kind from early Tudor Cheshire, or anywhere else for that matter, it is a truly exceptional work. From a legal history perspective, this book and its subject provide invaluable insight into the personalised legal education and training of a practising provincial ‘scrivener’, or legal scribe.

In particular, Youngs’ third and fourth chapters rely on the commonplace book to evaluate Newton’s business practising law at the lower end of the legal profession in the Cheshire countryside. Like many, if not most, provincial scriveners, Newton never attended an Inn of Court or Chancery. As a result, his knowledge of the law and legal procedure and the documentation upon which these first two depended came from a fundamentally practical legal education. In Newton’s case, it appears as though he learned his law through artful imitation with his commonplace book including transcriptions of the letters sent to him by two prominent local justices that contained advice on matters such as the rights of inheritance and how to set

land to holders of fiefs, also called feoffees (p. 43). Acquiring advice like this from other practitioners and then learning by the example they set is one way in which the provincial gentry was able to make inroads into the law, on a local level at least.

In the third chapter, Youngs demonstrates how men like Newton were able to accrue such knowledge in a practical way without having had the benefit of a formal legal education, while in the fourth chapter Youngs is able to connect Newton's business in the law to his acquisition of land and title, thus demonstrating how Newton was a member of a burgeoning class of landed gentry with links to the law. Learning law through example, via legal literature and by seeking out the invaluable advice of more senior and successful locals on matters of interpretation and formula, was a typical method of gaining informal legal education in this period. By using Newton as an example, Youngs shows how a freelancing provincial scrivener could independently learn enough law to be able to correctly formulate the testaments and conveyances that comprised the bulk of his business. An abundance of evidence of this nature is gathered in Newton's commonplace book, alongside other non-legal items such as drawings, poetry and prose – all of which Youngs has mined for information of both a personal and professional nature in order to piece together her biography of Humphrey Newton. If Youngs' book has a flaw, it can be found in her own transcriptions of Newton's writing which are often haphazard and inconsistent, demonstrating both a confounding faithfulness to the original spellings of words such as 'wyl' in some places and a curious attempt to modernize the spelling of the same words in others – 'will'. Perhaps this idiosyncrasy can be attributed to an overzealous editor, but nevertheless it proves to be a distraction at times from the otherwise excellent content presented in this work.

The second half of Youngs' book focuses on Newton's beliefs, lifestyle and his activities as a writer (Chapters 5-7). The seventy-year period covered by Youngs' investigation into Newton's life marked several transitions in medieval society, including a shift from the medieval to the early modern, from manuscript to print culture, and even bears witness to significant religious reform of the English church. All of these events and more are presented to the reader through the prism of this man and of his experiences navigating the world as it changed around him – a theme which is given a detailed treatment in the last chapter of Youngs' work. It is in her handling of the personal side of Newton that Youngs' writing demonstrates particular skill as she is able to craft a vivid and compelling story which both details Newton's life and connects it more generally to some of the overarching influences on late medieval and early modern English

society as a whole. This is the true strength of this book. Youngs' narrative is firmly rooted in the social and cultural history of Humphrey Newton's time and place but it also showcases the author's ability to simultaneously paint an intimate portrait of a man about whom few outside of his family and immediate social circle would have known. By doing so, this book and its author have ensured that Newton's legacy will endure as representative of all that contributed to the making of both an ordinary – and an extraordinary – early Tudor gentleman.

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Markku Peltonen, *Rhetoric, Politics, and Popularity in Pre-Revolutionary England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 285pp., ISBN: 9781107028296, £60.00.

Rhetoric, Politics, and Popularity in Pre-Revolutionary England challenges traditional views of early modern politics, emphasizing its participatory and adversarial nature in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Markku Peltonen argues that the training in classical rhetoric provided in the grammar schools at that time was central in developing these characteristics. Peltonen argues that our understanding of English politics before the 1640s is incomplete if we do not understand both the political nature of rhetorical education and the rhetorical character of politics.

Peltonen structures the book in two parts. The first discusses rhetorical training and its implications for political culture; in other words, the link, borrowed from antiquity, between education and good citizenship. Part One also examines how rhetoric was taught in grammar schools, a relatively neglected area of research among early modern historians. Peter Mack's 2011 work *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380-1620*, as well as Ian Green's *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (2009) are, however, recent studies of this rhetorical education, although they take different approaches to that of Peltonen. Studies of education in the early modern period have rarely explored the political element present in classroom texts and teaching methods, and this is perhaps the strongest section of Peltonen's book, as it presents a very thorough explanation of how rhetoric was actually taught and learned in practice. Schoolboys were instructed in the persuasive and adversarial nature of rhetoric, and school exercises, such as letter-writing and delivering orations, dealt with political themes, whether classical or contemporary. Those skills used later in life by politicians were first learned in the grammar schools, which, as Peltonen argues, were far more concerned with politics than we might suppose. Rhetoric was a 'popular' art, intended to persuade a wide audience, yet learnt by a small section of society. Peltonen never talks about persuading the masses, just other members of parliament, and it would be useful to know how rhetoric was used outside of parliamentary speeches. The teaching of rhetoric was also not confined to the elite, as Peltonen frequently notes that even the smaller grammar schools were providing this instruction.

Part Two examines a series of six case studies demonstrating the use of rhetoric in practice between the 1570s and the 1620s, during which time classical rhetoric had become firmly established in the English grammar school curriculum. They illustrate the centrality of the art of

rhetoric in politics, particularly as used in the House of Commons, drawing upon common journals, diaries, and the House of Lords' reports of Commons speeches, analyzing their structure, argument, word choice, and use of rhetorical terms. Speeches in parliament followed the formal structure of an oration, and their success was judged according to rhetorical standards. Peltonen says we, too, should approach parliamentary speech-making through this 'lens of rhetoric' (p. 216).

At the very beginning of the work, Peltonen quotes Thomas Hobbes as saying in 1668 that parliamentary rhetoric had been a cause of the English Civil War; the aim of this book is to put that statement into context (p. 1). Peltonen is not seeking here to isolate rhetoric as a cause of the war, which would be well beyond the scope of the book. He does make it clear in the later case studies, however, that a significant development under James I was the use of 'deliberative rhetoric', with both king and parliament speaking on both sides of a topic, allowing for debate with the monarch (p. 159).

The Epilogue explores the dangers, observed by contemporaries, inherent in rhetoric's popular nature, particularly its republican associations and its potential to create conflict (pp. 218-20). Peltonen raises here some useful points about early modern views of rhetoric, but these may have fit more logically into part one, in building up a picture of early modern perceptions of rhetoric: eloquence and rhetoric opposed wisdom and knowledge, and rhetoric persuaded, but did not teach, with the power to either pacify or stir up an audience. The orator had enormous persuasive power, but so did the schoolmaster who taught the orator. Peltonen cites Thomas Hobbes as saying that even the most loyal schoolmaster could 'unwittingly cooperate in disposing the citizens' minds towards sedition', which profoundly affects our understanding of both politics and education in this period (p. 242).

Focused and readable, this is a book which historians of politics, education, rhetoric, or even the English Civil War, could find useful, as it explains the ways in which rhetoric was perceived during the early modern period, and sheds light on the connection between education and politics. It also helps answer the question of how much an early modern English schoolboy could put his education to use. Peltonen raises several questions, but does not, within the scope of this book, answer them. He devotes two whole chapters to how rhetoric was taught in the grammar schools, yet says very little about how those skills were developed in the universities. This is a relatively minor criticism in that it leaves the way open for further study of the subject,

but not including the universities here does leave a gap between practising rhetoric as a schoolboy, and putting it to use in one's political career: what happened in between, at the universities, which many members of parliament did attend? Just how many MPs attended university and studied rhetoric there? These are important questions which Peltonen's book does not fully address. Other questions are raised by this book: for instance, what about those grammar school boys who did not follow political careers? What did they do with their rhetorical skills? This is also an under-explored area of study. But these questions do not greatly detract from the quality of Peltonen's argument, but instead open up other areas for historians to explore, and Peltonen has provided a valuable starting point for doing so.

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Rachel Duffett, *The stomach for fighting: food and the soldiers of the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 304pp., ISBN: 9780719084584, £65.00.

Rachel Duffett's *The Stomach for Fighting* is situated within a growing historiography of food history that seeks to understand specifically how people in the past ate; how food, both nutritionally and socially, impacted on their lives. There is a considerable literature focusing on the feeding of civilians during the Great War, generally because the better quality food was requisitioned for the army and rising prices forced a change in the way food was consumed. Other studies have focused on military logistics – how food was obtained, requisitioned and transported. Duffett's work fills a niche between the two: she focuses on what happened to the military's food after it reached its destination, specifically how the men consumed their food and how it impacted on their overall experience of life on the Western Front.

The culmination of her doctoral research, *The Stomach for Fighting* boasts an impressive range of document sources, and draws on a body of solid existing research as Duffett attempts to understand why volunteers would trade their own table for the army canteen. This broad review of literature places Duffett's work in the same vein as that of Derek Oddy, who has written extensively on food history, and J.M Winter, whose *The Great War and the British People* (1987) is still considered definitive. Exploring how food impacted on the rankers' experience of life at the front, she argues convincingly that good food, rather than just simply nutritionally-packed food, could make the day seem brighter whereas unappealing but still nutritionally sound food could remind the rankers of the misery of their situation: 'The daily army food intake was a reminder of all that the military had taken from them'.¹

The book's structure – essentially five essays linked by common themes – has the potential to render the content disjointed, but in this case is effective. Each is easy to read, and self-contained with inclusive endnotes. Well-selected illustrations help Duffett to emphasize her arguments without to overly detailed language – certainly Sergeant Herring's tack biscuit picture frame leaves no doubt as to what such a biscuit might do teeth.² There are drawbacks, however. In particular, there is a great deal of 'signposting' which can prove frustrating in places.

Duffett presents a survey of the military food supply system, showing how even though as serving soldiers, rankers were entitled to extra military calories, this did not necessarily translate

¹ Rachel Duffett, *The stomach for fighting: food and the soldiers of the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 233.

² *Ibid*, p. 153.

into more food and quite often, soldiers were left for several days without rations due to failures in the supply chain. There is a large historiography of army logistics in the Great War, most of which is confined to economic, political and military considerations.³ Duffett instead largely focuses her efforts on the obtaining of military rations from a serving soldier's point of view. In particular, she discusses the much maligned and often ignored army cook. The Army Service Corps [ASC] had overall responsibility for the rations, and cooks often bore the brunt of the rankers' frustration with unappetising food or recurrent food shortages. Duffett points out that there are few official references to food shortages in contemporary military records and instead relies on contemporary soldiers' songs and letters, as well as war diaries and memoirs. These sources acknowledge a shared experience of war food and Duffett successfully shows how the language of food became a common euphemism for the misery of trench warfare. The odd meals – jam and herrings being one of the most unusual presented – a ranker could expect due to supply issues contrasted with their usual eating habits and with the promises of good food that had enticed so many to join up in the first place.

Apart from the actual food a ranker could expect, Duffett considers the significant daily ritual of eating. The ASC was responsible for food preparation, based on the pooling of a camp's available rations. Duffett offers a satisfactory survey of the ASC's development during the conflict, noting the common belief among rankers that its members were not 'proper' military men. Duffett, however, argues that to the contrary it was more favourable to be a ranker than a cook – to be a cook was a thankless task and while marching, they had fewer rest periods as they had to tend to the ovens and food. Duffett successfully melds accounts from both scenarios to recreate the food supply to the soldiers, and shows how this experience impacted on their emotions of military life.

Whilst noting the differences in the food provided to officers in contrast to ordinary rankers, beyond a succinct summary in the chapter 'Feeding the men', Duffett does not expand on the officers' experience. Consequently scope remains here for more detailed examination, including how food issues affected officer-ranker relations. It is also surprising that, in a monograph dedicated to the consumption of food, there is only cursory attention paid to the subject of food poisoning, a very real concern for both rankers and the authorities responsible for feeding them. The threat and experience of food poisoning could greatly affect soldiers' experiences of army life and is deserving of greater discussion.

³ There is a significant historiography on this subject but one work of interest is Michael Dockrill & David French (eds) *Strategy and intelligence: British policy during the First World War* (London: Hambledon Press 1996).

Overall, Duffett has produced a significant contribution to the historiography of the First World War. Her innovative and interdisciplinary approach of using the language of food, as expressed by serving soldiers, exposes the oversights in the official military record and gives a voice to the lived experience of the soldiers, something often ignored in similar works. The success of her work lies in the fact that the reader can sympathise with the poor fellows sitting in the trenches, surviving on tooth-breaking tack biscuits and ill-looking tins of bully beef. Furthermore, her exploration reveals just how necessary that food delivered both emotional and nutritional benefits was to the war effort. Amongst the plethora of events commemorating the centenary of the Great War, there is at least one conference dedicated to the study of food in the conflict. Duffett's work will enhance and inform such gatherings, no doubt inspiring future research using lived experiences of food.

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